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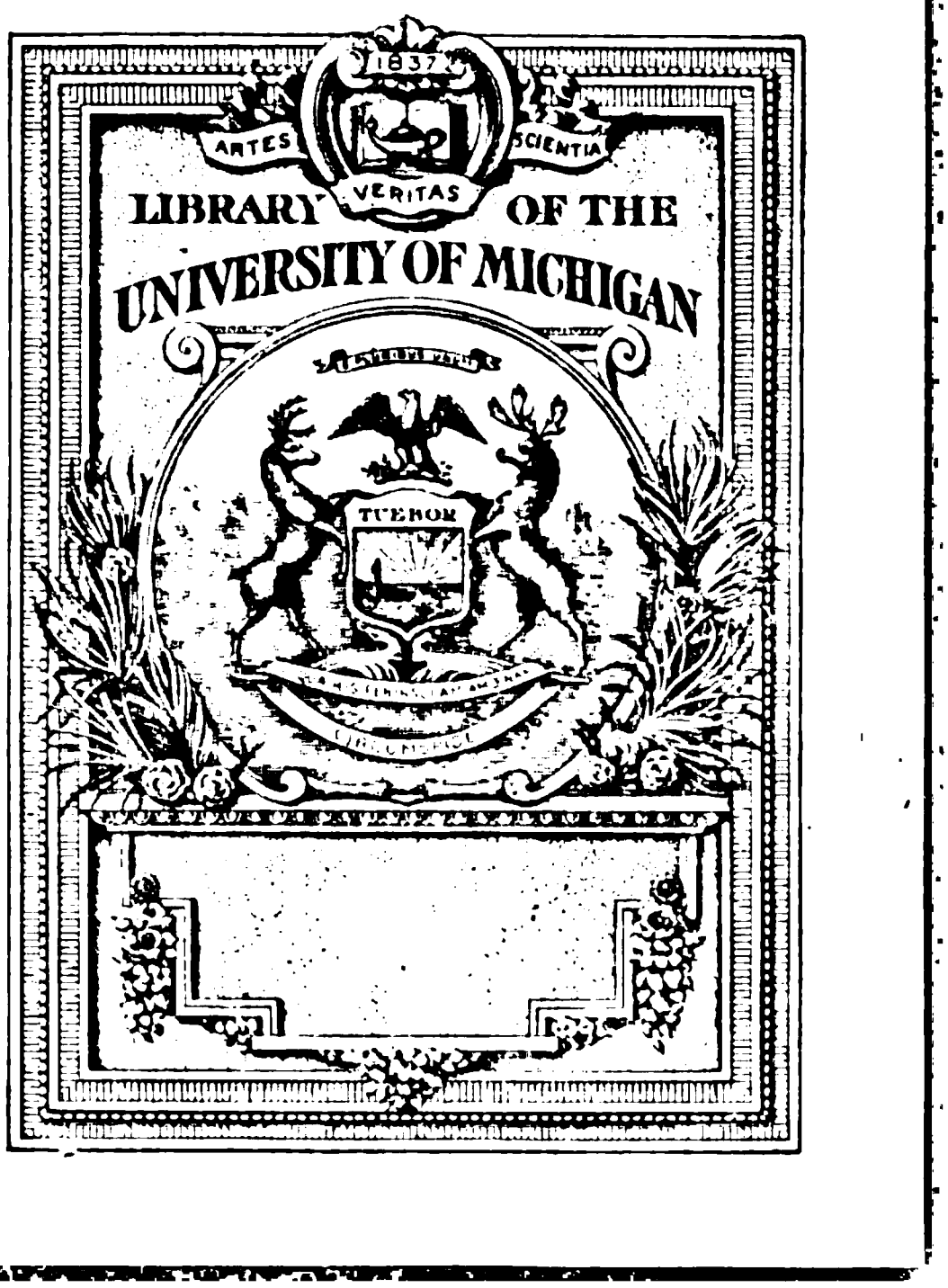
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THE

OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

CHURCH CONGRESS,

HELD AT

DERBY, OCTOBER, 1882.

THE

OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

CHURCH CONGRESS,

HELD AT DERBY,

ON OCTOBER 3RD, 4TH, 5TH, AND 6TH,

1882.

EDITED BY THE REV. C. DUNKLEY,

Vicar of S. Mary's, Wolverhampton,
Formerly Senior Assistant-Curate of S. Alkmund, Derby.

London:
BEMROSE & SONS, 23, OLD BAILEY;
AND DERBY.

1882.

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PREFACE.

IT is scarcely to be expected that a Volume of the size and character of a Church Congress Report, the joint contribution of about 200 authors, can be hurried through the press in the brief space of two months, or thereabouts, and be altogether free from errors. Nevertheless, the Editor sends it forth on its errand, in the belief that no serious defect will disfigure its pages, and that it will prove in every respect worthy to rank among its companion volumes, the Reports of previous Church Congresses.

No pains have been spared by the Editor and his colleagues to obtain, and to produce, a complete and accurate account of the discussions and proceedings at the Derby Church Congress, as a permanent record.

In editing the Report for the Secretaries and Committee, my first duty is to acknowledge, on their behalf, the very valuable services which the Official Reporter (Mr. C. Basil Cooke) and the Publishers (Messrs. Bemrose and Sons) have rendered. It is to the forethought, promptitude, and care of Mr. Cooke, who has also acted as Sub-editor, and to the perfect arrangements made by Mr. H. H. Bemrose, that both the completeness of the volume and its unusually early issue must be attributed. The very efficient help given by these gentlemen reduced my editorial labours to a minimum, and turned an otherwise exacting and anxious task into a comparatively light and pleasant duty.

It would be an impertinence on my part to express an opinion upon the merits of the papers and speeches delivered at the Congress, and herein contained; yet I may be allowed to embody in this prefatory notice the judgment of a veteran Congressionist, Mr. A. J. B. Beresford-Hope, who, at the final meeting, said—"The general level of high intellectual thought has been most remarkable." This

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testimony, I may add, is confirmed on all sides. That this should have been the case is very largely due to a circumstance which it would not be right to pass over without mention. I refer to the very close attention which the Right Rev. President himself gave to the work of preparation for the Congress. To have had at the helm one who has taken an active part in Church Congresses from the time that they were instituted, was a guarantee (other circumstances being favourable) for the success of the twenty-second meeting. The Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Maclagan) was present at every meeting of the Subjects Committee, and spared himself no labour to perfect the Programme of Subjects, and to secure the presence and help of representative and able men. It would be multiplying words to no purpose if I were to do more than acknowledge how much the Secretaries and the Committee are indebted to the Ven. Archdeacon Emery for counsel and guidance through the whole course of preparation, as well as during Congress week.

One subject of a special character seems to call for a short Editorial remark. It is, I believe, generally understood that ladies are not usually allowed on the Congress platform, as Readers and Speakers; this year, however (as at Newcastle last year) an exception was made, and Miss Ellice Hopkins, at the invitation of the Committee, addressed two Sectional Meetings upon the Legal and Social Protection of our Girls. The discussion which followed is, for obvious reasons, omitted from the Official Report. It is very satisfactory to be able to add that there has been some practical outcome of this Special Section, in the formation of a Society to further its objects.

One other characteristic of the Derby Congress deserves notice here. A very successful effort was made to bring out the Mission side of the Church Congress. Day by day throughout the week masses of work-people were addressed at their respective workshops, foundries, etc. The Secretaries have a record of twenty-five such gatherings, and there were others of which no note was made. The numbers at the various centres varied from 250 to 2,500. The Committee owe a debt of gratitude to all those who assisted in the work, especially to speakers, such as the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Liverpool and Nelson, Archdeacon Watkins, Sydney Gedge, Esq., and others, who to their Congress duties added this labour of love. A weekly service in a large factory, commenced at the request of the workpeople, is only one of the many happy reminiscences and results of these meetings.

I may be allowed, I trust, without appearing presumptuous, to add

one word upon a detail of Congress arrangements, and to make one suggestion. Objection is from time to time taken by some *habitués* of Church Congresses to the Sectional Meetings. Local circumstances must always determine many matters of detail, but I feel persuaded it would be a mistake to omit these meetings; partly on account of the many subjects that are always pressing for ventilation, partly that without the Sectional Meetings a sufficient variety of subjects could scarcely be provided for discussion, and partly that Church Congress audiences are growing to an enormous size.

I will now venture to make a suggestion bearing upon this last point. It is desired on all hands to give the working-men an opportunity to take part in the debates; and I would suggest that at the evening meetings in the Section Hall, subjects that would have a special interest and attraction for the masses should be discussed. The admission to these meetings might be by a free ticket, or by a small payment. Other details would require consideration; but if some such arrangement could be determined upon, and kept in view from the beginning of the work of preparation, I believe that there would be no difficulty in carrying it through successfully. At any rate, it is quite worth while trying to enlist the co-operation of the intelligent mechanic and artisan in our Congress proceedings.

The Report is sent forth in the earnest hope that it may contribute to the greater glory of God, further the extension of Christ's Church, and quicken and deepen the spiritual life of the Members thereof.

C. DUNKLEY.

Derby,
November 28th, 1882.

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President.

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Lichfield.

Vice-Presidents.

CLERGY.

The Lord Archbishop of Armagh.
The Lord Archbishop of Dublin.
The Lord Bishop of Durham.
The Lord Bishop of Winchester.
The Lord Bishop of Llandaff.
The Lord Bishop of Ripon.
The Lord Bishop of Norwich.
The Lord Bishop of Bangor.
The Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
The Lord Bishop of S. Albans.
The Lord Bishop of Hereford.
The Lord Bishop of Peterborough.
The Lord Bishop of Lincoln.
The Lord Bishop of Salisbury.
The Lord Bishop of Carlisle.
The Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.
The Lord Bishop of Oxford.
The Lord Bishop of Manchester.
The Lord Bishop of Chichester.
The Lord Bishop of S. Asaph.
The Lord Bishop of Ely.
The Lord Bishop of S. David's.
The Lord Bishop of Truro.
The Lord Bishop of Rochester.
The Lord Bishop of Liverpool.
The Lord Bishop of Newcastle.
The Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man.
The Lord Bishop of Tuam.
The Lord Bishop of Derry.
The Lord Bishop of Kilmore.
The Lord Bishop of Cork.
The Bishop of Moray, Primus of Scotland.
The Bishop of S. Andrews.
The Bishop of Edinburgh.
The Bishop of Aberdeen.
The Bishop of Glasgow.
The Bishop of Brechin.
The Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.
The Bishop of Dover.
The Bishop of Nottingham.
The Bishop of Bedford.
Bishop Perry.
Bishop Ryan.
Bishop Macdougall.
Bishop Courtenay.
*Bishop Abraham.
Bishop Claughton.
Bishop Staley.
The Bishop of Tasmania.
Bishop Jenner.
*Bishop Kelly.
Bishop Oxenden.
Bishop Cheetham.
Bishop Wilkinson.
Bishop Mitchinson.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury.
The Very Rev. the Dean of York.
The Very Rev. the Dean of S. Paul's.
*The Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Manchester, Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, York.
†The Ven. the Archdeacon of Ely.
*The Ven. the Archdeacon of Derby.
The Ven. the Archdeacon of Salop.
*The Ven. the Archdeacon of Stafford.
*The Ven. the Archdeacon of Stoke-upon-Trent.
*The Rev. Canon Lonsdale, Lichfield.
*The Rev. Canon Curteis, Lichfield.
The Rev. the Lord Scarsdale.
The Rev. Sir G. Wilmot-Horton, Bart.

† *Permanent Secretary to the Church Congress.*

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CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECTS.

I.—EVANGELISTIC WORK OF THE CHURCH.

(1) Abroad—Foreign Missions.
- (*a*) Organisation of Native Churches.
- (*b*) Missionary Centres.
- (*c*) Medical Missions. Woman's Work.

(2) At Home.
- (*a*) Neglect of Public Worship—Causes and Remedies.
- (*b*) The Church and Revival Movements.

(3) The Duty of the Church to—
- (*a*) Criminals.
- (*b*) Paupers and Vagrants.
- (*c*) Canal Populations.

(4) The Jews.
- (*a*) Present Religious Condition.
- (*b*) Their Prospects.
- (*c*) The Duty of the Church to them.

II.—APOLOGETIC WORK OF THE CHURCH.

(1) The Church and other Communions.
- (*a* The Controversy with Rome.
- (*b*) The Deficiencies of Dissent.
- (*c*) Possibilities of Re-union or Inter-communion.

(2) The Church and Modern Thought.
- (*a*) The Limits of Authority and Free-thought.
- (*b*) The Harmony of Science and Faith.
- (*c*) The Dependence of Morality upon Revelation.

(3) Political Relations of the Church.
- (*a*) The Church and the Crown.
- (*b*) The Church and Parliament.
- (*c*) The Church and Democracy.

III.—ADMINISTRATIVE.

(1) Church Discipline.
- (*a*) Disciplinary Laws as affecting the Clergy—Criminous and Negligent Clerks.
- (*b*) Church Courts.
- (*c*) Canonical Obedience.

(2) Synodical Action.
- (*a*) Diocesan Synods.
- (*b*) Church Boards.
- (*c*) Central Council of Diocesan Conferences.

IV.—INNER WORK OF THE CHURCH.

(1) Extension of Church Ministries.
- (*a*) Coadjutor Bishops—Suffragan and Assistant.
- (*b*) The Diaconate.
- (*c*) Minor Orders.

(2) The Liturgy.
- (*a*) The Ideal of Liturgical Worship in the Church of England.
- (*b*) Proposals for Liturgical Improvement.

INNER WORK OF THE CHURCH—*continued.*

(3) The Clergy.
  (*a*) Beneficed Clergy—The Voice of the Church in the appointment of Bishops and Parish Priests.
  (*b*) Unbeneficed Clergy—Position and Prospects.

(4) Temperance Work.
  Remedial Treatment of Inebriates.

(5) Preventive Work. (Special Section.)
  The Legal and Social Protection of Our Girls.
    Meeting for Clergy and Laity (Men only).
    Meeting for Ladies only.

V.—INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH.

(1) Devotional Subject.
  (*a*) Devotional Study of Holy Scripture.
  (*b*) The Holy Communion in Relation to Personal Devotion.
  (*c*) The Conscience: its nature and needs.
  (*d*) Association for Prayer and Progress in the Spiritual Life.
  (*e*) The Holy Communion in Relation to Christ our example.
  (*f*) The Devotional Use of Hymns.
  (*g*) Enrichment of Private Prayer.

(2) Unity of Belief in Relation to Diversities of Thought.

VI.—COLLATERAL SUBJECTS.

(1) The Church and Morals.
  (*a*) Morality in Trade.
  (*b*) Morality in Politics.
  (*c*) Morality in Private Affairs.

(2) The Church in Relation to Domestic and Social Life.
  (*a*) The Upper Classes.
  (*b*) The Dwellings of the Poor.
  (*c*) The Recreations of the People.

CHURCH CONGRESS, 1882.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To 3,219 Members' Tickets, at 6s....	965	14	0
779 Day Tickets, at 2s. 6d.	97	7	6
273 Platform Tickets, at 2s. 6d.	34	2	6
Sale of Guides	3	6	4
	£1,100	10	4

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.
By Rent of Rooms, Erection of Platform, Decorations, &c.	368	14	7
Printing, Stationery, Bill Posting, &c....	167	6	9
Advertising	101	12	9
Postage Stamps, Telegrams, &c.	46	14	0
Salaries and Wages	118	1	9
Sundries	24	17	8
Publishing List of Visitors	2	2	0
Reporting, &c.	100	18	6
Balance, paid over to the Southwell Bishopric Fund...	170	2	4
	£1,100	10	4

Balance Sheet.

I have this day Audited the above Account and find it correct.

November 29th, 1882.

JOHN F. THIRLBY, *Auditor.*

THE SERMON

BY

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,

PREACHED IN

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, DERBY,

ON TUESDAY, OCT. 3RD, 1882.

"Hold Thou me up, and I shall be safe."—*Psalm* cxix. 117.

AT every great meeting of believers where prayer is offered, the sacrament of the death of Christ celebrated, and the truth of God earnestly sought, the Day of Pentecost seems to dawn again, and the presence of the Holy Spirit is not only sought, but given, given on the assurance of the promise of the Lord that He would be in the midst of us; given on His promise to hear holy prayers; given on account of His love, which will not see His children struggling in a fallen world without sending them consolation. It is no matter of speculation whether any such supernatural presence ought or not to be expected. If the Spirit of our God is not here, our time is wasted, our discussions useless; we have grieved Him by some fault of ours; we have driven Him from that home which He would have made with us; and a great occasion has been lost for want of Him. If ever we had occasion to resort for guidance to the holy throne, this is such an occasion. The trials of the Church for the next few years seem to be of a new type. We have no open persecution to fear, as when

> "Diocletian's fiery sword
> Worked, busy as the lightning."
>
> *Wordsworth.*

I suppose no time has ever been more favourable for giving what is called "fair play" to the Church. Rome, in old days

tolerated everything but Christianity ; England tolerates everything. The times are peaceful ; the flock secure ; the duties of the shepherd plain. Yet there are dangers peculiar to the time. A mighty tide of thought is rising before us. Other tides have been like the eruption of Etna, fierce and terrible, but moving slowly, and confined in narrow space. The viscous flood of fire has wrapt round tree and homestead and made them ashes. This flood is like the tide of the great sea that penetrates every part : undermining the children's castle on the sand, and flowing into every stone of the pier, and taking invisible tribute from the cliff, so that no particle that is below sea-level can escape the contact. Such a flood of thought seems rising on the modern world ; and it will leave no inch dry ; and that which is soluble it is likely to dissolve, and that which is ancient and strong it will touch and test, and only that which is above the waterfloods will entirely escape its effects.

I doubt for my own part whether any former time has presaged severer tasks for the Church ; I doubt whether any moment has been big with greater dangers than those of which this century is in travail. Some speak as if all changes in the world were but a change from evil to evil—from bad to worse ; as if the Apostle's words—" We know that we are of God and the whole world lieth in wickedness " (1 John v. 19)—were an account of the whole frame of creation and its working ; whereas they are a contrast of the little Church of Christ with the multitude of those who still lay under the power of the devil. The progress of the world, so far as it is the development of justice, knowledge, and mutual help, is Divine ; it is good, and every good and perfect gift comes and can come from one source only.

It is one of the fruits of the Reformation that the Church and the State are no longer regarded as enemies, but as two distinct powers, working each for the good of man, the one in the road of civil freedom and security and happiness ; and the other with the object of moral freedom, peace of mind, and eternal hope for the people of God. United as Church and State, or severed as a Church within a State, this is the purpose of the Church and the State. And we of the clergy understand that much better than we used to do ; and in such subjects as encouragements to temperance, to thrift, to recreations of the people, readings, lectures, newsrooms, and the like, we step out and do our best to help the State towards law and order and civil improvement ; confessing thus that the progress of civilisation helps the progress of religion. Let us keep before us this idea. Science in itself is no enemy of Christ ; secular culture in itself is not an enemy ; civil government is no enemy ; " the powers that be are ordained of God."

But at this moment, the modern spirit is making progress round us with a rapidity which the Church has not yet learned to

measure. Your programme shows that this Conference knows many difficulties, and does not mean to shun them. But it is no reproach to the clergy in general if I say, uniting myself wholly with them in this matter, that within a few years changes have come over the horizon of thought which cast a shadow upon every part of the field of our teaching, which we have only just begun to discern, and which we are not yet prepared to grapple with. I will try to indicate some of them.

Over the remains of one of the most eminent naturalists the grave has lately closed. Whether he was the inventor of the system which bears and will bear his name, or Lamarck and Wallace claim a share, matters not to us now. He has made a complete revolution in the mode in which enquirers now regard the physical world. I do not say it ought to be so; but that it is. And my proof would be drawn, not from enthusiasm of followers, but rather from admissions of opponents, who whilst protesting against the extravagant deductions of Darwin and his followers, admit at the same time that new light has been thrown on dark places in natural history by the new system. In rather more than twenty years it has made itself a place in the thought of all countries. Whatever truth there may be in it, it is not to be disposed of by mere denial and ridicule. If there be, in common phrase, "something in it," our business is to find that something, to set bounds to it by the truth that comes from another side, and so to disarm it of any lurking mischief. That the thinker that founded the system was an honest enquirer into the facts of nature, following where research led him, with no afterthought of the effect on religion, with no wish to shake our faith in a Creator, those who know his writings declare. That he shines more in research than in inferences from research, it is competent to us to believe. That the so-called struggle for existence is no more a complete account of the present condition of the world of nature, than a thunderstorm is the cause of the river, whose flood it helps by small degrees to swell, we shall see more and more clearly.

Nor must we confound these researches with the crude materialism which borrows some help from them. A new induction has been made from physical facts; its novelty has startled and distressed us. It may be criticised, revised, even superseded by other inductions; but as it was needless for the Church to urge Copernicus to revoke his astronomy, so will our children see that new views of natural history cannot kill the spirit, or prevent it from turning to God for strength and comfort, or from conceiving immortal hopes. If it be true that something new has been discovered, it is for us to seek the guidance of the Holy Ghost, to teach us how and where the discovery touches the Gospel which we preach. It is for us to recall under the same guidance the truths which we have to remember from our Master. In no spirit

of panic fear, but in trust on God, should we approach the new difficulty presented to us.

Some find a resource in drawing a line between two kinds of truth. Leaving nature to take care of herself, they desire only to study the moral and spiritual parts of man, and to work on these, with the message of forgiveness and of eternal life. But apart from the fact that God is the God of nature as of grace, you will find that it is impossible to maintain this separation, for the confines of it are already assailed. Attempts are made to apply the new theories to morality, as to all else that concerns man. The last theory is that mankind, struggling upward from unexplored depths of being, and fighting fiercely for survival in a world too narrow, finds the needs of social ties, to reinforce the single hand with allies for the struggle: that society developes sympathy, and that sympathy, ever increasing, tempers and will finally subdue selfishness and the grasping instincts and desires. The sense of right and wrong, therefore, is the result of the opinion of society acting on our mind; and it is needless to seek any higher sanctions. That view of life would indeed be fatal to our work. And it is useless to deny that under the form of utilitarian morality, or of the morals of evolution, it leavens the popular belief far and wide. It is not all new. Since the days of Bentham, it has found special favour in England; there is a spurious practical character about it, that suits our temper. We ought so to act as to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number of men.

But this is to put calculation for duty. What is happiness? What will procure it? Does it matter one way or the other to the general happiness if one or two shall indulge their private vices? Can men not so regulate their vices that they may even benefit the general body? There are good answers to all these questions; but they cannot be drawn from this philosophy. And they are questions which are put, and in the hour of temptation, just when an imperative rule and order are most needed. We need not long-drawn calculations to give us strength; we need "Thou shalt," and "Thou shalt not," from some higher sphere. Natural science cannot speak them. "The Divine is heard," to quote the words of Professor Müller, "in the I 'ought,' which nature does not know and cannot teach. Everything in nature is or is not, is necessary or contingent, true or false. There is no room in nature for the 'I ought' as little as there is in logic or geometry."* No natural inference can be higher than nature herself. Such a system of morals as this, made out of man's ingenuity, is alterable by man. We know the wood of which this idol is made; it grew with us; we have warmed ourselves and cooked by it; it is hard if we cannot

* Preface to Kant's Critique.

alter the form of it which we have made after the figure of a man, into some shape that we think more beautiful and convenient.* Cases can be conceived in which this kind of right and wrong change places. It might be used to justify parricide in the story of the Cenci. It is used to justify foul murders in Russia and in Ireland. General utility would be promoted by some system; and therefore it is lawful to remove a living obstacle from the paths of that system; lawful, were there not an awful voice, "Thou shalt not kill." Do not sacrifice thyself and thy precious life at the call of duty, this system says to the missionary, to the explorer, to the doctor in the plague time, to the soldier in the battle; it is for the general good that precious lives should be preserved. And if Christ had considered His life precious, a world would have gone unsaved. True morality speaks to us from Sinai; from the Sermon on the Mount; from the suffering Saviour's call—"Deny thyself; take up thy cross, and follow Me;" and the power of it lies in our inner conviction, that He who thus speaks has a right over us; that what He utters is not a result of nice calculation, but an eternal law; that that law is the law of God.

It is no new thing to the Church that the world teems with misery. She has never shrunk from the duty of bringing it succour; and whatever may be said about the shortcomings of the present time, no one can deny that its charity is open-handed, far-seeking, and enlightened. Seeing that much of the sorrow that is in the world comes from those who suffer by their own acts, she tries to teach temperance and thrift, and industry, and with growing success. But what can we say of that great mass of misery that cannot thus be reached? Trade will rise and fall: there must be labour enough for its highest level, and for every lowering of the level some must be displaced; in great depressions, famine and fever are the inevitable results; even in the small, the children cry for bread, and homes break up, and the worker's hand grows weaker. One of the workers told us lately, that even the employed labourer suffers from hunger from one week to another; and perhaps the wife and children suffer more. It is true to say that some of this is the man's own fault; but how does that improve it? If I see the misery, I grieve for that; if a fault caused the misery, then I grieve for the fault and the misery. We could bear to look on this if we thought it a time of discipline, to be followed by a time of peace and comfort; we could even be content in it if those who suffer could partly be helped through the evil day, and partly were sustained by the hope of a life where God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. But when men go

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* Cf. Isaiah xliv. 13.

about among them and point to this condition as a proof that there is no Divine government at all; when those who suffer most are most tempted to quit their one consolation, there seems only one refuge from despair. God is not the author of evil; He is the sender of succour to it. We have not yet come near the boundaries of succour, and we know not how much may still be removed from society by Christian pains. All we have to do is to recognise the immense mass of trouble and sorrow, and to urge every one who loves Christ to do his part in its relief. We belong to Him, to whom "at even when the sun did set they brought all that were diseased and them that were possessed with devils, and He healed them." The love of Christ shall thus have its perfect work, its fullest scope, through us that believe on Him, and who can yet tell how many of the evils which now deform a fallen world may not be removed by that exceeding love?

One more feature of the modern movement cannot be omitted. The Reformation vindicated for men their right to betake themselves to God and to Christ directly, for forgiveness and for peace, without the interposition or hindrance of any human power. It did not seek to change the constitution of the Church. Melancthon writes, "Would that it were posssible not to confirm and strengthen episcopal domination, but to restore episcopal administration." Nor was it a democratic movement, as some have represented it. The history of this country bears witness to that. But now, in all European countries, there is a stirring of the people towards democracy which cannot be overlooked. The theory of universal brotherhood and equality, which Christianity founded in a common origin of man and a common interest in redemption, now gathers strength on all sides from the ideal, so men phrase it, of human nature, and its claims of justice. The Christian idea is examined and dismissed by modern philosophy because it rests on motives external to and above man; on redemption and the love of God. The equality of man shall rest for modern society on justice and the nature of man. On which it may be remarked that if Christianity appears to be mystic and transcendental in its theory to some people, it has done a great deal more practical work in the direction of freedom and equality than any other system with like aim; for we owe it hospitals, our educational system, the abolition of slavery, recognition of women's rights and worth, missions to savage peoples. And if these blessings come slowly, it is sufficient for my purpose now that they have come; whilst the other system, by which the work of emancipation is to be done, is only beginning to wake. It woke for the French Revolution, which upon the text of liberty preached terror, judicial murder, universal war, a tyranny, and thousands slain in battle. It will wake, and with spasmodic efforts, will

aim at new forms of government, at new rights in the land, even at new forms of distributing all property. With what issues, no man would dare to say.

Can the Church be indifferent to such a movement? It is a kind of parody on her own laws; love one another, was the new commandment for the new brotherhood of the cross; do to men as thou wouldest have them do to thee, is an epitome of the Divine law of our dealings with men. The new doctrine may be the Church's opportunity. She cannot turn away from it as mere politics.

Such are some of the problems with which the Church of the coming generation will have to deal. They are hard, but they are not impossible for it. Let us not commit the mistake which is so common, of thinking that the worst of all ages is our age, which means only this, that we live in this age and have not been called on to live in another. When you that are young shall have lived your life, and shall be looking to the future, like some of us, with a disinterested eye, as on a conflict which you shall not share, troubles even greater than the present may seem to blacken on your horizon. But will our present methods and conduct be sufficient for all the troubles that we foresee? Few of us will think so. Oh! that the time past may have sufficed us for our squabbles and our littleness! Oh! that the hosts that rise and murmur at our gate, asking food and guidance and wealth and power, may find us watching, alert, instructed, able to meet them in the gate with answers to their demands; for this we need a learned and thoughtful clergy, a greater cohesion among all classes, a deeper love of order, less spirit of caste among the clergy, more feeling for those without, a far more devoted zeal.

But I am speaking as if our power to meet our troubles depended on the development of new qualities in us. Our position is that you cannot account for the creation, that you cannot offer men a binding moral law, that you cannot comfort them in the depth of their distress, that you cannot hope to guide their aspirations after freedom and happiness, but by the doctrine of a Creator, of a Redeemer, of a Divine Spirit working in and with the soul. Upon this the Church of God must stand or fall; we are agreed on that point. I can but offer a hint or two to guide thoughts that are already in your minds.

Upon the subject of the origin of things, natural history brings no light. She does not pretend to say what was the beginning nor what will be the end. Supposing material particles once in existence, she cannot tell why they have moved in a marvellous progression, rather than in an endless circle of chaotic disorder. What is there in matter, living or inert, to account for its tending towards a world of beauty, towards Newton and Shakespeare, rather than towards an

endless round of slime or fiery mists? Nay; if the higher stages of creation not only surpass, but also in a sense contradict the lower, natural history cannot tell us why. "Change from unchangeable matter, death from the imperishable, motion from absolute rest, life from the dead, sense from the senseless, purpose from causes acting blindly, intelligence from the unintelligent, spirit from the unspiritual,"—such are the contradictions which, according to Hoffmann, the materialist must accept. The properties of matter, living or dead, are unequal to account for such transformations. To endow the atom with such informing power, is to make an idol of it; to escape from the idea of a creation, we make our idol create. Materialism explains nothing; it leaves harder questions than it solves. Looking out upon the splendour of the world, upon the summer in its beauty, and the sea in its might, upon the deep perspective of the stars—

> "Those stars whose steps are worlds, above and under,
> Glory on glory, wonder upon wonder"

—the little atom and its little doings will not content us. "Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their host by number: He calleth them all by names by the greatness of His might, for that He is strong in power; not one faileth." You will never eradicate this view of creation; for we that think it are a part of the creation, and the consciousness of a Father's power comes to us as birthright, and beats in the pulses of our blood. Our faith in our Heavenly Father does not depend on our interpretations of portions of the Divine records; we have modified that interpretation as we understood astronomy and geology better in past times. We have accepted the new explanation, and have perhaps confessed that we had wrongly expected a treatise on science in the Book of God's dealings with men. And still the Father looks upon His children, and they answer when He says, "All those things hath My hand made." Is it otherwise in the field of morals? It is not. There is the same kind of contradiction between premises and conclusion in modern teaching. "Natural selection," says an able writer, "is hate and war; charity is love and peace. If natural selection is the only law of progress; if warfare alone has brought forth the first virtues, and created nations; if man has not in his reason and in his heart a principle of justice and goodness of which natural theories take no account, destined some day to destroy war itself for evermore, the more intelligent and better-armed races will be bound, on pain of failing in their mission of progress, to enslave the inferior races." Suspect that substitute for Christian love, with its new name of Altruism, and the sword-hilt peeping from under its pilgrim's dress. No doubt social progress has restrained selfishness. Men have

had to lop off this and that indulgence, upon a tacit compact with society that on such terms the rest of their comforts shall be left them. It even leads men to make charitable gifts, and support good institutions. But its power is very limited. The miser, the cynic, the sensualist, the slothful, may still indulge their sin, and satisfy the perfunctory calls of social life. Lovest thou Me? Love one another. These words come from another region; and their power is great still. "The love of Christ constraineth us" to love as He loves. Love is a germinal principle in the soul, which will spread over all the soil in which it grows, and will overpower the lower growths and possess the whole soul. Let the Church still proclaim, with voice clear as a trumpet-call, the mystery of the Redeemer's love. It still has power to raise and to transform. In this revival meeting, in that wild march of a Salvation Army, it is this message, or it is nothing, which stirs the human spirit. We may not like the methods; we may desire greater order and less emotion: but the message of the Cross stirs men. We may shake our heads, and say it will not last; as if Church history from the first had not contained a sad chapter about the lapsed—the men whose faith did not last. In some the seed will die, and in some the seed will grow and last; but it has Divine life, or it would not grow in any. Christ, God and Man, is a law and a life to men, because He is their benefactor, and has given them life from the dead; and their conscience knows, or is ready to know it.

Credit this, oh Church beloved of Christ, dwelt in by the Holy Spirit, the people that sit in sorrow need but to know what you desire to tell them. Tell them to look on Jesus, and to love Him; that He is still travelling among them in the greatness of His strength, and mighty to save. Tell them that Christ is their best example and their dearest friend. He can unfasten from their backs the "strangling load" of sin, and launch them, free men, in a course of highest duties; can give strength for labour, and sickness, and loss of friends. The promises that society will grow unselfish by degrees are easy to make: they are drafts on a future civilisation payable a thousand years after date. Christ is here, and now. Take Him into your heart, and He is yours to-day; and by to-morrow He will have begun to change your life. Be it ours to bring Jesus Christ more directly before the conscience of the people. The story of His life draws all men unto Him. Those who have seen Him have seen the Father; for they can realise a Father's love, by the help of a life of love lived by One who dwelt amongst men as one of themselves. His life is in itself a refutation of the theory of duty evolved from society and civilisation. When the Jew's heart was faint with the failure of promises, and the Gentile's heart was sated and disgusted with sinful indulgence, then started out of that soil the fairest lily of a holiest life, the subject of the world's wonder

ever since. Not from the stony ground of Judaism, not from the foul fatness of bloated heathenism, did this flower spring. It did not, and it could not. Here, 1800 years later, men work out, in theory, equality of man and dignity of man. There is a shorter road; learn of Him who told us centuries since that men are equal in the sight of God, and are clothed in the dignity of redeemed children of His kingdom. A power such as no king ever wielded is His already: power over laws and customs—power over human hearts—power to bring peace and forgiveness. And the sources of it are easy to find. Man wants peace and forgiveness from sin; and Christ is felt to be the Redeemer that he seeks. The power of the Lord has been present to heal them. Man, discoursing much of many discoveries, may show us much that is new of the world and of his own nature, and we need not fear to follow it. What is false in it will pass away: what is true must harmonise with that other truth—that to this end Christ both died and rose and revived, that He might be Lord both of the dead and the living. We shall often be perplexed and shall faint, hardly seeing the truth. But the Church of Christ is a Church of prayer and praise; and this is the sum of her worship—"Hold Thou us up, and we shall be safe."

THE SERMON

BY

THE LORD BISHOP OF TRURO,

PREACHED IN

ST. ALKMUND'S CHURCH, DERBY,

ON TUESDAY, OCT. 3RD, 1882.

"He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till He have set judgment in the earth."—*Isaiah* xlii. 4.

"GOD, Christ, and our own souls." This was the sacred motto and motive under which many of us were brought up. "God, Christ, and our own souls." This was the knowledge which differenced earnestness from thoughtlessness. This the mark towards which, the power with which, we were to work.

And the watchword took us on so far that we only realised what a spell it had been when first we learnt that it could not carry us beyond a certain line. The time came when, having learnt more about our own souls, we could no longer confine them to the thought of "God, Christ, and the individual." The "I" had become to us but a fragment, though a living fragment, of a greater and more real Being and Entity. The individual "I" was not lost, but more truly found in the contemplation of the Church of God. To the sincere individual life succeeded (in most religious men's thoughts) a fuller, more vividly animated, rapidly expanding life in the corporate sanctity of the communion of Christ. So soon as through penitence and faith in "God and Christ" "our own souls" are justified, there are few now to whom complete sanctification seems a thing attainable without something of that sympathy which binds in one the whole Body of Christ.

But in our progress from grace to grace, from knowledge to

knowledge, how natural that there should be stages at which larger and larger aggregates of souls should be taken (as it were) into our ken and reckoning, as supplying to us what we want in the way of sympathy and communion and the grace which flows from unity, without our perceiving at any one such stage how very partially these represent the human Unity which, as His sum of consolation, Christ needed most sorely and prayed for most passionately. We may long remain far from realising how high and fresh would flow the springtides of grace and love and power for every individual, if Christendom lay, not all lakelets and pools, but as one ocean bosom heaving with the one attraction, and swayed by the one dominion of her Lord.

And naturally, in any individual, and in any lesser aggregate which entertains no desire to forget itself in the whole, the serious mention of more unity stirs something of displeasure, something of contempt. Faith forgets herself, and recommends us to talk of something practical.

But, on the other hand, so long as this failure of love and work for truth in unity, and unity by the truth exists, much grace there may be shed abroad: but "all that power given unto Him in heaven and earth,' "that kingdom which He appointed unto us as His Father appointed unto Him"—*where is it?*

Whenever, therefore, large spontaneous self-summoned meetings—called by the largest names—assemble themselves, we may be pardoned an anxiety that our aims and hopes should be high enough and broad enough.

Were the object to procure impressiveness or acquire facility in action for the Church as a party, this might be a legitimate, but would be an earthly purpose only. Were its object to advance the clerical interest or some official representation of the kingdom of heaven, it would, though it began ever so purely, promote in the main a spirit and temper which has been allowed too many ventures, and forgiven too many wrecks already.

But if the purpose of the Congress be far other than these—if the master-thought has been to "build up the Body of Christ," "to build it up ἐν ἀγαπῃ in, by, and with love";—if within, "the whole family in heaven and earth" has been tenderly thought of;—if to those without there has been afforded some dignity of evidence that "the temple of God is with men"—then we have only to take care that in our year there shall be no declension from that singleness.

Whatever their honest differing convictions, there surely is but one hope, one fear, thrilling the Churchmen who read the momentous list of questions to be agitated here. For what we hope or fear is simply what works towards the great end and what against it. With one heart we scan the one question that sums all these questions—*What is Christ to the World to-day?* Is He more or less than He was? The adversary was never so

loud that all efforts, not only for Church but for Christianity, are coming to a period. And *we* know, whatever be our assurance of the final issue, that there are retrograde movements in every stream. Is our own era literally witnessing one of these? Is the progressive force of Christianity certainly stronger than what is opposed to it? or is there, from whatever cause, a check to its advance?

Plainly we have to ask and answer such questions as observers as well as believers. Our faith must illuminate, not bias, our reason.

I need not attempt to enumerate the forces against us. Some of the most modern are modern only in their terminology. But no Christian can undervalue their greatness. As to really new groups of theories, they seem to be receiving an accession in various forms of a neo-naturalism, not deficient in reverence, but inspired with considerable veneration for an unknown Nature-Power. Moreover, it is irrational to ignore the positive forms which such a tendency might one day take in conjunction with the universal instincts of worship.

And there must be added, as further against us, a social theory —if it has attained to the name—which ignores the enormously vaster final benefits obtained for society out of possessions held by corporations, in comparison with those held by private owners, and which would like to act accordingly. But we need not dwell on this, not only because it is certain that, under all circumstances, the Church will always command great resources, but also because, on the large scale we must use, thought ultimately rules policy, not policy thought.

And further there must be added as a real force against us the weakening theories of those philosophical Christians who hold that oppositions from within are an effective stimulus, and divisions in the Church a legitimate realising of divers functions.

For the New Testament, whatever it may indicate as to the early existence of parties (though to name them Petrine, Pauline, and the like, is to give them an unreal solidity), assigns them wholly to the domain of the flesh. It recognises no counteractions; but only such harmonious diversity of mutually supporting duty as the nerve-messages and brain-supremacy of one only body maintain in absolute sweetness of unity. It owns nothing further apart than foot and hand and head.

Silently owning both the antiquity, and the number, and the awfulness of the principalities and spiritual powers which crowd the destructive ranks, let us now consider some of the new signs among ourselves which show whether or no the foe seems likely, speaking humanly, to bear down the Church's influences even for a time.

And in speaking of new signs we must take a fair range of view. What are the tokens of the last fifty years?

Take a statement penned exactly that time since—"The "present anxiety about the Church's temporal relations to the "State so completely engrosses all other subjects connected with "it that it would be absurd in anyone to propose any scheme of "internal reformation. The Church remains powerless for any new "good, and at the utmost only able to preserve itself from ruin." "*Powerless for any new good—only able to preserve itself from ruin.*"

Such was the aspect of the Church of England in 1832—her prospects seen by an observer no less keen, less placid, less large of eye and heart, than Connop Thirlwall.* And an Arnold and a Newman took no other view of what she was.

But *was* the force within her, or upon her, spent or decrepit? No more than that immense physical force which began its career at the same date. The Church wanted nothing but to be brought to bear. And fuel and steel and winds and waters have been subject to the Breath. How all things have sped her on. How she has swung to the helm, and held her course. The Ark of the old world hulled and weltered in the waves. Safety, not progress, was her meaning. But of the modern Ark, when pessimists say their worst, it is that she has moved from her moorings;—as if our Ship of God were built to lie in dock, or rest even on the mountain of Ararat.

But it is well that we should speak first of some boasted principles and forces, which sometimes we may be tempted to admire for their accommodatingness; but which will *not* prevail nor endure the new trials.

No principle can resist the new paganism, which acknowledges any divergence between the fundamentals of morals and religion—or between the fundamentals of science and religion—or which acquiesces in any corruption of society as inevitable.

No principle can resist the new paganism, which substitutes, however slowly, the human for the Divine, or the material for the Spiritual, or is not monotheistic in every incident.

No principle can resist the new paganism, which refuses the consecration of the individual from the moment of his individual existence. None, which individualises local units, and disavows for the Church that solidarity which science establishes for the race. None, which disparages testimony on the ground of what the testimony would establish if accepted; none, which imagines truth or unity can be secured for an hour by the surrender of the distinctive or the disputable.

From beyond the borders much may we learn of life, holy practice, energetic work; the memory of many a non-conforming saint is fragrant to us, and more profitable than to his disciples. But all this is to be widely distinguished from theory. And when their schemes, spreading and shrinking, effervescing and evanescing,

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* Letter to Bunsen, Bishop Thirlwall's Life, p. 104.

from century to century, have done with themselves, the Church will have to bear the brunt of battle still.

Let us now then ask after some few of the phenomena which have developed themselves in the Church of the last fifty years, and founded a future so different from that whose complexion scared both friend and foe at the beginning of this era.

Even if we are silent as to the outburst of organization—sees colonial and missionary, a universally reformed worship, beneficent communities, home missions, multiplied churches; if we are silent as to some manifest developments in thought; we shall still assure ourselves that the Church is not wounded to death, nor Christianity through her side. And by *developments* we mean not the new results of a creed-manufacturing process, but in the true sense, a change or expansion into *equivalent expressions* only, answering to changed circumstances, of principles which the Church was never unconscious of holding.

Within the last fifty years, then, the value has been felt, in ever-increasing ratio, of the great Church principle that fearlessness of enquiry is a paramount duty; that the true faith has always appealed to reason; that what reason could not extract from Scripture or doctrine, without contradicting reason, has never by her been held to be of faith.

Again, it has been taught with increasing clearness that the morals of God are the same as the morals of man: that what man would hate in man may not be attributed to God as His character, or as the ground of any of His actions, or the actions of His servants.

And more, it is of importance to the formation of Christian doctrine that science gives a distinctness to materialism and what is meant by it: that in science itself the material doctrine parts company with loftier views, and indicates plainly in religion the contrasts between *it* and spiritual beliefs.

And then historically. A daily increasing strength to the Church is the removal from her of insincere Christians. In the absence of discipline, who could have expected that the ends of discipline, in matters so delicate as matters of faith, would be answered by scepticism of a conscientious tone? Yet so it is. The Church's strength does not vary as the number of its adherents, but as the reality of their convictions. The hold of Buddhism on the human race is in no proportion to the number of its adherents. These may be ardent worshippers of Vishnu, or followers of Mahomet also. But the power of Christianity will be increased to the tone of the first days when its conventional disciples are withdrawn.

Again, within the Church itself the tendency is real towards solidification. There is a knitting up of ravelled edges. There is a gathering up towards old standards on the one side; on the other there is less inclination than ever to cross the border.

"Rest in the Church" is not a mere yearning. The Higher Life finds satisfactions once undreamed of. Higher life, deeper teachings, are become dearer than passwords.

And surely it is no light gain that, whereas in the oft-envied days, "before poison was poured into the Church," Cyprian, Tertullian, Augustine, speak as matter of course of the ignorant heresies preached and prayed by presbyters and bishops (and heresies then were not more grossly fantastic than monstrously vicious), now most of the sects themselves are not only orthodox, but some of them even shame the Church in zeal for Catholic, even ascetic, practices, and against secular interferences.

Again, such has been the effect of Universities, of kindred schools, of literary journals, that it may be doubted whether even in the most thoughtful and learned periods of the Middle Age and Renaissance, the intelligent interest in theology has ever been more diffused than it is now among cultivated laymen. Certainly the lay interest in Church councils, the lay readiness for personal work, have had no parallel in any former age. If the place of the laity had been acknowledged in the past, where then were the laymen to occupy the acknowledged place?

Without over-confidence, it seems as if the mere historical observer must infer from the phenomena of the present, that avenues of widening magnificence are opening out into the future on every side for the Church's forces, and that these are gathering strength.

But are there no formidable hindrances externally—repressions, which, applied in turn to one party after another, will slowly tame the power, if not of the whole Church, yet, of its really enthusiastic sections? Yes, there are repressions. But they are of that character which in all experience has served to consolidate the strength and ensure the triumph of the repressed.

Unscrupulous adversaries are safe allies. They may be depended upon for the continuity of their useful pressure. Hindrances to the legislation of self-reform, do, not only by the indignation they excite, but by the wariness and skill which they train, and the attention they awaken to our own weak points, at last enable the needed legislation to be carried in the most perfect form, and with the warmest zeal. Opposition to Religious Education in any country which is not in a state of chronic revolution, at last evinces to the most careless the intense importance of the subject. Of disproportionate punishments, no less profound a thinker than Thucydides* himself has written that, "When men have added penalty to penalty, until the whole range of punishment is exhausted, and censures originally mild have culminated in death, and still avail nothing, they will have to invent some greater terror, or to allow that there is no check in this."

* iii. 45.

Not one storm cloud above the horizon is, humanly speaking, freighted with ruin to the Church. As for other predicted perils: if, indeed, an aristocracy (long may our Litanies draw down on ours the "grace, wisdom, and understanding" which shall avert it)—but if an aristocracy were to use its grand position so selfishly as to transform itself into a plutocracy—owning the lands and disowning the land's bond to the people, as to schools and decent dwellings, as to the shelter of old age and the stay of poverty, and a true worship for all—there would soon be a moment of change. But then there is no virtuous force which would not act further to precipitate the *next* change, and so give fresh occasion to "the mother of liberty" to resume that style and title, and remind Church patriarchs of what they have been before—the tribunes of the people. We combine to the uttermost to ward off catastrophe from the world, but not because we think it will crush the Divine life.

But, friends and brethren, it cannot be that, as historical critics only, the Churchmen of Christ, except by a great effort, should survey these fields. What the poet-prophets of Greece and Rome beheld in vision is true. The cities of this world are beleaguered by more than human power and mortal politics—

> Fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem
> Eruit hic *Christus*,
> Ipse Pater nobis animos viresque secundas
> Sufficit.

The armed strong man's palace is come upon by a stronger than he.

Yes—in this hour of fellowship we feel the Presence that, though unfelt, is never absent from this redeemed world's affairs. It is to no pertinacious class, or consecrated order, or indomitable race, that Isaiah ascribes the unbroken constancy, the unswerving generalship, the inalienable majesty of conquest carried on through this whole world's history; it is only to One Human Will united indissolubly with One Divine Person.

He is with us to the end of the world. To Him we look, rectifying our counsels, inspiring our ardour, purifying our errors, charging our very spirits with His divine existence, sealing our victories, founding one universal empire.

To Him we chant, and will chant till the world is won, "He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till He have set judgment in the earth and the isles shall wait for His law."

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

CHURCH CONGRESS,

HELD AT DERBY.

DRILL HALL.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 3RD, 1882.

At 2 p.m. the Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF LICHFIELD took his seat as President, and said:—

MY Lord Archbishop, my Right Rev. Brethren, and my fellow Churchmen,—You will not be surprised if before I begin my inaugural address I ask you to turn your thoughts for a moment to a far different scene from this—to a distant sick bed, where a life very precious to the English Church is hard pressed by the inroads of dangerous disease, and where motherless children are watching beside a suffering father. You will rejoice with me in the more favourable accounts which are now reaching us from Addington day by day. For you will feel with me that the Church of England could ill afford to lose that large heart, that powerful intellect, and that statesman-like capacity, which God has given to us in our present Primate. You will forgive me if I ask you to rise up before God, and to join with me for a moment in special prayer on behalf of our good Archbishop.

A special prayer was then offered; after which the PRESIDENT delivered his

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

I BID you welcome to the Diocese of Lichfield and to this ancient town of Derby. Twice before—once at Wolverhampton under good Bishop Lonsdale, and again at Stoke under the great Bishop Selwyn—"*par nobile patrum*"—the Congress has been received and welcomed

in this Diocese. To-day, the welcome is not less hearty, although it comes from less worthy lips. We value highly the unique honour thus bestowed upon our Diocese, and earnestly hope that the Congress may have no cause to regret the selection it has made. But this honour brings with it a great responsibility. It is no easy work, either for the Bishop, or his colleagues, to make such arrangements as will ensure success. And if, as regards myself, the labour has been less arduous than it might have been, it is owing to the energy and the loyalty with which I have been assisted by the local Secretaries and the various Committees, and to them I desire now, in your presence, to offer my hearty thanks. Our work has been by no means free from difficulty, and we can hardly hope to have succeeded in giving satisfaction to all whom it concerns. Already we have received a good deal of criticism, not always favourable, but of this we have no wish to complain. No man, in public affairs, ought either to despise or to resent the expression of public opinion. He ought not to be afraid of it; he need not be flattered by it; but he should estimate it at its proper value.

It is, I think, due to the Members of the Congress, that I should give them some account of the course which we have followed in preparing for their deliberations. The selection of subjects and of speakers is always one of difficulty and of delicacy. There seems, indeed, at first sight to be an almost unlimited choice; numberless subjects, and numberless readers and speakers; but, practically, this is far from being the case. Many subjects of great interest and importance are quite unsuited for public discussion. They need a more deliberate study and a calmer consideration; and they are better dealt with in the form of books than in detached papers, or else in private conference rather than in public debate. And, again, as regards the persons who might be expected to render assistance at such meetings as these, there are some indeed who are always ready and always willing, true and tried friends of the Church and of the Congress, and many of them we welcome among us to-day; but there are many more who for various reasons—from excessive occupation, or sometimes excessive modesty; the exigencies of public business, or the claims of private affairs—are unable to accept the invitations which are addressed to them to take part in these proceedings.

Complaints are not infrequently made, that in every Congress there is a repetition of the same subjects, and the re-appearance of the same speakers. In some measure no doubt this is true, although we venture to hope that in our present programme many of these familiar

subjects are, at least, regarded from some unaccustomed point of view. But the truth is that the same may be said, to a large extent, of the proceedings of other meetings as well as ours, and even of the Houses of Parliament themselves. There, too, the same questions recur again and again through a long succession of years, while the number of those who speak, and still more, the number of those to whom either House will listen, is comparatively small. The reason of this is not far to seek. There are certain subjects so continuous in their interest, and so momentous as regards the wellbeing of the State on the one hand or of the Church on the other, that in some form or other, and to suit the changeful circumstances of the time, they must again and again come under discussion; while there are certain persons of prominent position, of exceptional gifts, or of unusual experience, whose words are always expected and valued, and whose absence would be a matter of regret. As regards the Church Congress, it is further to be remembered that, although the same persons may speak again and again, they speak each year to a different audience.

From various causes we have had this year exceptional difficulties. It was hardly to be expected that many Members of the Legislature should give up to the Congress so much of their short but well-deserved leisure, with the near prospect of an autumn session assembling before the month is over. All the more do we thank those who have come to us even at this sacrifice; but many others, as we know are most unwillingly absent. I feel assured that it is from no want of interest in our work. But if (which would not be fitting) the names of those were made public who had received invitations from myself or from the Committee, it would, I think, be seen that we had at least endeavoured to enlist our speakers not only from among Church dignitaries and Church officials, but among statesmen and soldiers, physicians and lawyers, and all sorts and conditions of men.

As regards our choice of subjects, we have endeavoured to select those which appeared to have at the present time some new aspect or some special importance. In others we have ventured to suggest some special method of treatment; in all cases we have desired to deal with great principles rather than subordinate details. This will, I trust, appear, not only from the programme, but still more from the papers and addresses themselves. I will illustrate my meaning by one or two examples. Take the subject which comes before us this evening—the Evangelistic Work of the Church. It has, of course, been often before

considered. But recent inquiries as to Church attendance, and recent movements of a remarkable kind, give the subject a new and powerful interest at the present time. Again, we have no doubt discussed very fully on previous occasions the question of Church Discipline; but mostly in relation to what are called Ritual offences. To-night, in another place, we ask your attention to a branch of the subject which, in my judgment, is of far greater and more urgent importance—that of criminous and negligent clergy; along with which we have placed the consideration of another matter about which much is said but little seems to be understood, I mean Canonical Obedience. Again, as regards the Church and Modern Thought, we have desired to recognize the legitimate place of what is called Free Thought even in matters of religion, but on the other hand to limit its sphere by the claims of authority; while in the matter of Science and Faith we have intended, not only to repeat the assertion of their necessary harmony, but to show how much religious truth itself has been illustrated and enriched by the discoveries of science. And once more, under the subject of the Political Relations of the Church, we have indicated the important distinction too often forgotten between the Church and Crown, and the Church and Parliament.

To one other matter I must for a moment ask your attention. You will observe that at two meetings of an exceptional character, it has been arranged to consider the subject of the Legal Protection of the Young. Recent revelations before a committee of the House of Lords have shown how urgently it is needed that something should be done in this direction, and although it is scarcely in accordance with the traditions of the Church Congress, we have thought it right to invite a gifted woman—well qualified for the task—to tell the tale of misery and shame, which so loudly calls upon the Church to utter her voice in defence of her tempted and unprotected children.

It is on such principles, and with such purposes that our selection has been made. Let me say further, that we have had no wish whatever to avoid what are called burning questions, although we should not have been willing to introduce without necessity occasions of discord. But indeed many of these questions need scarcely now be viewed with alarm. If they have not ceased to burn, at least they no longer blaze. It is when the fire is first lighted or rekindled that there is most smoke and most flame.

It has been thought desirable at some former meetings of the Church Congress to call attention to the special circumstances and needs of the

Diocese in which for the time the Congress holds its meeting. We have not thought it necessary to make this a subject for discussion, but it must not be altogether passed by. Among our many needs in the Diocese of Lichfield there is one which at the present time demands immediate attention—a necessity long foreseen, and now recognised by the Legislature—I mean the subdivision of the diocese by the creation of the Bishopric of Southwell. It is now four years since the Act was passed which sanctioned this arrangement—a similar provision being made for the creation of the Dioceses of Liverpool, Newcastle, and Wakefield. Of these the first was already nearly ripe for its formation, and since then the Diocese of Newcastle has also been constituted. In each of these cases there were powerful and wealthy friends of the Church who, by generous donations of unusual magnitude, were able to hasten forward the completion of the work. It has not been so with us. A considerable number of the residents and owners in this diocese have contributed to our fund as liberally as could well be expected during times of great agricultural distress, as well as depression of trade. But we have raised little more than half of the £70,000 which we require for our purpose. I will not trouble you with further details, as a meeting is to be held on Friday next, where our present position will be fully explained. But it has seemed to us that now, when the prospect, thanks be to God, would appear to be brightening, both in agriculture and in trade, a vigorous effort ought to be made to complete this good work, and that a new beginning should date from the time of this Congress. I need not occupy your time by insisting on the enormous advantage which would be gained, not only by this Diocese, but also by that of my revered brother of Lincoln, through the creation of this new Bishopric; but I think you will allow that a Diocese like that of Lichfield, which contains a thousand clergy, and a million and a half of people, and which stretches from Derby to the borders of Wales, and from Birmingham to Buxton, stands urgently in need of subdivision, if ever its work is to be done with such efficiency and completeness as all of us, and most of all its own Bishop, would desire. Is it too much to hope, that before another Church Congress shall assemble, the work may be done.

And now it may be asked, "What end is to be served by all these preparations?"

It has been sometimes said, and no doubt it will be said again before many days are over, that the Church Congress is a mere debating society; that it takes no practical steps; that it initiates no new

measures: that the discussions are fruitless, and often unreal. Now what is the meaning of these criticisms, and how far are they just? If it be meant that the Church Congress effects no immediate settlement of burning controversies, and that it inaugurates no definite schemes of practical work, this cannot be denied. This is not the function of the Congress. For purposes of legislation and of action the Church has her ancient Synods and her constituted authorities. But the Congress is by no means destitute of practical results, and these of a very valuable kind. First of all, discussion is always fruitful in good if it serves to clear away misapprehension, to strengthen true conviction, or to stir men's minds and hearts to greater interest in their duties or greater earnestness in their work. The practical result may not appear in a manifesto or a resolution, or in the prospectus of a new Church Society, nor in the outburst of a new religious movement; but it is found in a clearer grasp of truth, a deepened sense of responsibility, and, not least, in a feeling of brotherhood, a deeper realisation of the Communion of Saints. And it is from minds and hearts thus elevated and strengthened and stirred that there spring forth, not in the arena of the Congress, but in widely scattered homes and distant spheres of labour, new efforts and agencies, ventures of faith and works of love. I am firmly convinced that many a man, and many a woman, who has come to a Church Congress only to listen to the discussion of certain interesting topics, has gone home with the whole soul kindled by a sympathetic fire to begin some new work, or to labour with a new power and earnestness. But, besides this, there is a most real gain of a more general kind. In an age like ours, specially marked by its independent thought and intellectual activity, it is impossible but that there should be strongly marked divergences of thought in matters of religion. It is true, indeed, that no age has been free from them, not even the Apostolic times—nay, we may fairly add, not even the Apostles themselves. No one can thoughtfully read the Apostolic Epistles without being conscious of a tendency on the part of the writers to regard the fundamental truths of the Gospel from different points of view, and to dwell more or less exclusively on that aspect of Christianity which had most powerfully laid hold on their own minds. It would not be impossible for a scoffing spirit even to affix our modern party names to some of these writers themselves. It is true that, under the special control of the Holy Spirit, these divergences did not issue either in dissensions or divisions, but none the less did they exist. Nor can we fail to observe in their writings indications of the existence

of such differences among the body of the believers. But mark the admirable spirit in which St. Paul gives counsel concerning them. "If in anything ye be differently minded (Εἴ τι ἑτέρως φρονεῖτε), God will reveal to you this also." Differences must exist, because we are human, but the truth is one, because it is divine; and one most helpful means to neutralize these divergences is to bring men together to take counsel concerning them in a spirit of brotherly love, where each may help to supply what is lacking in the other, and to receive what is lacking in himself. And so it is in such a gathering as this. We bring together, as in the sight of God, and for the general good, our various thoughts and experiences, the outcome of our various characters and circumstances—our gifts of nature and our gifts of grace—fulfilling in our measure that prophetic picture drawn for us by St. Paul, in the Lesson for to-day, of the building up of the body of Christ, as it is "compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part." In such a spirit, and with such a hope, let us enter upon the work of the Congress. Let us remember that we are here not to further nor to protect the interests of any party, but to advance the cause of truth, and to enquire after the ways of wisdom. We meet face to face as brother men, brother Christians, brother Churchmen; not to oppose each other, but to understand each other; not to confirm our prejudices, but to adjust our differences. Without such intercourse divergences too easily become dissensions, and deepen into divisions.

It is often alleged that at meetings like these we are apt to suppress our differences, and to make believe that we are all of one mind. This is, certainly, not my experience of Church Congresses. Again and again I have heard, from both sides, the boldest expressions of opinion upon subjects concerning which men differ most widely; only with this happy change becoming more apparent from year to year, that whereas some ten or fifteen years ago such utterances not unfrequently called forth from the audience expressions of violent disapprobation, we have now learned to listen with patience to much which we may not appreciate or approve. I trust, and I do not doubt, that it will be so in this Congress. Let every man say boldly, but kindly, what he believes that God has taught him: let him speak, not in a spirit of defiance, but in a spirit of love; let him eschew all needless expressions which might give offence; let him avoid the temptation to elicit by some party watch-word a ringing cheer; above all, let him remember that the grand object which we have in view is the attainment of truth, the

discovery of the wisest methods of work, the strengthening of peace among ourselves, the firmer cohesion of the members of the body. By such a course our very differences may serve only to bring out more clearly the unity of our faith, and of our desire. We shall learn that we are not so divided as the world believes; that in our beliefs and convictions we are, for the most part, not really opposed to one another; but that some have been led to believe more than their brethren, while all hold fast the great fundamental truths of the gospel of salvation. We shall see how vastly greater is the basis of our agreement than the comparatively little details round which the fiercest controversies have sometimes raged; and we shall learn, as the Apostle has taught us, "not to judge one another any more, but to judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling-block in his brother's way." May I not add, that the very diversities of thought which find expression at meetings like these are at once a safeguard and a protest against any narrowing of the limits which define the membership of our branch of the Catholic Church. I earnestly trust that the day is far distant when by any such narrowness or exclusiveness we should lose from the Church of England either the missionary zeal of a Henry Venn, or the self-sacrificing labours of a Charles Lowder; the varied gifts of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, or the sanctified learning of Edward Bouverie Pusey.

A few words before I close:

A remarkable and generous testimony was recently borne by a leader of one of the great Nonconformist bodies, to the effect that in no age of the Church had there been witnessed a more striking revival of spiritual life, than that which has been seen in the Church of England during the last half-century. If this be so, "*Soli Deo gloria.*" But it is no matter for complacent pride. Rather does it bring with it a deepened responsibility. We cannot doubt that this blessing has been granted to us, as at once a preparation for arduous work, and a call to more earnest effort. The Church must be more aggressive in her work, if she would be faithful to her Master. Aggressiveness is a true note of the Catholic Church. It was involved in her first commission; it is essential to her very life. We have been strengthening the base of our operations and preparing our armour for the conflict. But the time is come to go forth to battle. There is a mass of sin and indifference around us on every side, and an increasing activity of evil in manifold forms. What a noble work would it be for the Church of England if throughout all her borders a united effort were now to be made, in the strength of

the Holy Ghost, to win for God the masses of the people who are living in ignorance of His love, and in subjection to the powers of evil. For the Church is the true Salvation Army; and although we may well thank God for any permanent good effected by the irregular forces which are in motion around us, we have nothing to imitate in them but their earnestness and energy. The Church has her own methods and her own armour; and although she brings out of her treasures things new and old, they are only new in their adaptation to the varying circumstances of each succeeding age.

And now as regards our difficulties. Every age of the Church has its own difficulties as well as its own opportunities; we must neither quail before the one nor neglect to use the other. In these matters our own age has its own experience. The vastly increased activities of life leaving less leisure for the things of God; the marvellous progress of science tending to fix men's thoughts upon outward phenomena and natural laws, and to withdraw them from the consideration or recollection of the great First Cause; the tendency of modern legislation to eliminate from national institutions the supports and restraints of religion; the growing resistance to authority, and the craving for independence; all these things have become, and will probably continue to be, most serious obstacles and hindrances to the work of the Church of Christ. But if it be true, and we have all known it to be true, that difficulties and trials have often developed in the individual, powers and capacities of which he himself had scarcely been conscious till the occasion called them forth, may we not well believe that this will prove true of the Church of Christ, and that even for her "sweet are the uses of adversity." Whatever difficulties may surround us, whatever changes, political or social, may be in store for us, we may rest assured that they will only give occasion for further developments of the mission of the Church, and fresh manifestations of its spiritual power. These trials and hindrances are part of the appointed discipline of the Church of God, and He rules and controls them all—

> "Well roars the storm for him who hears
> A deeper voice above the storm."

But, on the other hand they are occasions for the triumphs of the Church; splendid opportunities for the exercise of her gifts, and for the manifestation of her strength; calls to increased devotion in the service of our Lord and King.

I will not detain you longer from the interesting discussion which will now begin. There is a special fitness in the order in which our subjects

come before us. We begin with the recognition and discussion of that which alone renders the Congress possible or desirable, Unity of Belief in Relation to Diversities of Thought; and we close with the consideration of the two great objects for which the Church itself exists in relation to Humanity—the Deepening of the Spiritual Life, and the Proclamation of the Gospel of Salvation. May the Spirit of wisdom and of love be with us all—with those who speak and with those who hear—enlightening our understandings and kindling our affections, subduing our passions, and guiding our speech—that all bitterness and wrath and anger and evil-speaking may be put away from us, and that we may be helpers of each other's faith and joy. So may all our deliberations bind us more closely together in the bond of peace, and strengthen us, each in our calling, to prepare the way of the Lord.

It will be in all ways a most fitting prelude to our first discussion, if I call upon you now, according to custom, to join with me in saying the Apostles' Creed.

The Congress accordingly rose, and recited the Apostles' Creed.

UNITY OF BELIEF IN RELATION TO DIVERSITIES OF THOUGHT.

PAPERS.

The Very Rev. EDWARD HAYES PLUMPTRE, D.D.,
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MOST of us, I imagine, can recall a time when there floated before our minds the vision of a perfect Church, holding the one faith in its completeness, answering from the storehouse of that faith, with its things new and old, the many questions which men ask as to the being and the character and the government of God, and the whence and whither of their lives. From one point of view Scripture was the rule and limit of belief, so that what "was not read therein nor might be proved thereby was not to be required of any man to be believed as an article of faith;" but experience has shown that that proving process seldom, if ever, attains to the character of demonstration; varies according to the diversities of character and training, and ends in manifold and discordant results. From another standpoint, Tradition was to come in as the interpreter of Scripture, checking this tendency to variation, receiving the faith once delivered to the saints, and partially indicated in Scripture, as the basis of what else was found there, and handing it on unbroken

and uncorrupted to future generations. It was a pleasant completion of the dream that somehow or other the Church of England was the one faithful representative in the world of this primitive tradition. She alone spoke as with the one unchanging voice of Catholic antiquity. She called to men to stand upon the ancient ways and to walk therein. She alone, erring neither in defect nor in excess, had kept to the "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*" of Vincent of Lerins, and, standing aloof from

Roman and Swiss and Lutheran novelties,

had taken her *via media* course between the extremes of superstition and denial.

Alas! the vision vanished. The master wizard who had raised it waved his wand, and instead of that completeness and unity of the faith, that clear and unbroken witness, we were taught to hear only the voice that came from the "stammering lips of ambiguous formularies," and to see nothing but "inconsistent precedents and principles imperfectly developed." The tradition of Anglo-Catholic theology went its way with the proving from texts process of Burnet on the Articles. The enchanter, it was true, acted as the hierophant of yet newer mysteries, and, taking the torch of development as his guide, led us into a land of shadows, where all things were ever growing and changing forms, and the thoughts of men were widening with the years. What had before seemed lurid corruptions of the faith, the accretions of logical speculation not content to keep within the limits of the knowable, distortions of half truths, were now presented to us, guaranteed by the infallible authority which was the postulate of the whole system, as being as much the normal developments of theology, as the last discoveries in spectrum analysis or electro-magnetism are the normal developments of science. The idea of such developments had, it cannot be denied, a special fascination of its own. It presented an analogy to the mode in which men attain to truth in other regions of knowledge by patient investigation and wide induction and scientific imagination. If we accepted the postulate it gave us the certainty, and perhaps also the unity, of which we were in search. The first steps of the primer of the *Grammar of Assent* might lead the child-like inquirer to the full-orbed completeness in which the Archimage himself professed to have found the vision of peace and the long-sought goal of his pilgrimage through the many wanderings of thought. But what if we could not accept it? What, if that postulate of an infallible authority was precisely that which our intellect could not honestly admit—at variance alike with Scripture and history, and with the processes of scientific inquiry which go on their way and take the hazard of mistakes, and appeal to the future rather than the past as their ultimate tribunal; theory giving way to theory in the progress of the centuries, each contributing something to the advance of knowledge, yet none claiming to be exhaustive. In that case, where were we to turn for guidance? Was it to be found in the "verifying faculty" of each man's intellect and conscience? or in the authoritative *dicta* of the "higher criticism," varying as that criticism does from day to day, destroying now what it built up yesterday and then building again the things which it had destroyed?

I have traced the path which many minds in this our time have

travelled, and which seems to lead, I frankly admit, to a wide and almost hopeless scepticism. I say "almost" rather than "altogether," for in the midst of these storm-tossed wanderings the restless seeker may have found rest for the sole of his foot on the unshaken rock of duty, which has its roots deep in the conviction of an eternal Law, and even through the mists and darkness he may have been following, consciously or unconsciously, the guidance of the Light that lighteth every man, and, stretching out his hands to what to him was as the Unknown God, may have been ignorantly worshipping Him who is not far from every one of us—the God and the Father of the spirits of all flesh. Not seldom, we may hope, the prayer of the sceptic, which begins "If Thou art, if Thou wilt, if Thou canst," has been translated, in the mystic speech to which the ear of the Eternal is ever open, into the cry, "Lord, I believe, help Thou mine unbelief," and the voice of one who feels himself to be as

> An infant crying in the night,
> And with no language but a cry,

has, though he knew it not, been heard and answered till it has transformed itself into the clearer and more blessed utterance, "I will arise and go to my Father," to "the God of whom the whole family"—of whom, rather, every fatherhood—"in heaven and earth is named."

May not those words form the starting-point of a less devious and labyrinthine journey than that which I have traced? They at least carry us back to the fountain-head from which that thought of the "unity of the faith" has flowed, to the divine word in which for the first time that phrase was heard. It appears there (Eph. iv. 13), not in connexion with dogmatic subtleties and formulated systems, but as the outcome of a life, of the life of each individual man as far as he is personally concerned, of the life of that redeemed and renewed humanity, which is ever growing towards the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, to that "perfect man" which is the ultimate goal of the strivings and sufferings of His people, the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus, towards which each man and each generation of men are bound to press forward, forgetting the things which are behind and stretching forth unto those things which are before. Men are to walk worthily of that high calling, "endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." And then that thought of unity expands, and the mind of the Apostle counts up the things which are at once its elements, its ground, its witnesses—"One body, and one spirit, and one hope of our calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." Then comes the thought of the manifoldness which is another aspect of the unity—the diversities of gifts and operations, "apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers," which have been given "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ, till we all come," not "*in*," but "*into*, the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God."

I will not dwell on the question, though it well deserves inquiry, whether the "faith," which is thus named, is used in its objective or subjective sense, as the truth which the intellect accepts, or the act of the mind in accepting it, or the implicit confidence of the whole man in God who reveals the truth. The former meaning appears prominent in the latter Epistles of St. Paul as the latter does in the earlier. It may

be that, as he used the words, he was not careful to draw the technical distinctions which we draw, and that for him the two meanings implied and intermingled with each other. The trust was co-extensive with the truths which were its object. What I note in either case is that the oneness of the faith appears in two distinct aspects. It is at once the beginning of the Christian life, and its crown and consummation. At first it is elementary and in germ. It is, in the end, the goal to which the whole development of the life of the individual and the Church is ever tending, but which it never, while subject to the conditions of its earthly existence, actually attains. In the meantime its progress and growth are marked by diversities and variations. Tested by experience we may say that it also illustrates the law of progression by antagonism. This or that aspect of the truth is more or less abnormally developed. There seems the risk of the undue distortion of a half truth and the suppression of that which is its complement. Individual experience, national temperament, the great waves of thought which sweep over the universe of intellect, bring into prominence now this and now that element of the faith. Now the unity of the Godhead, and now the Trinity of Persons, at one time the divinity of the Eternal Word, at another His true humanity, now God's grace, and now man's freedom to will, justification by faith without works, and the truth that without holiness no man shall see the Lord—these present themselves in succession and give rise to the controversies which mark the record of the centuries. Men have been eager, as those controversies disturbed the Church, and seemed to them to threaten the unity of the faith, to guard against the danger by defining and formulating the truths which formed their subject-matter, and often, we may thankfully acknowledge, as with the Nicene Creed, and to some extent even with the Athanasian, the result has been that both aspects of the truth have been more adequately brought out and placed in their right relation to each other. Whether it was wisely done to place those formulæ and definitions on the same level as the "one faith," which is by hypothesis the ground of the life of the individual Christian and of the Church universal, or to assume that they, in the form in which men have cast them, must necessarily be part of that ultimate unity which will blend and harmonise all that had been partial and incomplete, and to insist that these also should be received as articles of faith, because we think that they can be proved by Scripture, or are in agreement with the traditions of a primitive antiquity, is practically, I take it, the question with which I have to deal to-day.

I turn once more to the verses which form what may be called the *locus classicus* as to the oneness of the faith, and I find that it is associated indissolubly with the oneness of baptism. Assuming, as we are justified in doing, that the formula of baptism which was used by the Apostle was, substantially at least, identical with that which the Lord gave to the Apostles when He bade them to go and teach the Gentiles, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, we can scarcely err in inferring that the confession of faith in that name was prominent in St. Paul's thoughts. That inference is raised to something like absolute certainty when we see that what he dwells on in connexion with the one faith is that there is also one Spirit, one Lord (manifestly the Lord Jesus as the Son of God), one

God and Father of all. The confession of that Divine Name in its trinal unity was accordingly all that was essential to the integrity of the one faith.

Is it too bold a conclusion from these premises that the Church at large, and each national Church in particular, would have done wisely to have followed in this matter the guidance of St. Paul, to have been content to accept what he accepted, and to have seen in what was a sufficient faith to justify the admission of a catechumen to baptism, that which was sufficient also for his whole life as a member of the Church of Christ? It might be the duty of a Church to guard against error *in its teachers* by placing in their hands fuller and more elaborate statements of truths which have been distorted or denied, and requiring their assent to those statements as a condition of admission to the ministry; but if this were enough to qualify the believer for becoming a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven, was there not somewhat of presumption in labelling definitions, opinions, formulæ, as being equally *de fide*, uttering anathemas against those who denied them or preferred other formulæ, condemning, persecuting, slaying with fire or sword, as though doubt or denial were an iniquity to be punished by the judge? Is not this the lesson taught us by the experience of eighteen centuries? Is it not time for the Churches to issue forth from the tangled path of labyrinthine subtleties in which they have so long wandered, and to return to the simplicity of their first faith and of their earliest wisdom, as well as to their first love? The intellect of men, that which Coleridge has called the logical understanding, asks many questions about God and the universe and men, and the beginning and the end of all things, some of which can scarcely be answered at all except by an "insane license of affirmation," all of which should be answered with the reverential humility which feels that its best eloquence is its silence, and that when we speak of things above our capacity and reach, our words should be wary and few. We know what such subtleties have issued in, the endless swarm of creeds in the fourth century, out of which the Nicene confession emerges with a marvellous simplicity and beauty, the "vermiculate" questions of the *Sentences* of Lombard and the *Summa* of Aquinas, the dogmas of Trent and Augsburg, the *Institutes* of Calvin and the Westminster Confession. I fear I must add, as regards intention, though the results have been overruled for good, the Thirty-nine Articles and the *pseudo*-Athanasian Creed.

That last parenthesis requires perhaps a word of explanation. What I mean is this—(1) As regards the Articles it can hardly be questioned, I imagine, that it was the aim of the Bishops of the English Church in 1542 to show that they too, like the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, had a dogmatic system of their own, which they were prepared to defend, as Jewell defended it in his *Apologia*, as being capable of proof from Scripture and in harmony with primitive tradition. They dealt mainly with what were then the burning questions of the day, the canon and the authority of Scripture, the various points of the controversy with Rome, the doctrines of justification and election. From the nature of the case, however, they had to steer their way cautiously and deftly between the views of contending parties, each of which was strong enough to hinder the complete triumph of its opponents. And so, within little more than half a century, in an authoritative document

which, though issuing from the State, and so far Erastian in its character, the Church has practically adopted as her own by incorporating it in every edition of her Prayer-book, it was, as regards the whole Calvinistic controversy, declared to be a matter of exultation that "even in the curious points" (we note the significant change of phrase in regard to what had been looked on as the *articuli stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*), "in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles to be for them." Logical inferences from Scripture in "those unhappy differences, which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ" were formally denounced, and men were to be "shut up" to the promises of God as they are generally set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures, and to the "general meaning" (that meaning itself being left undefined) of "the Articles of the Church of England according to those promises." Within another half-century it was discovered that they admitted of an equal latitude in regard to the other great controversy with which they dealt, and Davenport (better known, perhaps, as Francis á Sancta Clara) anticipated the argument of Newman's *Tract Ninety* in showing that the Articles, "though the offspring of an uncatholic age, were themselves not uncatholic," and might include, as they actually did include, before the political action of Elizabeth rendered the breach irreparable, those who held, on the whole, with the teaching of Trent rather than with that of the Swiss or Lutheran Reformers.

(2) In the case of the *pseudo*-Athanasian Creed there are, it must be admitted, no signs of wavering or compromise. The writer notes with a subtle skill the deviations from the Church's faith on the right hand and on the left, and fixes on each the brand of a soul-destroying heresy. He pushes every hazy error, floating in the mists of speculation, to some monstrous conclusion as its necessary outcome. He exults, as in the supreme master-stroke of his craft, in proving that the poor Sabellian, while he thinks that he is maintaining the unity of the Godhead, is really worshipping not one Person, but nine. But here also time has brought its corrective, and has blunted the edge that once seemed so pitiless and keen. Those who hold that it would have been wiser and happier for the Church to have been satisfied with the confessions of her baptismal formula, and her unvarying, or scarcely varying, doxologies and the Apostles' Creed, as the records of the historical ground-work of her life, can yet accept the dogmatic propositions of the Athanasian Creed, as being, in their relation to the controversies out of which they grew, closer approximations to the truth than those which contradict them. And as for the so-called "damnatory clauses," though we may regret that they are still retained and used, being, as they are, a stumbling-block to the weak and ignorant, they have, as we all know, received again and again at the hands of representative divines—including the *clarum et venerabile nomen* of Dr. Pusey—an explanation which robs them of their sting, and exempting from their range every form of involuntary error, and invincible ignorance and insuperable prejudice, limits their application to that wilful denial of truth, known and accepted as truth, which is not heresy but dishonesty.

The development of men's thoughts, the enlargement of the range of scientific and critical inquiries, perhaps also a keener desire to find the ways of God in the mysteries of His government of the world, and the

future history of mankind, not only "unsearchable and past finding out," but equal and righteous altogether, with a righteousness and a love beyond that which had been recognised in the narrowing systems of the past, have in our time brought a new crop of questions to the front. The nature and limits of inspiration, the authorship and date of the canonical books, the antiquity of the earth and man, the doctrine of evolution, the problems of eschatology, are the things with which we find ourselves face to face. And here, as before, there have been the scares and panics of a "little faith." Men have been impatient, and for precipitating things, and, as in the cases of Williams, and Wilson, and Colenso, and Robertson Smith, have clamoured for decisive utterances which should remove this or that formula from the category of open questions into that of articles of faith. The attempt has not hitherto been successful, and is not likely to be so in the future. Formularies that have proved to be elastic in relation to the special questions with which they professed to deal, will scarcely be found rigidly unbending in their application to questions which were not even within the horizon of their framers. If I am right in the main positions I have endeavoured to maintain, it will be our wisdom to accept the situation not only as inevitable, but as fulfilling a purpose higher and wider than our own. The thoughts of men on these matters may well be left to take their place in that diversity of opinions which is compatible with, perhaps is the necessary complement of, unity in the faith, though it is excluded by a rigorous uniformity in proportion to its logical completeness.

I do not know how far the terms of the question committed to me were intended to include diversities of opinion in regard to matters of practice, such as ritual, as well as in regard to matters of speculation. Theoretically, it may seem easy to draw a hard and fast line between them, but not, I take it, practically. For in the questions which now divide us into hostile camps, what we have to deal with is a diversity of opinions as to the meaning of a rubric, the importance of a symbol, the authority of a court. Can we say that that diversity is more perilous, more inconsistent with the unity of the faith, than the differences on the weightier matters of the law which have come before us, as prominent in the several stages of the Church's history? If time and, it may be, other considerations lead me to touch lightly on this class of questions, it is not because I think they should be dealt with in a different spirit. The pleader for freedom in the region of thought does ill when he appears as the advocate of repression in that of worship. Unity, not uniformity, is our watchword there also. What we need is not the "red tape" of obsolete and ambiguous rubrics, but the "elastic band" of a large and liberal tolerance.

And the signs of the times warn us that we shall do well to seek to maintain the unity of the faith, not in the strife of parties, but in the bond of peace. From the camp of the Liberation Society we hear, once and again, the threatening echoes of the cry, in season and out of season, *Delenda est Carthago.* From the armies of secularism there come, often in multitudinous forms of blasphemy, cries that seem the very echo of the *Ecrasez l'infame* of Voltaire. Those who watch the gathering of the heavens warn us that we are on the eve of a conflict between light and darkness, good and evil, all that is Christian and all that is anti-Christian,

to which the previous history of the world and of the Church presents no parallel. In presence of that peril it will be wise to minimise our differences, to welcome all auxiliaries who are one with us in the unity of the Apostolic faith, to be tolerant of many eccentricities, to show our sympathies with much with which yet we are unable to agree.

Is there not another sign of the times leading to the same conclusion, not without the promise of better things or the threatening of worse than it has yet presented to us, in that great movement which has spread among us till it presents a parallel at once to the mission work of Wesley and of Whitfield, and the claim of the early Friends to an inward illumination, and the organised autocracy of the Society of Jesus? If the Salvation Army has done nothing else it has at least shown that the capacity for what we call religion; for what is, perhaps, better defined as godliness—*godlikeness*—is not extinct even in the classes which we had almost given up as hopelessly beyond our reach. The consciousness of sin is there, and the craving for pardon and for peace, and the joy and peace in believing, and the yearning for a Father's love, and the felt communion with a Spirit higher than our own, and the love of souls which constrains each soldier of Christ to be also an evangelist, and the self-denial and self-mastery which leads men to cut off the right hand or pluck out the right eye, rather than that they should stumble themselves or make others stumble. And the preaching which works all this, what is it but the proclamation of the primal faith in its simplest and earliest form; the belief in the Father Who claims us as His children, in the Son Who has redeemed us and all mankind, in the Spirit which sanctifies us and all the chosen ones of God. Forgetting, ignoring, perhaps ultimately rejecting, baptism, the Army bears its involuntary, unconscious testimony to the power of the truth involved in the three-fold Baptismal Name. In the hallelujahs of its marches and its triumphs, we may hear the echoes of the doxologies of ancient days, which through the strife of tongues and the clash of sects have proclaimed the glory of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

The Rev. CANON FURSE, Principal of the Theological College, Cuddesdon.

WHILE the words before us express only an act of the mind of man, they have no meaning, in an assembly of Churchmen at least, unless they repose on a fact in the nature of God. "Belief" and "thought" in man determine to that point, from which also they issue, truth in God.

1. Let us assume, then, that truth is a reality, patent to the open vision of God, and that His knowledge of truth is the criterion of our knowledge, as His holiness is the standard of our holiness, and His love the rule of our charity. We can no more express His image without conformity to His knowledge of truth than we can if we are out of symmetry with His moral nature in the region of justice, purity, and love. It follows that obedience to the Divine will oblige man's understanding equally with his affections. "The philosopher," it has been said, "may speculate, the theologian must submit to learn." And further, "faith, properly so called, is not constructive but receptive;" and

if any contend that God cannot consistently with justice hold a man responsible for his creed, so vain an opinion does not argue a wider knowledge of man, but an inferior knowledge of God. If His glory and our perfection require the unison of our affections in perfect obedience to His purity, they require no less the unity of our belief with His unerring mind. Tell me of a God who is all benevolence and has not the attribute of truth, I know no such God. He who said, "Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, do not kill, do not steal;" the same said also, "I am the Way, and the Truth," and "every one that is of the truth heareth My voice."

2. Next, the Divine revelation will be proportionate to God's knowledge. The scale will be smaller according to our capacity, but the proportion will be true. Nothing eccentric, abnormal, eclectic, inharmonious, defective, will be suffered to intrude. We cannot add, or take away. The illuminating Spirit in the Church of the nineteenth century neither invents new truth nor antiquates the old. It only enables the human intellect to see clearly what is there. Whether it use its vision as a microscope or telescope, it cannot create or destroy. The Catholic creed is an organism, a living body, where life thrills in the minutest extremity, or it does not live at all. Theology will not tolerate eclecticism.

3. Again, on the presumption that man is born to become like-minded to God, it is probable that there is a correspondence between his intellectual and moral growth. We dare not, in the interests of our character, omit as an intellectual luxury or caprice any portion of the truth revealed to the Church. God communicates no single doctrine which is not intended to supply a particular void, and satisfy a particular desire in the human heart. This was the testimony of McCleod Campbell, after a long experience, in extreme old age. And no man without peril shall presume to omit, much less to deny or defy, a single article of the Christian faith in the profane hope that one eccentricity is of no moment in spoiling the moral beauty and impairing the force of Christian manhood. We know that in education to tolerate eccentricity is to provoke disorder and insanity; and in theology to decline to grasp a truth presented by the Church is to paralyse the left hand or the right hand which a kindly heart would fain stretch forth to win a soul. Belief or unbelief is no accident in the character of a Christian man. His whole growth and life is perfected, or fails, in proportion to the integrity of his belief. The doctrine, in St. Paul's view, is the mould into which the scholar is to give his whole life, to be fashioned in it through the obedience of the heart as well as the submission of the understanding (Romans vi. 17). The unity of the whole man is drawn up by the knowledge of Him whom to know is eternal life :—

> "The flowers still faithful to the stems
> Their fellowship renew;
> The stems are faithful to the root
> That worketh out of view;
> And to the rock the root adheres
> In every fibre true."

These, then, are the limits which I define as the conditions within which we may use economy in the presentation of truth to various minds; these three, viz., a submissive recognition of God's attribute

of truth; the organic unity of the Catholic creed; the symmetry of moral and intellectual growth.

4. With these safeguards in our minds we approach the conflicting groups of inquirers after truth—inquirers more or less honest, with such diversity of thought as to provoke all but the most tenacious observer of the Divine word to abandon in despair "the original ordinance of unity." The few thoughts I offer on this subject touch only the varieties of opinion *within the Church.* For the rest, I leave it to harder heads.

5. To begin with Holy Scripture. The very structure of the Book is evidence that God recognises the infinite variety of the human mind. If the intention of the Bible were (as some reduce it) merely to give mankind a limited number of solid, square, compacted truths necessary to salvation, then it would suffice to have a few monotonous dogmas pressed by a law of uniformity into one hard type. But, Scripture being what it is, a confluence of innumerable streams from the remotest watersheds of thought, may we not say, as Mr. Ruskin says of the clouds and of the sky, that all this incomparable variety of form, in law and prophet and psalm, in the dry luminous facts of an apologist like St. Stephen, in the passionate rapture of St. Paul, in the profound contemplation of St. John, "is all done for us and intended for our perpetual pleasure?" And even were Scripture really the idol which the unintelligent devotion of some believers has stiffened into stone, in whose view, as our great philosopher, James Mozley, of Derby, with his invincible criticism points out, "the Bible stands for the negation of the Church," I say, had God willed to reduce the function of the Scripture to this point, yet, as a fact, He has given us the living mind and the living voice of the Church; and so long as she lives she will bring forth from her "treasure, things new and old." No varieties of the human mind will exceed the provision of God for its necessities. His resources of sympathy are inexhaustible in his Church.

6. But the Church is not a central power outside of us. *We* all are the Church. How shall we best conciliate the varieties and diversities of the human mind, and speak like Daniel's angel with the voice of a multitude, and perpetuate the Gift of Pentecost, and make strangers, by our sympathetic tone, hear every one in their own tongue wherein they were born?

(*a*) First, we shall recognise the fact that God, the Immutable, uses accommodation or economy. There are in His kingdom on the one hand, absolute and transcendental laws, but on the other, remissions, adaptations, and readjustments, beginning with the fall of man from original righteousness, and going on, we believe, through all the disordered and distracted organisms of human life. And while (as Archer Butler has pointed out) we cannot make God "answerable for difficulties never contemplated in the simplicity of His original plan and produced only by our own subsequent perversity;" nevertheless the stream of His providence flows in pliant sympathy with the angular and irregular outlines of our infirmity:—

> "The way of ancient ordinance, though it winds,
> Is yet no devious way.
> My son! the road the human being travels,
> That, on which blessing comes and goes, doth follow

The river's course, the valley's playful windings,
Curves round the cornfield and the hill of vines,
Honouring the holy bounds of property!
And thus secure, though late, leads to its end."

(*b*) In the spirit of this Divine considerateness our sympathy will discover itself in the patient exercise of intellectual candour. The clear-sightedness which sees another's difficulty, the frankness which admits it, and the nice discretion which declines to use a false argument for a right conclusion, opens the way for unity, while it does homage to the sanctity of truth.

(*c*) Again, a reverence for truth will make us thorough; and it is thoroughness, not dissimulation and compromise, that wins the assent of man. You must be extreme if you will be trusted; not extreme in opinion or in fierceness of speech, but extreme in fidelity and simplicity: as the witness is extreme, who, on his oath, tells the truth, and the whole truth—extreme as the man of science is extreme who reports what he has had eyes to see—"that which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have looked upon, which our hands have handled, that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you." Nor is this thoroughness to be insisted on only in relation to our moral character. The truth itself requires it. The objective truth cannot be made manifest unless you present it whole. It comes from the mind of the Eternal, and stretches to the extremest issues of human life. It is a link in the union of man and God. If you fail in your manipulation of it at either extremity, or miss a link at any point, there is a fault in the continuity, and you by your defect of completeness prevent the human spirit from feeling the thrilling pulse of the life of God.

(*d*) Again, following the same line of thought, I desire to insist on the method of ascending in your argument to a point of contact with your opponent's original conviction. I mean that we should not begin our discussion at the diverging points of the horizon, but go back and upward to some central truth from which those extended lines proceed. I venture on an illustration.

Of diversities of thought within the area of the Church in England to-day, none are more flagrant than those provoked by Eucharistic and Sacerdotal subjects. Now, I venture to say that so long as we face each other from the vanishing point, there will be diversity of thought and no unity of belief; but, if we retrace our lines backward and upward to unfallen man's original estate, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the intention and consequences of His manhood, His priesthood, sacrifice, cross, resurrection, and ascension, and to the mission of the Holy Ghost from His glorified Humanity, we shall retain our mental characteristics, our liberty of reason and imagination, and shall not despair of unity.

It is a favourite thought of mine, that if six men of intellectual candour, theological education, and deep holiness, would come forth from each of the two schools whose fratricidal strife works such cruel havoc in the Church in England, and, putting aside their newspapers and tracts, would prepare themselves with prayer and fasting, and would assemble in a month's retreat for the study of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Lancaster Castle would cease to be the frontispiece of the Established Church.

(*e*) Once more, the best solvent of discord and safeguard of truth is love; and, if I may draw this language to a finer point, I say it is love for our Lord Jesus Christ. I am speaking in the ears, I trust, of many members of another school than mine—men and women who love the word "Protestant" more and the word "Catholic" less than I; and I ask them to correct me if I am wrong in thinking that of all the great names among their adversaries none has been for forty years so tenderly and affectionately spared from criticism as the name of Dr. Pusey. And why? No one has been more uncompromising—uncompromising but not defiant; no one has been more thorough and extreme. More than anyone he has preached—in tones like the voice of Lazarus rising from his sepulchre—like the great Florentine who, the citizens said, had been in the other world—the uttermost severity and goodness of God. The everlasting judgment and infinite love of God has been driven home by his preaching, and has drawn blood from the heart of modern England, as English ears and English hearts have been pierced by no other voice; and yet—no, for this very cause—Pusey's sermons, with all their faults of style, will be read and loved by "Evangelicals" and their children's children in preference, I believe, to the classic "Christian Year." And why? Not because their arrow-heads of barbed truth fell off in their course of flight, but because they pierced the outer rim of the critical understanding, and sank into the nerves and life-blood of the hidden soul; because they were tempered in the pure fires of the judgment and the truth of God; and because they were winged with the finest love of Jesus Christ.

The influence of such a life is a witness to the truth that neutrality, abstinence, mediocrity, and compromise have no influence in regulating diversities of thought. What gives man influence is clear-sightedness. "We have *seen* and bear witness"—then reality, "We speak that we do know"—and then simplicity, which in the eyes of others is an effort of courage, "We cannot but speak the things we have seen and heard." And the greatest of these seers are those who have insight into the largest number of subjects. Such a man was St. Augustine, of whom I remember Dr. Pusey once saying to me, nearly forty years ago, "If we are ever to get together, we shall meet in St. Augustine and St. Paul."

Let me say—I fear abruptly—in my closing word, that in such an age as ours, with quick, strong thought on every side of him, for a man to lay himself out to be a peacemaker, be he a ruler or anyone else, is simply to defeat the object of his life. The body is one thing, the drapery is another. There is a charm in the atmosphere which makes the Welsh hills blue in twilight, and the Alps rose-coloured at dawn; but there the snow lies in its clear-cut crystals, and there the mountain is built up of rocks. Let us have love by all means, but truth in love: for to this Christ looked when He gave the word, "Upon this rock will I build My Church."

The Rev. R. B. GIRDLESTONE, Oxford.

THE subject under discussion is abstract, almost vague. It implies that we believe the same things, though we think differently about them. It is open to the objection that if our thoughts are different our beliefs can hardly be the same. It raises the question, do our beliefs spring out of our thoughts, or our thought out of our beliefs? It may be said, however, that belief and thought occupy different spheres of our being, and that by belief we mean primary intuitions or convictions, whilst thoughts are slowly reached by processes of argumentation. Leaving others to discuss this, I must add that the subject needs to be circumscribed. Does it solely refer to differences of thought inside the Church of England? or does it include the great questions at issue between us and our Nonconforming brethren, and the still greater questions which lie between Christians and atheistic materialists? These subjects are really so connected that the principles applicable to one line of inquiry will help us in dealing with the others. One thing is clear: this subject of unity and diversity, which crops up so often at our Church Congresses, implies a yearning after a brotherly spirit among those who hold the same faith and use the same religious formularies, and it suggests the hope that there may be some further approximation attainable amongst those who are travelling along different lines of thought. The hope is a pleasant one. What hinders its realization? I believe that the hindrance lies in the near presence of two foes with which we shall have to carry on determined warfare to the end of time. What those foes are we shall shortly see.

The Bible and the Prayer Book agree in affirming that there are certain truths which Christ's ministers are to teach always and to all men. It is of the utmost importance that we should find out what these truths are; but when we have spent a lifetime on the task we shall probably grant that the Church of Christ is a great deal larger than the Church of England; that no party in the Church possesses a monopoly of truth or virtue; that Protestants may learn from Papists, Churchmen from Dissenters, Christians even from non-Christians. At the same time we all agree as to what a Christian really is. We hold him to be a disciple of *Christ*—not of *ourselves*; one who believes the Gospel narrative to be substantially true, and who, in consequence of this belief, has yielded himself to Christ as the Son of God, the Saviour of the world; receiving that which Christ was exalted to bestow, and doing that which Christ was empowered to command. Perhaps it may be also granted (though I am not sure) that the visible Church of Christ includes all who profess and call themselves Christians, and the invisible includes all who walk worthy of their profession. When, however, we go beyond the practical domain of Christian life into questions of criticism and of philosophy, diversities of thought make themselves manifest, though even here the foundations of the faith are agreed upon. No one who calls himself a Christian doubts the broad distinctions between right and wrong, or the truth that right is inseparable from God; or the fact that human nature being what it is, man needs help over and above that which his natural faculties supply, in order that he may walk in the right path. Questions like these are closed, but others are open; and by "open" I do not

mean doubtful, but worthy of fresh discussion in the light of fresh discoveries and increased or varied mental activity. For example, does Christianity involve uniformity of thought as to the mode of creation, or the time employed in the preparation of earth for man, or the universality of the deluge? No; these are matters of interpretation; neither from a Biblical, Catholic, nor Anglican point of view can they be regarded as closed. Again, is it lawful for a Christian to discuss the age and compilation of the books of the Old and New Testament? may he hold parley with one who believes in two Isaiahs, two Zechariahs, and many editors to the Pentateuch? I answer, these are questions of criticism which may be, nay must be, thoroughly and fairly faced. No one, for example, can attentively compare verse by verse parts of Samuel and Kings with parts of Chronicles without perceiving that in very ancient times there were differences of text in the Hebrew analogous with those with which we are all familiar in the New Testament. I will add my conviction that the more thoroughly these and cognate matters are gone into, the more intelligent will become our faith and the better able shall we be to hold and defend the real Christian position. One of the most interesting arguments for the antiquity of the Gospels is drawn from the character of the textual differences in the oldest MSS. and quotations, and I believe that an argument of an exactly similar character may be drawn with respect to parts of the Old Testament from the materials lying hidden in our Hebrew Bibles. All that is needed is that we should face these critical questions with patience and candour, and not lightly be moved from our settled convictions, because a man quotes German or has the word "Professor" prefixed to his name. But we must draw the line somewhere. Supposing that in yielding to the stream of "higher criticism" we drift away from Christ. Nothing is more clear than this, that any attempt to undermine the substantial accuracy of the Old Testament reflects on the New Testament. Christianity will be dissolved if the Old Testament be cut adrift. Yes, but Christianity cannot be dissolved. It stands on imperishable grounds, the grounds of history and experience, backed up by the voice of reason and conscience. The consequence is that there will always be a certain point at which we turn upon the critic and say, "Hitherto shall thou go and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." There is a considerable element of uncertainty in the speculations of higher criticism, owing to the paucity of its materials; and the conclusions of to-day may be thrown aside by the discoveries of to-morrow. Meanwhile Christ is the same, and there is no uncertainty in Him; and we must never give up what is vital and sure at the call of what is at the best only hypothetical and unsubstantial.

We pass to another kind of question which gives rise to diversity of thought. Things physical and things spiritual are so entwined, at least in the mode in which they are presented to man, that we do not all draw the boundary line between God and Nature at the same place. The analyst of physical phenomena goes backwards and forwards through nature and finds not God. It is not that nature is to him a substitute for God, but owing to the ingenuity of his mind he assigns to the molecules and atoms of matter those attributes which are really immaterial, and so projects upon things visible the properties of the invisible God. The very fact that he searches into the hidden causes of things is

something; it links him with the Author of the universe; the physical leads him, whether he will or not, to the metaphysical; and metaphysics is another word for theology. What foundation of belief shall we rest upon if we desire to minimise our philosophical, scientific, or metaphysical diversities of thought? I answer, it is vain to turn at such a time to the so-called Athanasian Creed, which presents in a crystallised form those truths which the Scripture gives in their natural relation, we must rather take our stand on human nature, on its facts, on its possibilities, its history, its aspirations, and on our own personal experience. These, at any rate, present a common ground; and the mysteries which these involve are inscrutable, except in the light of Christianity. Things Divine and metaphysical are brought near to things human and physical in the man Christ Jesus. Who that studies the Gospels with a receptive heart can doubt any longer that there is One above man who takes an abiding, self-sacrificing interest in man?

But some will go thus far and refuse to go further, because they see no disruption in the course of nature before their eyes such as they read of in Scripture. Are they to be excommunicated, or is there a more excellent way? The candid narrator of our Lord's appearance after His Resurrection, says that "some doubted," and some will always remain over-burdened by the almost insurmountable difficulties which present themselves to the mind of the physical philosopher. He reasons with himself; he tells himself that there are analogies in nature, and especially human nature, answering to the mighty works of Christ; he acknowledges that there was a fitness in miracles of healing and resurrection as an accompaniment to the great work of redeeming love; yet the old enemy haunts him. The true remedy is to fall back upon the spiritual, moral, and experimental side of Christianity—to study, to pray, to practice; and it will be strange if the student engaged in such a course does not receive a visit from the Angel of the Covenant,' the Great Shepherd of the sheep, who will overmaster in him the influence of things seen. This mastery of Christ over the soul is salvation. When He is felt to be supreme, things which at other times seem hard to be believed are seen in their true light, and the peace of God rules in the heart.

I come, unwillingly, to another branch of the subject. The Church of England is on a large basis. Instead of spending our strength in attempting to narrow it, we shall be better employed in using our liberty to preach the everlasting Gospel of Christ, and to fight under His banner in that way which seems most in accordance with His word and most adapted for the times in which we live. We all acknowledge that there is a right and a wrong, a true and an untrue, in history, in doctrine, in life. It may be granted, indeed, that Christians may live in a measure as Christ lived, under the shadow of teaching which is in some respects contrary to sound doctrine. But we cannot allow ourselves to be beguiled into a spirit of indifference on controverted points, especially when we remember our ordination vows. I agree with a letter written by a celebrated lady to an ecclesiastic, whose voice you have already heard this afternoon, part of which runs as follows:—"Mrs. Booth is utterly at a loss to understand, especially in responsible teachers of religion, that indifference, as it seems to her, on great questions of truth which is so popular now-a-days, and which can embrace with equal friendship men who worship a Christ said to be materially present on the altar,

and men who deny Divine worship to the Christ altogether. She prefers to be thought a narrow-minded bigot for adhering to the old-fashioned teachings of the Church as she has always understood them, and condemning as false whatever is not true according to the Word of God." Two things must be borne in mind, first, that the diversities of thought on doctrine and ceremony date back to the time of the apostles; and, secondly, that men attain their views on these subjects not through external compulsion, nor by deliberate choice; rather they are drawn along by a series of mental and spiritual influences, over some of which they have no control. We do not adopt opinions differing from those of our brethren for mere variety's sake. The love of God's truth is often really at the bottom of them; were it not so, Christianity would long ago have crumbled into dust. A man once said to me, How is it that you Christians quarrel so desperately over your religion? I might have answered that religion is not the only thing over which men quarrel—that there is an *odium philosophicum*, and an *odium politicum*, even an *odium medicum*, as well as an *odium theologicum*. But I replied, that we fight most earnestly about those things which appear to us most vital, and that the details of vestment and ritual, over which some men contend, are regarded by them as outworks of the fortress of truth, and as symbols of vital doctrine. I freely admit that our ritual controversies produce infinite mischief, and that the time spent in controversy would be far better employed in studying the remedies for infidelity, crime, drunkenness, poverty, overcrowding, and other evils which are at our doors; but I see no way out of our present position. Not that we need all take part in the fray. Some of us love our independence; we shrink from acting with others for what are called party purposes; we consider each question as far as possible on its own merits, and are willing to submit in minor details to the wisdom of the responsible heads of the Church. But with all our desire to avoid controversy we cannot shut our eyes to Scripture and to history; we cannot, for example, get over our repugnance to Romanism, and to everything suggestive of it. We believe that the religion of Christ, as set forth in Scripture, and as illustrated by the oldest Christian records, is one thing, and that the religion of the modern Romish Church is another. We not only shrink from the doctrines of Rome, which we believe to be dishonouring to Christ and opposed to the welfare of the individual and of society, but we refuse to take a step in a Romeward direction, even though that step be harmless in itself. The word "mediæval" has no charm for us; and we have learnt to distinguish between what is ancient and what is primitive; between the fathers and the grandfathers. Moreover, we feel that we have our duty to the laity, and that the greater the liberty which ecclesiastical lawyers allow us, so much the greater is our responsibility to be loyal to "God's Word written."

Many of our controversies arise from a vague use of words, such as regenerate, real, spiritual, objective, sacrifice, priest, mystery, catholic, conversion. To take an instance, What does the word "Churchman" mean? Sometimes it implies only that a man is a member of the Church of England; but at other times it implies that a man holds so-called "Church doctrines." Let anyone examine the Biblical usage of the word "Church" and its Hebrew and Greek equivalents, and then let him use it. Again, an incumbent in one of our manufacturing towns is

lately reported to have said that in the Lord's Supper "the bread and wine *become* really and truly the Body and Blood of the Lord and Saviour." Let those who approve of this saying weigh well the difference between the verbs to *be* and to *become* in Hebrew and Greek.

What we really need is a school of thorough Biblical students, who not only know the English language, but also labour and pray over their Hebrew and Greek Bibles, reverently weighing all that God has spoken.

Whatever are the merits or demerits of the Revised English New Testament, at any rate it has led many to re-examine certain familiar theological expressions, and this re-examination must, I suppose, tend to do away with some of our diversities of thought.

There are times, perhaps, as we stand at the deathbed of one we love, or at the open grave of a leader in theology, when we feel that formularies and rites—even language itself—cannot adequately express our beliefs and our thoughts. We push them aside and gaze into a wide all-embracing reality. But we are speedily, if not rudely, brought back from a vague groping after things as they are, to the more sober contemplation of things as they seem. Yet we are wiser for the dim vision which has been vouchsafed to us; it has taught us to look upon human opinions—even on our own—with new charity, and to regard Church dogmas as suggestive guides and guards rather than as exact counterparts of absolute truth.

There are some practical questions, on which, with all our hatred of partizanship, we are almost driven to take sides. A politician has at times to give up his independence, and to vote; a mother must send for an allopath or homœpath for her sick child; we have to elect proctors for Convocation; we must decide how much to subscribe to the S.P.G., and how much to the C.M.S.; and we must make up our minds between the *Record* and the *Guardian*, unless we have the courage to read both or neither.

As for other matters, in spite of all the good advice offered at Church Congresses, some of us will continue to reject a rite because it is Romish, or to adopt it because it is mediæval; to object to the word priest as savouring of sacerdotalism, or to stick to it as implying the supposed advantage of human intervention between the soul and the Saviour. To one the sacrificial side of Christ's work will be everything, to another its moral and spiritual aspects will be all-important. One will attribute inspiration to Scripture in a special sense, another will find the inspiring Spirit everywhere, and a third nowhere. One will regard Sunday as an ecclesiastical ordinance, another as a social convenience, a third as a survival of the Sabbatic law given to man in Paradise. We shall continue to differ in our ideas as to the way of pardon, the nature of sanctification and justification, and the method of sacramental grace; but we shall continue to agree as to the character of Christ, the supreme value of His atoning death, the reality of power from on high, the ideal of a Christian life; and this being so, whilst firmly contending for what we believe to be true all the way round, we need not bite and devour one another.

To conclude: the two forces which keep us in a state of ferment and division are—first, the attempt to do without Divine revelation and graces. This is finding its culmination in atheistic materialism, and it is by far our most terrible enemy. Secondly, the attempt to substitute human

organizations for the direct working of Christ's Spirit. This enemy is less destructive, but more attractive. It is a determined adversary to our Church and to our social system, and its headquarters are in the Vatican. These are the Scylla and Charybdis between which we have to steer; they play into one another's hands, and their potency lies in the fact that we all carry the rudiments of them in our own bosoms.

The way to stand against these powers of the evil one and to progress in spite of them is the old way, viz., living to Christ through the indwelling of His Spirit and in conformity with His Word, or, as the Prayer-book has it, "in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." For, after all, to use the lately published words of Mr. Gladstone, "Christianity is Christ, and nearness to Him and to His image is the end of all your efforts."

ADDRESS.

The Rev. Randall T. Davidson.

The paper—eminently thoughtful and instructive, and therefore eminently characteristic—with which the Dean of Wells opened this discussion, steered us out into the open sea of this very wide subject with a boldness which is the legitimate outcome of his abundant learning and his long success. The two papers which followed have added to the sense of incompetence with which I rise to speak. A steersman so far inferior as I am to any of the three must be content to keep to humbler waters near the shore. May I first say just one word about the choice of this subject for discussion? In one form or another it has been discussed, I think, at every Church Congress on record, and people may say—they do say—I have heard it myself—"We have had enough of this subject; everything that can be said about it has been said long ago!" Now even if this cry were true, which I don't admit, I should still say we were right to put the subject in the forefront, and to say over again all that has been said before. There are some truths—those, for example, which deal with the individual soul's relation to its God—which, as it seems to me, are apt to suffer from the very process of free discussion in public. There are others, and this subject is emphatically one of them, which are strengthened every time you bring them forward. The stamp of reality is once more impressed upon our unity of faith every time the fact is emphasised in an assembly such as this. Therefore I rejoice that we are once more called upon to-day to give expression to the mighty truth that, under all our surface differences, we are essentially one at heart. It is sometimes the fashion now-a-days to ascribe all the keenness and bitterness of our party spirit to the rancour engendered by one or two of the so-called "religious newspapers" of the day. I don't believe a word of it. It is giving them far too much importance. God forbid that I should stand here for an instant to defend the venom and the pettiness which every week disgrace the party newspapers, which live by the very quarrels we deplore; but, with all their badness and their spite, I believe they are the result and not the cause of our party spirit. It existed in full force long before the *Rock* or the *Church Times* were born. Cheap printing and halfpenny postage make it easy, of

course, for some scattered party, with perhaps only a few score representatives here and there in England, to present what looks like a united front with a mighty phalanx of strength behind. You can, by these papers, pull your wires and tighten your organisation as you could not do in any other way. But, I repeat it, the papers are the natural expression and not the origin of our party spirit. What are the facts? In this year of grace, 1882, there are about 2,000 different newspapers published every week in the United Kingdom. Every sort of human craze and crochet, good, bad, and indifferent, has its own organ. Anti-vaccination reformers, women's suffrage reformers, and every separate grade and sort of temperance reformers; each of these and twenty more have a newspaper peculiarly their own, and when you find on looking down the list that there is a *Mineral Waters' Advocate* and a *Hairdressers' Chronicle*, it need not surprise you that the ecclesiastical world should, besides its great and useful newspapers, have its petty organs too. Of this I am quite sure—if it had been possible to have a *Church Times* and a *Rock* in easy circulation in the last century, say when Sacheverell was impeached before the House of Lords, or when Toplady attacked John Wesley, or when Lord George Gordon cried "No Popery," we should have had words upon both sides at least as vehement as any that are likely to appear in print about our doings and sayings to-day. There are always some men who revel in party controversy—

> "When sharp and stinging
> The angry words fly daily to and fro,
> Friend against friend the polished missile flinging,
> Each seeking who can launch the keenest blow."

There have always been, and there always will be, vigorous, hearty, shillelah-loving men, rushing headlong into the thickest fray with the honest Irishman's exclamation, as he hit out right and left, "God grant I may take the right side!" It is not that party spirit runs higher now, but only that it is easier to give it voice. The more duty then for us to give full voice upon the other side to the indisputable truth that, after all, we are still one at heart. How are we to do it? It is, perhaps, easy enough upon this platform once a year, but how are we to do it as the year goes round? May I, with every sort of apology for the presumption, suggest one or two ways in which we may bring to the front in daily life this "Unity of Belief in Relation to Diversities of Thought"? First, then, I venture to think we ought sometimes, at our desks if not elsewhere, to clear the air for a little from technical theological terms, and by reducing the questions about which we are apt to be controversial to the simplest and most untechnical English we can find, see whether we are not, after all, more at one than we suppose. I am a shocking mathematician, probably the worst in this room, but I do remember in Colenso's Arithmetic a certain rule—"*reduce your fractions to their lowest terms.*" "Thirty-two forty-eights" sounds ever so much more imposing than "two-thirds," but it means, I believe, exactly the same thing, and is not half such a satisfactory term to deal with. And so when I am distressed by the Popery of one friend, or the Puritanism of another, it would do me all the good in the world if I would sit down quietly and reduce the statements which vex us into simple English, avoiding every sort of technical or theological word. I should probably find the "greatest common measure" of the rival statements to be very much bigger than I had thought. It is so surely (to take one example) with our old controversies about confession. What is "Confession"? Probably few of us would fully agree in a detailed definition of its authority, its origin, its system, and its use, but we should all go so

far as to say that it is the unburdening of one man's heart to another man specially accredited to hear and advise, and officially to declare God's pardon of repented sin. Well, the "common measure" there, which belongs to all our definitions, is pretty large. We go a long way together before we are obliged to separate; and that just because we are avoiding theological technicalities. Had we begun with these we should have split at once. And we might apply the same process to other theological battle-grounds with the same or even better effect. "Baptismal régeneration," "sacramental grace," and many another controverted term would resolve itself into a far less formidable shape if we could strip it of the long words which usually envelop it. Of course I don't for one moment say that these long words are never necessary, or that the technical definitions are always out of place. We need theologians, technical, definite theologians, as much now as we ever did. But I do say that most of us, who are not called upon to do the work either of Athanasius or of Cranmer, can in daily intercourse get on very well without them, and that, in common life at least, we should do very much better if we were habitually to reduce our fractions to their lowest terms by discovering their greatest common measure. I should have liked to point out in the next place, had I time, the mischief we are doing sometimes by persistently attributing to each good man who may differ from us, not merely the opinions he really expresses, but what seem to us to be the legitimate and logical conclusions of those opinions. This is the process—I take his premises, then I draw from them my own conclusion, and then I maintain that he holds that conclusion as an article of faith. Probably he does nothing of the kind. He may very likely be extremely illogical; but then, so may I. Where controversy must be carried on, it is all very well to show a man quietly what is the issue to which his errors, as I think them, must logically carry him. But that is quite another matter from jumping the intervening steps, and exclaiming against my friend for the monstrous opinion he holds, when, as a matter of fact, he doesn't hold it any more than I do. The bell will be upon me if I try to amplify this. But one simple example will show what I mean. The strict doctrine of the absolute necessity of the Apostolical succession for valid orders, and the absolute necessity of valid orders for sacramental grace, may seem to some of us to lead to this—that the Established Church of Scotland, or our Dissenting brethren in England, are in at least as bad a plight as the untaught heathen of Patagonia or Coomassie. But my High Church brother doesn't hold such an opinion any more than I do; and I have no right to say he does merely because his arguments seem to me to lead him in that direction. He may be a very illogical person, and I am quite at liberty, if I can, to show him so. But I am not at liberty falsely to magnify and multiply our divergencies by imputing to him notions which he repudiates and denies. We may find some day—God grant it—when our eyes are opened, that we did not disagree half so much as we supposed, and that a very great many of us are better than our creeds. Now I have come to my last point. It is this. It is not only in theory, but in practice, that we have so much common ground. It is ground for action as well as thought. Look at the best sermons of the best men of any school. How little comparatively—I don't say positively, but how little comparatively—there is in any one of them which would ticket it as belonging to one party or another. They have the same message to tell, and they tell it. Within the last few days I have been reading some old sermons of Dr. Pusey's, most of which might equally well have been preached by Charles Simeon. Let a man (perhaps under

present circumstances he had better be a blind man) go on six successive Sundays to the churches of half a dozen of our foremost London preachers. I am quite certain—and I thank God for it—he would fail to put the proper party labels upon the men he listened to. And yet some of us are fearful of letting into our pulpits, to preach the common Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, men who on some ecclesiastical point or other, which they are not going to preach about, differ from ourselves. Not long ago I asked a worthy friend of mine, whose sermons are very popular, and whose opinions are very Protestant indeed, whether he had ever invited to his pulpit a neighbouring clergyman, well known as a Mission preacher and something of a ritualist. "My dear Davidson," he cried, "I wouldn't do it for the world, and besides, my people would stone me if I did." And yet, from an intimate knowledge of both of them, I venture to say without fear that if each of these good men were to print and circulate anonymously one of his own ordinary sermons together with one of his neighbour's, five people out of six would fail to tell which was which. It is only now and then, after all, that the things about which we differ come to the front in a good man's sermons, and you may be certain he won't seize the opportunity of thrusting these little matters unduly forward when he is asked to preach for one who looks upon them differently from himself. Nothing, I honestly believe, would better stamp the unity of faith and worship which underlies our petty differences than a freer and franker interchange of pulpits. If here and there a conceivable risk might be run, and the congregation of some staunch upholder of Protestant freedom or of Catholic order might for once hear something to which they were unaccustomed, the gain would overbalance the risk a thousandfold. Pick out any six of us parsons from this platform. Judge us by our hats or our waistcoats, or what you please. Set us down upon a battle-field when the fight is over, to minister to the dying. Bring us face to face with men who are passing from time into eternity, and I will answer for it that in five minutes our party badges would be nowhere and our message would be one. The territory, common to us all, out-measures a thousandfold in size and importance the debatable ground of party strifes. What are the two books which next to our Bible and Prayer-book have the widest circulation in English Christendom? They are the work of a Puritan tinker, and an Anglo-Catholic divine—the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Christian Year*. Evidence enough, one would think, that even in our widest diversities we have no lack of common ground. Recognise it then, and look for it. As St. Augustine says, "*Quisquis bonus verusque Christianus est, Domini sui esse intelligat ubique invenerit veritatem.* Let us pray together for our mother Church, which has weathered many storms and will weather more—

> "That her fair form may stand and shine,
> Make bright our days, and light our dreams,
> Turning to scorn with lips Divine
> The falsehood of extremes."

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE name of the next announced speaker, Dr. Phillips Brooks, is familiar to many of you as one of the greatest preachers of the age; but I am sorry to say that we have heard that he only arrived in England last night. He has been telegraphed to this

morning to say that he is due at the Congress this afternoon, and if he does not appear before this meeting is over, we can only conclude that he is unavoidably detained in London or elsewhere, and in the absence of Dr. Brooks, we have now to listen to another speaker. I have before me at present only two cards, and I shall be very glad to receive the names of any other members of the Congress who may wish to speak on this subject. But before the discussion begins, I ought to remind you that in Church Congress, we are so far in advance of the House of Commons, that we have already —and have had for many years, an elaborate system of "cloture"; the clock determines the limit of the debate itself, and the warning bell determines the limits of each speaker's time, which is ten minutes; but warning will be given to them three minutes before their time runs out. Under these conditions, I shall be glad to receive the names of any speakers who may wish to address us.

The Ven. W. EMERY, Archdeacon and Canon of Ely.

I HAVE in the first place to explain to the Church Congress that the publishers of the Official Report are Messrs. Bemrose & Sons. It has been for some years published by Mr. Hodges, but this year the publishers have been changed. There have been very many letters and complaints to the newspapers with regard to the last Report; certainly there was much delay in bringing it out, and many imperfections in the Report itself. For various reasons, further, the Report has not, it is said, even yet reached all those who have paid for it. It is due, however, to Mr. Hodges, to state that owing to changes in his house of business, some of the names of those who have paid for Reports were, as he explains, lost, and that he desires it to be known that if any who have paid for their Reports and have not yet received them, will apply for them, he will take care that copies are sent. Mr. Hodges will, I feel sure, honourably discharge what he has thus promised, as he has done already in several cases. This year I have to ask you to be very careful in giving your orders to Messrs. Bemrose & Sons, though of course if you like, you can obtain copies through your own or any other booksellers. Messrs. Bemrose & Sons have distinctly promised that they will do their best to bring out the Report in a very few weeks, and I have to plead with readers and speakers who receive proofs to send them back at once. The delay has in previous years been greatly due to the fact that speakers and readers—I scarcely like to say from carelessness—have neglected to send back their proofs for a very long time, whilst the publishers did not like to go to press without them; speakers and readers must then clearly understand that with or without the return of the proofs, the Report will be published as promised, the Editor doing his best under the circumstances. I have to announce also that there has been an oppressively large number of full tickets taken, larger than at most previous Congresses. The result is, first, that it is impossible to sell many day tickets; next, that in one or two cases it will be necessary, as we have done this afternoon, to have supplementary meetings. His Lordship has consented that there should be a second working-men's meeting in the Corn Exchange, which will hold about 1,300 or 1,400 persons. About 100 tickets will be reserved, which may be bought, and the rest will be distributed to employers of labour, who are asked to at once apply for them. I will merely add that the Bishop of Winchester will preside at the second meeting of the working men, and that the Archbishop of York will speak, as well as Canon Venables, and others.

The LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

MY LORD BISHOP—I feel rather like an impostor in getting up to speak at this stage, because when I gave my card to the President I said that I should only speak if I had something to say in answer to what had been said before. Now I don't think I have anything to say in answer to what has just been stated, and especially in answer to Mr. Randall Davidson, because I agree with him from the bottom of my heart. But it seems to me that it is possible that we may consider some few practical questions, as to how greater unity may be obtained in the Church and in the country without any sacrifice to vital truth and with perfect friendliness and understanding one with another. However much we may speak of the impossibilities of restraining Free Thought,

I think there can be no Christian man in this country but must feel that our great Diversities of Thought are weakening, and that our differences are rending asunder the body of Christ and producing a great amount of ill-feeling and heart-burning which ought not to exist. How is this to be remedied? First, if we are to have unity we must build upon the basis of dogma. I know the word dogma sounds disagreeable to many persons, but if there is no dogma there can be no backbone in the body. It is impossible to have anything like unity amongst Christians unless we believe in the unity and personality of God. That is dogma of the strongest kind—to believe in God as one and as a person. It is dogma of the strongest kind to believe in the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that Jesus Christ died for our sins, and that but for His death we should have no hope of access to God and eternal life, and it is also decided dogma to believe in the Holy Spirit of God as the author of life and giver of life to the soul. These dogmas, I think, we cannot do without, and we must begin upon them. At the same time I do not think we need insist on a vast variety and diversity of dogma. If we have a few fundamental principles, I cannot but think that we may recognise each other as Christians. Those who believe in the personality of God and the incarnation of Christ, and the regeneration and renewing and sanctifying energy of the Holy Spirit, may recognise one another as Christians, and as members of the same body as themselves. And with reference to what my very learned and able, and excellent friend the Dean of Wells said, I am not sure that I understood him to state that we could do without the Nicene Creed. [The DEAN of WELLS: Oh, no; my lord.] I feel, then, I did not understand him. But I would say that I do not think we can do without the Nicene Creed. It is the creed of universal Christendom, and has been so for 1,500 years, and it states its doctrines in the most distinct clearness and simplicity, and not uncharitable form—the Constantinopolitan form of the Nicene Creed leaving out the anathemas. Having laid this creed down as the basis of our faith, it seems to me that every other doctrine can be tolerated. We ought to tolerate and embrace anybody that will build upon the Nicene faith, and I think it is perfectly possible to unite with those who hold extreme opinions as to Sacraments and the like, if those persons believe in that Creed. There is one other thing that seems to me to be absolutely necessary. It is that we should have one organised body. An army cannot fight and move without organisation. Let the organisation be as simple as you like, but bring it as far as possible near to primitive organisation. Do not ask people to believe in a part of it, but ask people to submit to it. It is simply impossible for us to act together if we do not organise. But then, I would say, that if we are to have unity and tolerance and Christian charity, we must be satisfied to hold our own opinions, and not insist that everybody else should also hold and express them. We should not insist that everybody who joins with us in faith and worship should speak exactly the same words, and have all the same thoughts as we have. We must recognise and acknowledge a fair and full freedom of Diversity of Thought and practice within the great limits of the fundamental doctrines of the faith and the primitive organisation of the Church.

The Right Rev. BISHOP PERRY.

IN the few remarks which I have to make, I shall present a different view of the subject from that taken by the Rev. Randall Davidson, and my old friend the Bishop of Winchester. This I shall endeavour to do in a simple and very practical manner. The fact, for such it is undoubtedly, that unity may and does co-exist with a great diversity of thought, is full of comfort for the Christian, affording him a good hope that many who now differ widely from him, will hereafter be united with him in the Kingdom of God, where all differences will have ceased for ever. This fact also should make us cherish a kindly feeling, and show a Christian charity to all, however great the differences between them and us may be. Nevertheless, we should remember that diversity of religious thought implies for the most part error of doctrine in one or other of the parties so differing, and this error may be such as absolutely to preclude, or if not so, yet to render extremely improbable the existence of a unity of belief, and may cause much danger to the souls of those who hold it. We should therefore distinguish between diversities of thought upon important and unimportant matters—between such as are, and such as are not dangerous to the souls of those who hold them. We should also, I think, distinguish between diversities in the teacher and in his disciples. A

teacher will often himself retain a saving faith in Christ, whilst his false doctrine is leading his disciples altogether away from Christ, and so causing many to perish everlastingly. Hence if there is a danger of forgetting that unity of belief may co-exist with great diversity of thought, and consequently of exhibiting a want of Christian charity towards those who differ from them, there is also on the other hand, a danger of forgetting that diversity of thought may lead to practical unbelief, and cause a man to cease to hold with the Head, which is Christ. At the present time this danger appears to me even greater than the former. In what I am going to say I fear I may seem to be throwing an apple of discord into the assembly, but I hope that in speaking as I am going to do, I shall give no just cause of offence to any of my hearers. I must speak plainly, and I would ask them all to hear me patiently. There exists at the present time, as is universally acknowledged, two schools of thought in the Church of England, the leaders of which are directly opposed to one another, and the particulars as to which they differ, if not inconsistent with a unity of belief in the Gospel, are such as make them contemplate each other's teaching with the gravest apprehension of its consequences. The particulars to which I allude are the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that of auricular confession. It appears to me that if the teachings of the one school on the two particulars are correct, the teaching of the other is so defective that it ought to be distinctly and severely condemned. And if on the contrary, the teaching of the other school is truly Scriptural, the opposite one is certainly contrary to the word of God, and dangerous to the souls of those who receive it, and as such should be persistently opposed. But between the two schools there is an intermediate one of what is called moderate men, whose endeavour is to induce the other two to bear with each others differences, and not to cause a schism in the Church. To this school my friends, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Rev. Randall Davidson, evidently belong. The great object of these is to maintain peace, and I heartily sympathise with them in their desire for peace, but I am convinced that the peace desired by them could only be obtained at the expense of truth. I do not think that St. Paul or any of the apostles would have approved of such a peace. I would say, therefore, to my brethren, both of the clergy and laity: Let us first use all means, especially by the reading and study of the Scriptures, with prayer for the teaching of the Holy Spirit, to satisfy our own minds as to what is the true unity of belief in the Church of Christ, and let us then try to maintain that "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Let us speak the truth in love, but let us also contend earnestly for the faith once committed to the saints. I trust that in these few remarks I have not said anything which will give just cause of offence to my hearers. Earnestly as I desire peace in the Church of England, I do not desire to purchase it by overlooking the great differences of opinion which now exists on what are almost, if not quite, fundamental doctrines amongst us.

The Rev. R. C. LLOYD ENGSTROM, Secretary of the Christian Evidence Society.

THOUGH I rise without special preparation (the paucity of speakers this afternoon alone inducing me to come forward), what I shall say is really the result of much thought on this very important subject, "Unity of Belief in relation to Diversities of Thought." It seems to me that the common definition of faith is very narrow, and consequently misleading, not to say frequently cruel in its practical consequence. Faith would be defined by most either as (*a*) *objective* truth authoritatively *given* to us, or (*b*) the *subjective reception* of it by our understanding. The mind is, after all, here the chief thing, and the very phrasing of our subject seems to somewhat suggest this idea; "Belief," and "Thought," making faith really turn on intellectual assent. But I would venture to suggest that faith is a very much wider and nobler thing than this, though including it as one of its main elements. Is not faith the aspiration of the whole of man's higher nature to God? Surely, if God's *salvation* of man (made in God's image, and redeemed through the work of the Son of God incarnate) is the salvation of man's whole nature—*all* in *God* blessing *all* in *man*—saving faith must be equally glorious and complete. The first result that seems necessarily to flow from the definition I have just given, is that Belief is not *merely* a man coming at some time to say of some article of the Creed, "I see it now," *i.e.*, with the mind. Man being a composite being of *heart* and *will* as well as *mind*, these two must bear their

part in any complete act of faith. There must be the love of God, and the surrender of the will to God, as well as acceptance of His Truth. May it not often be the case that, in the great depths of the inner life, the heart and will are clinging to God, while the mind, from some sad mistake, is led in the case of an earnest *sceptic* to deny revelation—in the case of someone whom we deem *unorthodox*, to deny some special aspect of revealed truth? Yet a third, whom we deem an *orthodox* believer, may not be believing with his heart and will—yes, we too, who condemn the erring one, may be without true faith, except intellectually. Whence, then, does this sad mistake arise? Partly from the simple impossibility of finite man comprehending the infinite God. The moral universe cannot be less extended than the material; and in the latter each observer of nature must confine himself to a limited field of enquiry and discovery. Sir James Paget, in a most noble lecture on "Theology and Science" (published by Rivingtons), compares the difference of aspect between the Theological and the Scientific spirit to the difference of aspect between various branches of Science *compared with one another*, and he is very hopeful that, as in Science these seeming *diversities* lead in the end to greater *unity* of conception, so the larger divergence will tend to a fuller harmony of Theology and Science. We *must*, then, *because God is infinite*, have "Diversities of Thought" about Him and His Truth, yet these may tend to "Unity of Belief." But "Diversities of Thought" arise from another, and that an evil source. We are moulded in our ways of thought by many influences of which we are but dimly conscious. Our views of God, still more our views of particular doctrines, are greatly dependent on the teaching, and still more on the lives of professed believers in God, and in those doctrines. Now when we consider how imperfect at the best must be *our doctrinal* representation of Divine Truth, how terribly narrow, or false, it is at the worst, also how very inconsistent in his *life* is the saint, and how shocking is the conduct of some professors of orthodoxy, we shall see that the Christ we preach and live is often a *caricature* of the real Jesus; and so it is that we are really responsible for the mental unbelief of the brother we condemn: he sees the truth through us, and we distort it on its way, and then he rejects it. But here again there is hope for him, if both he and we can get more Divine love. Then he will be yearning to accept the Truth which he in word denies. Under the surface he will draw very close to us. When a frost breaks up, the water of a lake is separated from the air only by a thin film of ice; the warm rays of the sun breathe upon the ice, the film is gone, and water and air kiss each other. So if we could love God and our brother more, that Divine warmth might remove all that is evil in our differences, and we might find *here*, as we shall find hereafter, that all right "Diversities of Thought" are compatible with a perfect and harmonious "Unity of Belief."

The Rev. R. W. RANDALL, Vicar of All Saints', Clifton, Bristol.

IT seems to me that we are getting far away from Christianity, and that we are going a long way back into a state of peripatetic philosophy. At any rate, at the present moment large numbers of people are walking about the hall, and I have noticed that the last two speakers have found considerable difficulty in bringing their thoughts before the Congress, because of the excitement of the Church movement which is going on around us. But if that can be restrained for a moment, I should be heartily glad to say a few words on this great subject. There are one or two things which struck me during the reading of the first two able papers, but I was glad to find that at least one of them was put before the Congress by one of the bishops who preceded me far better than I could put it. Yet I shall not be sorry to repeat in some measure what has fallen from him. It is sometimes said—and I believe most mistakenly—that there is a vast divergence and disagreement between the honoured Fathers of the Church, our bishops and their presbyters. It is some satisfaction to me, as a presbyter, to know, and to be able to say, that the very thoughts that were passing through my own mind have been uttered by the bishop who has already spoken to you. I want, then, to repeat again in other words, one particular point in his speech. We must bear in mind the more exact meaning of the subject which has been placed before us for our consideration. Instead of speaking of Unity of Belief and Diversity of Thought, I should like to change the word thought into opinion, and so to speak of Unity of Belief and Diversity of Opinion. It seems to me that what we should then have placed before us in this sentence is that there is certainly some truth which we are to look upon as absolutely and clearly revealed to man, but that there is also a very large and wide circle left open where man is free to form his own

opinion on subjects as to which of those is the revelation. Surely it cannot possibly be right to cast aside any clear expression of the truth, which came from God, which the Church has been led by God to use. And for this reason, I ask, what do we mean by faith? We mean that power of the soul, or rather that power worked by the grace of God into the soul, whereby the faithful soul placing itself before God, and listening to Him, is ready with childlike docility to receive the utterances of God. Now the clearer these utterances are, the better for the soul. Never shall I forget the occasion on which I heard this simply and touchingly put before a congregation of labourers in a country church on Christmas Day, and in such a manner as to make them understand it. The preacher was the late Bishop Wilberforce, and he took as his subject "The appearance of the angels to the shepherds at the time of the Nativity." He described the shepherds as listening with joy and wonder to the angels' song, and delighting in the glory of the Lord which shone around them. But, he said, they could not stay listening to the song or gazing at the light. They heard the message, and they said one to another, "Let us now go even unto Bethlehem and see this thing which has come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us." He described how they went and saw what seemed to them so strange—the child lying in the lonely manger; and then how they realised something of the glory of the Incarnation of the Son of God. And so, he said, all through the history of Christendom, the Church has been forced to turn aside from what may be called the pure shining light of the revelation of the simple creed of the first Christian days, and has had to go down to her Bethlehem, and see the thing which has come to pass. As error after error has sprung up, she has been led to see more clearly the meaning of the truth which has been revealed to her. The truth has come out more distinctly before her mind as she put aside the different errors which threatened to obscure it. Never, therefore, let us cast away one single expression of the clearness of the truth. It is most important that we should receive in its exactness what has been uttered—because the truth comes from God. If we put aside any clearly uttered language of the received creed of the Church, or even any part of those creeds, we are throwing away what I may venture to say—again almost in the words of that bishop—may be described as one of the marvellous victories of God, whereby He has made the very errors of man the means of bringing out His own revelation into clearer light. He who is the God of truth has used the mistakes, even the perverse mistakes of His own poor children, to set before the minds of His Church in greater distinction the very truths which for a time those errors threatened to obscure, so that His children's eyes may be more fixed upon those truths, and His children's hearts be more ruled by them. For we must never forget those words which fell from Canon Furse: "There is no one dogma of the Church which does not concern life. Saint Paul's Epistles are pregnant at once with the clearest dogma and the highest morality. No truth of the Christian creed but has been made by him to bear upon heart and life, upon speech and character, upon intercourse of man with God, and upon intercourse of man with man." So as we pass away from this discussion to-day, do not let us dream of going back to what may be called the less distinct apprehension of truth that belonged to the early days of Christianity. Rather let us live in the full glory of that brighter revelation which God has shed upon His Church.

The Rev. J. WYCLIFFE GEDGE, M.A., Diocesan Inspector of Schools, Winchester Diocese.

As Diocesan Inspector of Schools and a Peripatetic Preacher, I have had excellent opportunities of observing the present position of parties in the Church of England. For the last fourteen years I have been going up and down in parishes in which the Clergy hold every diversity of opinion. Last Sunday I preached in a surplice and a green stole, and a Sunday or two before, I wore a black gown. I am glad of the opportunity of bearing my testimony to the fact that the Clergy are daily drawing nearer and nearer to one another in the unity of spirit and the bond of faith. Thirty years ago the great controversy which divided the Church of England was that of Holy Baptism. My lord, we all know well that the echoes of that controversy have almost entirely ceased to reverberate. Now the controversy centres rather around the sacrament of the Holy Communion. Am I too sanguine if I venture to express the hope that thirty years hence the echoes of this controversy may also have died away? There is surely room within the limits of the Church of England for those who hold diversity of opinion as regards Holy Communion. Take the other

great subject which has come into prominence, more especially introduced by the so-called Evangelical school of some forty or fifty years ago—the Atonement. What services are better attended than the "Three Hours' Service," on Good Friday, when the great doctrine of the Atonement is so prominently brought forward by those called High Churchmen. So much as regards Faith. May I also say a word as regards practice. Two things have been already mentioned this afternoon; one is the matter of confession. Mr. Randall Davidson has given us a definition of confession. That definition will, I am sure, be accepted by almost all Churchmen, of whatever school of thought. My lord, I was taught long ago in my boyish days by an Evangelical Clergyman to go to him in his study, and be questioned as to my sins and the state of my soul, much in the same manner, I imagine, as is done in confession.

Then as regards Ritual. There are many things, such as Choral Services and the like, which twenty years ago were practised by one party alone, and are now done by all. In the church of the clergyman to which I have alluded, we never had a celebration of the Holy Communion without singing a hymn, and yet having a hymn and music at the Holy Communion—that is one of the things for which Mr. Green is in prison. I do not wish to raise a controversial question; I am only stating facts. It seems to me that there are in the Church a number of circles. Some of these circles move and stand, as it were, alone in their own centres. Others are circles which cut one another very hardly and sharply. Surely we should all wish, and strive, and pray, that the circles may become concentric circles around Christ their centre, for the nearer we get to that centre, the nearer we shall get to one another; and the time may once again come round when it shall be said in reality "See how these Christians love one another."

TEMPERANCE HALL.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 3RD.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT and the Very Rev. the DEAN of LICHFIELD, Chairmen.

THE JEWS

(*a*) PRESENT RELIGIOUS CONDITION.
(*b*) THEIR PROSPECTS.
(*c*) THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TO THEM.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT,

Who in the first instance took the chair, having read the principal portion of the Inaugural Address he had previously delivered in the Drill Hall, said:—I am now obliged to return to my duty in the Drill Hall, and I will ask the Dean of Lichfield to take my place as chairman of this meeting. You will all recognise in this selection a very special fitness, knowing the deep interest the Dean has always taken in the work of the Church in relation to the Jews, and I gladly leave the chair with him.

The Very Rev. the DEAN of LICHFIELD,

On taking the chair, said:—The present is a most opportune time for considering well and carefully our great duty and obligations to the Jewish people. We are all aware of the progress which that interesting nation is making in this country, acquiring continually increasing property in England, and increasing influence. Contemporaneous with that happy progress of influence on the part of the Jews at home, we

have contemplated the bitter persecution of them in the various provinces of Russia. I will not say more on the subject at the present moment, but will reserve what I wish to say further, if there is time for me to make any remarks, till the conclusion of the meeting.

PAPERS.

The Rev. J. C. S. KRŒNIG.

As a son of Israel I feel it a privilege to be permitted to bring the condition of my brethren—the Jews—before an audience whose chief distinction is that they have been made partakers of the "*Hope of Israel*," and have thus become subjects of Him who is the "King of the Jews."

As a Clergyman of the Church of England, I am thankful that this subject of the Jews has had a place allotted it in this august Church-gathering, because to my mind it marks a very significant development in the Missionary spirit of our Church, which seems now aroused as a Church, and not as *one section only*, to inquire after the welfare of her elder brethren—the Jews.

I trust, yea, I feel convinced, that the results of such an inquiry will, under the Divine guidance and blessing, be productive of a two-fold benefit, viz:—

(1.) To narrow the chasm which now divides the *natural* from the *spiritual* Israel; and

(2.) To stir up an increased zeal in our beloved Church at large, for the furtherance of that sacred mission entrusted to her, viz., the Evangelisation of God's ancient people.

In trying to ascertain the religious condition of the Jews, we must necessarily bear in mind their past history, which abounds with much that cannot fail to impress every candid Christian with the greatest respect for their character as a nation, and their conduct as individuals. Their patience under suffering, their great attachment to the memory of their ancestors, their diligent attention to pursuits of literature, even under the most trying circumstances, their ardent devotion to religion, and their general benevolence and kindness, justly calls for our unqualified admiration. But as a Church we cannot *ignore* nor *lightly* pass over the proofs that abound on all sides of their spiritual blindness and destitution, and hence, in instituting an inquiry as to their religious condition, etc., there are *two* points we must not loose sight of, viz:—

(1.) That the Church is fully convinced that the present alienation of the Jews from the commonwealth of the Church, does in no way alter the Scriptural relation of the Church to the Jew; and

(2.) That the Church has in her possession the infallible remedy and means whereby alone this alienation (or estrangement) can be changed.

But the inquiry involves a yet further consideration. In seeking to investigate the religious condition of the Jews, and to pronounce our judgment upon it, it will be necessary to do so by an authorized test; a standard, the accuracy and authority of which cannot be challenged. And what is that standard of the Church, which at once authorizes and enables her to ascertain truth and distinguish it from error? The Bible. That inspired word; penned by Jewish hands, revealed to Jewish Prophets, magnified by a Jewish Saviour, and propagated by Jewish Apostles.

To this tribunal we must appeal for decision:—"To the Law and to the Testimony: if they speak not according to this word it is because there is no Light in them." (Isa. viii. 20.)

As I shall in the course of this inquiry have to touch on some of the errors of Judaism, and lest my motives should be misjudged (by my Jewish brethren), I wish it to be understood that I am not dealing with the question as an accuser of my brethren; for my having renounced Judaism because I found it wanting when laid in the balance of God's holy word, has by no means lessened my attachment for my Nation, yea, it has increased it. I have the deepest affection for my Jewish brethren, and admire their genius, their love for learning, I venerate their literature; but pitying their blindness, I reiterate most sincerely the Apostle's Prayer—"My heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that they may be saved."

Judaism consists of two great sections, viz., the *Orthodox* and the *Reform*; both have their minor subdivisions, such as the Chasidim and the Karaites.* To these two schools of thought I shall confine my remarks, and trace briefly their rise, progress, and development.

Of the Orthodox party we can truly say that the Alpha and Omega of their Creed is Rabbinism, viz: Rabbinical tradition. The creed of the Reform party is a mixture of Unitarianism, Indifferentism, and Socialistic Neology. In neither school—the Orthodox, nor the Reform—does prophetic Scripture pure and simple hold great sway. It may be said of these two sections that they divide between them the prohibition, "thou shalt neither add nor diminish;" the Orthodox Jew by adding; the Reform, by diminishing from the word of God. According to the most recent statistics there are ten million of Jews in the world.†

As touching their Creed, I would divide the ten million into three groups:—

The 1st group comprehends the Jews in the interior of Africa—in the Arabia of our day, the East Indies, China, Turkestan, and Bokhara. This group represents a population in a low grade of civilization, who have preserved but scanty relics even of the religion of their fathers, but the little that is perserved is of a Rabbinic tint.

The 2nd group comprehends the Jews in North Africa, Egypt,

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* The Chasidim are a numerous body in Galicia, whose chief difference from the rest of the Orthodox Jews consists in recognising more fully the Cabbalistic mysteries. They are under the government of one Rabbi, whom they style *Tsaddik*, *i.e.*, Righteous, who is regarded as a temporary Messiah, to whom great homage is paid, and to whom Pilgrimages are made and offerings brought to obtain his benediction.

The Karaites are a small secluded section of Jews, of remote antiquity, settled in the Caucasus, opposed to all Rabbinism; never mingle with any other section of the Jews—as their name imports: they are readers and use no commentary.

† Their proportion is:—

Sweden	1 Jew to every	5000	inhabitants
Russia	,,	30	,,
Belgium	,,	3000	,,
Holland	,,	54	,,
Italy	,,	700	,,
Prussian States	,,	90	,,
Gt. Britain	,,	700	,,
Wurtenberg	,,	200	,,
North America	,,	200	,,
Austria	,,	34	,,

Their proportion is:—

Greece	1 Jew to every	900	inhabitants
Turkey	,,	53	,,
France	,,	500	,,
Algeria and North Africa	,,	10	,,
Hamburg	,,	32	,,
Frankfort	,,	17	,,
Amsterdam	,,	12	,,
Warsaw	,,	3	,,
Jerusalem	,,	2	,,

Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, European Turkey, parts of Austria, Poland, and Russia, and presents a population which can show few elements of general culture, but possesses a most extensive knowledge of traditional literature to which it clings; and also of the Scriptures.

The 3rd group comprehends the Jews in North America and the Western half of Europe, and presents a population which, although possessing a great knowledge of Rabbinism, yet possess an equal share of general culture, and are gradually adopting the civilization of the countries in which they dwell, and become at the same time more and more alienated from Orthodoxy, and border on Reform. Thus it will be seen that Orthodox or Rabbinic Judaism greatly preponderates on the whole.

The religious condition of the Jews in our day has much in common with the Judaism in our Lord's day. There is still the Pharisee and the Sadducee, but, alas, there is also the addition of the Exotic—the Socialist. Already in our Lord's time tradition formed a strong ingredient in the religious life of the Jew—traditions which undoubtedly were of Chaldean origin, accumulated during the Babylonish captivity, and hence were mingled with and founded upon superstitions, but were so weaved in by the Pharisees into a network of multifarious observances, that our Lord felt constrained to chide the Jews with making void the Word of God by their traditions. And on the same basis has the Judaism of our day largely developed.

In the development of Judaism, after being estranged from its original soil, and having to arm itself for a new race under different influences, tradition enters on a new phase. The heads of the Great Synagogue concentrated all their care and efforts to secure the religious existence of the dispersed, and to protect it against the mighty influences from without; so as in some way to substitute something to replace that peculiar religious life which, removed from its home, and deprived of its communion in the Temple at Jerusalem, and all other advantages of its National expression, stood in danger of decay. Ceremony and Precept was thus adopted to regulate every detail of Jewish life, and these were invested with Divine authority based on the Cabalistic theory, which affirms that Moses received on Sinai the *Oral Law*, as well as the written tables; and the efficacy of which is handed down to successive generations to the Rabbies, investing them with præternatural power and wisdom, and hence the Rabbies were to be recognized as Divinely instituted teachers and keepers of mystery.

These formulæ thus became the foundation of another great edifice, the Synagogue, to which the Jew clings as the focus of National Union. Thus were the first few centuries after the destruction of the Temple occupied with the compilation and dissemination of boundless traditions, worked out by men of honest but misguided zeal, misguided because it was not *regulated* by the infallible guide, *God's written word.** We may thus trace to the extinction of Israel's peculiar national existence, the autocracy of Tradition, and which is the foundation of Orthodox Judaism in our day, whose distinctive feature is to regard the Oral Law as superseding written revelation.

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* From the second to the sixth century no less than 1,700 Rabbies were each contributing their quota to this fabric of tradition, *The Talmud.*

It has been well said by a great Divine "that Samson, when shorn of that in which his great strength lay, when blinded and set to grind in the mill, did not differ so much from the Samson who wrought great wonders in Israel, and turned to flight armies of aliens, as the writings of the later Jews differ from their inspired fathers." If any resemblance can be traced, it is that which is caused by servile imitations; if there are portions in Rabbinism which seem capable of proving their identity with that which we have studied and admired in the Old Testament Scriptures, we are compelled to feel that we only meet with the Jewish mind in dotage when we study it in Judaism. But it might be asked how came it to pass that the vast mass of traditional observances took such deep hold on the Jewish mind; ursurped such authority? The answer is: The Rabbies were not void of forethought for the perpetuation of their enactments. They fortified them by safeguards, which they call "Geder Hatorah, *i.e.*, the fence of the Law." Amongst many I will name three:—

(1.) By arming every injunction with Divine authority, finding an *ipse dixit* for it from the written word by straining some passage of Scripture. This will best be illustrated by a few short quotations from *The Talmud*: "He who contradicts his Rabbi, it is the same as if he had contradicted the Divine Majesty, as it is written (Numb. xxvi. 9.) they strove against the Lord." (Tract. Sanhedrin, fol. 110, col. 1.) "He who transgresses the words of the Rabbies is worthy of death." (Tract. Eruvin fol. xxi., col. 2.) "Even though the Rabbi tell thee that the right hand be the left and the left the right, thou shalt believe it." (Rashi's Comment. on Deut. xvii. 11.) "It is more criminal to teach anything contrary to the ordinances of the scribes than against the written Law." (Mishnah Sanhedrin, c. xi., 3.)

The 2nd safeguard consists of prohibitions under the title "Chukath Hagoyim, *i.e.*, Customs of the Gentiles."

Under this heading all usages adopted by the Gentiles, either domestic, religious, or social, are forbidden. For instance, music in the Synagogue, because it is used in Churches.* For similar reasons kneeling in private or public worship is forbidden; although it is not denied by the Rabbies that kneeling is the most proper attitude in devotion, and they have made a concession to have kneeling in the Abodah, *i.e.*, most solemn part of the service on the Day of Atonement. Praying with uncovered head is forbidden for the same reason; and a multitude of similar prohibitions were to serve as means of putting a bar to prevent any intercourse with Gentiles.

The 3rd safeguard is "the Cherem, *i.e.*, the ban of Excommunication," to which any one who should in any way, by word or deed, transgress against the injunction of the Rabbies, or call in question their Divine authority, is amenable; and this holds good either in the case of an individual or a community.

Time will only permit me to give one or two instances in which this law was put into execution. One in the twelfth century against the great Rabbi Maimonides, because in classifying their Rabbinic writings he ventured

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* A Jewish author in speaking of Church music has the following couplet on music:—
"What says the art of music among the Nazarenes?
I have been stolen from the land of the Hebrews."

to reject some of them; he was excommunicated by the French Synagogue, and his works (which were numerous) condemned to the flames by the College at Montpelier; although, strange to say, his works were still destined to outlive these prejudices; and now the Ikkarim, *i.e.*, Thirteen principles of the Jewish Faith, composed by him, are part and parcel of the Jewish Creed of the present day. And the great eulogy passed on him by the Synagogue in a later age is "From Moses (the Lawgiver) to Moses (Maimon), there arose no one like Moses (Maimon)."

Another instance where the ban was put into execution is in 1842, when the late Chief Rabbi of England, Dr. Hirshel, issued the edict against the Minister and Congregation of the Reform Synagogue in London, for setting aside some of the Rabbinic ordinances. The edict was confirmed by the present Chief Rabbi in 1845, when succeeding to the Rabbinical Chair; and the Chief Rabbi's declaration on that occasion is said to be:—"The Chief Rabbi has resolved not to permit a single infraction of the Oral Law, but to have the whole Talmud received and acknowledged as Divine."

But the final development of Judaism, and that which has tended to keep orthodoxy together for the last few centuries, is their Liturgy. This is a voluminous compilation, a literature in itself, the product of many ages and varied talents. It is a compendium of ritual, in which symbol and ceremony is blended, types and shadows substituted for scripture realities. Fasting and prayer is substituted for sacrifices.* A lamb bone and a consecrated passover cake is the substitution for the Paschal Lamb, and wherever scripture puts *repentance*, the word *fasting* is substituted, and for the word *righteousness*, *almsgiving* is substituted.† In this Liturgy, every usage both for the social, domestic, and religious circle is provided for, and most of the ten thousand Rabbinic ordinances regulating Judaism, find an echo in this liturgy—the Psalms are classified as charms and amulets for all the events and vicissitudes of life—the angelic host is invoked, and a mystic name assigned to each angel.‡ Dreams are elevated to the position of Divine Revelation, for which a *repertoire* of interpretation exists, and a very pathetic prayer for dreams inserted in the solemn service of the synagogue on high festivals (designated, "Blessings of Priests," founded on the Aaronic benediction in Numb. vi. 23—27.) In the Liturgy the Jew has his Directorium from the cradle to the grave; it is his oracle and guide to the numerous superstitions by which the doctrines of Purgatory, prayers for the dead, resurrection, eternal life, etc., are hemmed in. In short, Orthodox Judaism does not ask "what saith the Lord," but "what say the Sages."

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* One of the *Prayers for a Fast-day*.

"O Lord, may the diminution of my blood and fat by fasting to-day, be acceptable as if the sacrifice had been slain on the altar."

† "Repentance, Prayer, and Righteousness, annul the evil decree," is thus paraphrased;—"Fasting, Weeping, and almsgiving, annul the evil decree." *Vide* Prayers for Day of Atonement.

‡ Thus, prior to the sounding of the Shophar, *i.e.*, the Rams-horn (a Rabbinic substitution for the ordinance in Levit. xxiii. 24., of the Feast of Trumpets), on their New Year's Day, they invoke a host of angels, calling each one by a mystic name, asking them to present their Prayers before the throne of grace, that God may accord the merit of the offering up of the Ram caught in a thicket, and thus remember the meritorious act of Abraham's willingness to offer up Isaac.

But there is one topic which holds the pre-eminence in the religious life of the Jew, and to which every portion of the Jewish liturgy and ritual has given great prominence, the hope of their national restoration through Messiah the Son of David. All consolations for past sorrows and present tribulations, and hopes of future glory, are centered in the advent of this Deliverer. Both in elegy and song his advent is the theme. In every festive ordinance this glorious event is foreshadowed in symbol and type, and every petition for deliverance is offered up and asked for Messiah's sake. And although this article of their creed has caused them much disaster, yet they cling to it with a marvellous, yea, I may say an inexplicable tenacity.* But, alas, it is not Messiah the sin bearer, not the atoner, not the meek and lowly, not the Messiah of the Scriptures, but a conquèring hero that they look for, and hence, on more than one occasion, their expectation has ended in sad disappointment. No less than twenty-two *False Messiahs* have imposed on the credulity of the Jews from Trajan to this day, and many were the troubles they brought on themselves in consequence. Each political convulsion seems to strike that vibrating chord of expectancy. What a striking fulfilment of our Lord's prophetic warning:—"I am come in My Father's name and ye receive Me not, if another shall come in his own name him ye will receive."—St. John v. 43.

As recently as 1840, in virtue of the exposition of a mystical passage from the Zohar (one of the most ancient Jewish writers), a general expectation of Messiah became the theme of Orthodox Judaism, who issued what was known as the Frankfort Judaeo Patriotic Manifesto. But a great crisis in the religious condition of the Jews was ushered in in the latter part of the eighteenth century, by the translation of the Scriptures and portions of the Liturgy into the vernacular of modern languages, and the introduction of periodical Jewish literature. The originator of this change was Moses Mendelsohn, whose idea of reform was the disruption of Rabbinic fetters, and philosophic liberty of thought. Burning questions of religion were now discussed in the different periodicals, a new school of thought sprang up, and a mighty agitation for reform was now fomenting. Wearied and downcast by Messianic disappointment, the study of Rabbinism lost its charm. The agitation continued till 1843, when a great Council of Rabbies assembled at Brunswick, to discuss the desirability of reform. Six points affecting the most vital parts of Judaism were submitted, amongst which were—1. Abolition of the Hebrew language in prayer. 2. To eliminate from the liturgy every mention of the doctrine of Messiah. 3. Abolition of all sacrificial prayers. 4. Abolition of all reference for the return to the Holy Land.

A protest by 77 Rabbis of the orthodox party was made, but these points were carried in a subsequent assembly, at Frankfort, under the presidency of the ablest of German Rabbis, the late Dr. Geiger. Some idea of the religious condition of the Jews may be formed by a few quotations from the speeches of the Rabbis in that assembly:—

"Gentlemen," said one of the delegate Rabbis, addressing the as-

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* One of the thirteen articles called Ikkarim, *i.e.*, Fundamentals of Faith, runs thus:—"I believe with perfect Faith in the coming of Messiah, and although he tarry, yet will I daily expect his coming."—*Vide Daily Prayers.*

sembly, "we look upon you as a second Sinai, whence we are to receive a new law."

Another delegate Rabbi said—"We cannot any longer join with fervent sympathy in repeating passages which refer to the election of Israel as if we Jews enjoy the peculiar love and favour of the Father of all mankind, nor in the Prayer for the return to Palestine, and we shall be compelled either to abstain altogether from public worship, or suffer our lips merely to join in it."

Another delegate (Dr. Herzfeld, of Brunswick), made a direct attack on the Word of God:—"The Bible," he said, "is the Word of God it is true, yet not wholly the Word of God."

Another delegate (Dr. Jolowicz, of Thorn), said—"What the people do not recognise as the Word of God, so much of the Bible is not the Word of God."

Dr. Kahn, Rabbi of Treves, said:—"According to the Bible, we are not bound to believe in a personal Messiah, only a few prophets announced a personal Messiah, but most of them an Ideal one."

Such is the theology of some of the great shepherds of Israel! Thus was reform launched and spread in Germany, France, England, and America—all agreed to dissent from Orthodoxy, but were divided in principle—one section ignoring the Divinity of the Bible, another only accepting so much of it as Divine as suited their own tastes, another section retaining a little of both Scripture and Tradition. This is the religious condition of the Jews: Ritualistic Rationalism on the one side, putting tradition above revelation; and Intellectual Rationalism on the other, elevating philosophy above revelation.

The religious condition of the Jews may, in short, be described as one of * *dissatisfaction*, *agitation*, and *inquiry*.

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* "JEWISH LAW AND MODERN LIFE."

Our recent articles on Jewish Law and Modern Life have attracted much attention in the United States. The *Jewiih Messenger* and other Jewish papers are reproducing the articles *in extenso*. The *American Hebrew*, under the heading "A New Departure," says —

"At last European Jews seem to awaken to the fact that Judaism is not, on the one hand, a toy to be used with childish caprice, nor, on the other hand a fossil fit only to be placed in a museum of antiquities, but rather a living reality, which has entered, and must continue to enter, into the lives of men and women, making them better for its entrance. The *Jewish Chronicle*, which voices the best Jewish thought of Europe, finally realises that much of the *Shulchan Aruch* (*Shulchan Aruch* is the standard code of laws regulating Jewish life. The etymology of the words is, 'a table prepared,') has outlived itself, and must be remodelled to suit the demands of our modern life. In this conclusion the *Chronicle* is in unison with American Hebrews, at least, those who desire more the permanent weal of Judaism than the temporary convenience of Jews; and with the *Chronicle* to lead the movement, it will acquire an accession of strength everywhere. Two facts stare us in the face with a pertinacity that will not down. The first of these is that the so-called Reform movement is a failure, that it does not prevent an alienation from Judaism of the flower of our Jewish youth; that they who should constitute our bone and sinew have not been brought into accord with us, either in thought or deed. The other is that fossilized Judaism is as repugnant to cultured Jews as reform is insufficient and illogical. Between these two facts, and while the ministers of each party are widening the schism, Judaism is fast losing its hold on the hearts and minds of the young. In New York, however it may be elsewhere, every infidel orator draws a larger attendance of Jews than any synagogue or temple. Let us not deceive ourselves. This picture is true, and the sooner we understand it, the better it will be for us.

Dissatisfaction with a burdensome symbolic ritual, a restlessness which has manifested itself in many ways, * a breach has been made even in Orthodox Judaism, and although the Rabbinic Safeguards have not been authoritatively removed, yet they have been infringed, and even many of the most successful changes in the Synagogue are due to the influences of Christianity, such as Sabbath Schools, Tract Distribution, District Visiting, Regular Pulpit Instruction, and Bible (Old Testament) Distribution. Agitation on all sides clamours for reform, fearing the incursion of stronger gospel influences.

In a German Jewish periodical, an earnest Jew in pleading for reform said :—"I see furtive glances cast towards Christianity. Can Christianity help us? Do not, I beseech you, compare the present Reform of Judaism with the Christian Reformation. Luther's Reformation was an honest one, he swore on the Scriptures, and no thought arose in his heart which deviated a hair's breadth from the Word of God. That was the reason why his work succeeded; whereas now levity goes for courage, and dialectic skill, with its diplomatic windings, for simple eloquent honesty."

Dr. Geiger, the great Reform Rabbi, truly describes Judaism when he says :—"There exists at present a confusion in Judaism, as never before. . . . . Most Jews live in a religion which does not live in them, and yet do not try to remove this discrepancy."

The state of Judaism may perhaps also be culled from the words of the editor of the first English Jewish periodical :—"*Hebrew Review*," *Oct. 21st*, 1859, in his introductory remarks.

"Whilst the fountain of the living waters, flowing through the rich field of ancient and modern literature has grown *stagnant* among us, our Christian brethern have not remained inactive."

In allusion to Rabbinism, the same writer says :—"In the selection of our authors we shall be guided by the *spirit of progress* and enlightenment characteristic of the present age, as we are not *insensible to the necessity of weeding our ancient literature*, composed in a less civilised age and country, preserving those parts which will supply food to the mind without offending a more refined taste and a more civilising spirit." This is a remarkable confession of an orthodox Jewish journal! What becomes of the Divine authority of the Rabbies? Fears from within, an attack (by Mr. Claude Montefiore in the "*Nineteenth Century Review*)," † fears

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The remedy can lie only in re-adaptation of Judaism—a reform—not only of ritual, which is secondary, but a fundamental reform as broad and comprehensive as the spirit of Judaism will permit ; a reform which shall make Judaism really progressive. The time is past for hap-hazard destruction. We must have, and speedily, else it will be too late, a convention of Jewish scholars who shall represent all Judaism, *who must consider the transitory state in which we now are, and must legislate wisely and well if Judaism shall maintain its historic place."—Extract from "Jewish Chronicle," August, 18th, 1882.*

* "Recent intermarriages in the highest Jewish families (Rothschild's) with Gentiles."

† I append the remarks of "*The Jewish Chronicle*," the most able Jewish organ, on the above article of Mr. Montefiore : "The appearance of an article on Judaism from the pen of Mr. Claude Montefiore is a social as well as a literary event. His social position enables him to speak with the fullest freedom, which has often been debarred to men of less position. Mr. Montefiore comes forth as the first of the band of

from without shown by Judaism entering on the arena of Polemics, *Dr. Adler's Polemic Sermons against Christianity, in* 1869; Dr. Geiger, attacking the Divinity of Christ in his article of "Hillel and Jesus;" the late Emmanuel Deutsch, of the British Museum, in his article on the Talmud, seeking the same object, and arising from the same cause, viz: the influences and incursions of Christianity. But there is also a spirit of inquiry stirred. Recent events in Russia and the East have drawn a portion of orthodox Judaism to search the indelible Roll. Who can tell what gigantic proportions this inquiry may assume under the Divine guidance and the Church's fostering care. Because when the Jew is freed from the fetters of Rabbinism, when (as the Prophet Jeremiah says), (Jerem. v. 10.) "the battlements which are not the Lord's are taken away," and his inquiry guided by the pure Word, he cannot fail to realise his incompleteness; and Christianity is then his only refuge to become, as was well defined by the late Earl of Beaconsfield, "A complete Jew, complete in Christ, the Scriptural Messiah."

Who can reflect on the religious condition of the Jews without the sigh of sympathy; how long? Who can see tempest-tossed Israel heaving on the quicksands of human tradition without extending to her a helping hand to reach the haven of safety?

Must not every Christian ask with Jeremiah—How is it that the fine gold has become so dim? And is not the answer given by the same Prophet: "My people have committed two evils; they have forsaken Me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns; broken cisterns that can hold no water." (Jerem. ii. 13.)

The lesson which is thus conveyed to us should be studied and noted, and when we see the extent of error to which man can sink with regard to the efficacy of ceremonial observances, and his blindness as to moral truth, we may gain a Godly jealousy of all such unscriptural additions in the rule of life; and may we guard with greater zeal than ever our sacred treasure, the Word of God.

Yes; we are on the eve of a great reform in Judaism (you have only to consult their periodical literature to see the gathering clouds). It is for the Church (as a Biblical and Missionary Church) to watch this movement prayerfully.

Oh, that the Lord may in mercy raise up some Luther, who may fearlessly, and with honest zeal for Divine revelation, purge away the dross and dispel the dark cloud (rend the vail) that hides Him who must become "the glory of His people, Israel." I ask the Church on Earth to join with one voice in this prayer; and may the Church in Heaven respond with its loud Amen.

'Academic Jews' who are destined to form the brain of our community in the next twenty years. It is natural that these young men should look upon religion with somewhat freer views than men who, like the Jewish clergy, have been bred up in an atmosphere of less culture. We are clearly on the eve of a wide divergence from current views among these young Israelites who bring English University culture to the aid of their Judaism. Even from an orthodox point of view one may welcome these incursions of new and foreign views as likely to infuse life into the religion of English Jews. It is at any rate gratifying to find as much zeal for Judaism among men who have the greatest temptations towards a life less bound by local, or let us even call them 'tribal' ties. Howevet universalist his religious views, Mr. Montefiore is clearly 'tribal' in the ideal of life he has set before him."

The CHAIRMAN.

In calling upon the Rev. M. Rosenthal to read the next paper, I must say that he is well known, I have no doubt, to many in this room as the earnest and efficient curate of St. Peter's, Eaton Square; and for the last two or three years he has been labouring in the East of London, and—if I may say it in his presence—with remarkable success, amongst the Jewish population. I believe that Mr. Rosenthal, under God's blessing, has been the means of bringing some fifty or more intelligent Jews, after careful preparation with him, to receive Holy Baptism, and so to become loyal and faithful members of the Church of England.

The Rev. MICHAEL ROSENTHAL.

IT would be impossible in the brief space of a paper like this to dwell exhaustively on both parts of my subject—viz.: "The Religious Condition of the Jews, and the Duty of the Church towards them." I shall, therefore, confine myself to a few general remarks on the former part, and enter more fully on the latter part of my subject, which seems to me the more important of the two.

Generally speaking, the present religious condition of the Jews exhibits but a stereotyped aspect of what it was in the time of our blessed Lord. As a body, they are still Pharisees; and their religious condition shows only too clearly what a combination of self-righteousness and superstition can effect. There are, of course, Jews and Jews, and what may be true of the semi-civilised Russian or Eastern Jew, may not be true in the same degree of the highly-polished Western Jew. There are also many among them deeply infected with scepticism, some professing a sort of Spinozan creed, while others not only reject all creed, but are even basè enough to boast of their infidelity, denying, like the Sadducees of old, everything spiritual. But these, though numerous among the wealthy and influential, form only a very small minority of the Jews as a nation. The great mass of the people are given over to an extravagant superstition; they zealously observe certain religious rites and ceremonies, but are heedless of some of the most vital principles of revealed religion. They believe the oracles of God, but deny the Personality of the Holy Ghost who dictated them. They adore the letter of God's word, but ignore its spirit. In the room of the revealed religion of the Pentateuch, which was essentially sacerdotal and sacrificial, they have now a religion ingeniously invented by the Rabbins, grounded on mystical and fanciful interpretations of the Old Testament, consisting of a multitude of precepts blended with fables and legends, tending to pervert the mind, to produce a keen and subtle intellect, and to foster that intolerable spirit of Pharisaism against which Christ so earnestly protested.

The Rabbinical formula that the written law can only be interpreted through Talmudic traditions, is the great barrier between God's ancient people and the Holy One of Israel.

Wherever the Jew resides, whether in Europe or America, in Asia

or Africa, he blindly clings with a most bigoted tenacity to what is now but the mere shell, in which the great mystery of human redemption had once been treasured up.

Scattered as they are over the whole face of the earth, there is among them a most remarkable unity of hope and uniformity of religious condition. One and all firmly believe that, for the merits of their ancestors—which they consider to be boundless—a most glorious future awaits them, which, though the present generation may not behold, their posterity are sure to enjoy. Everywhere they are expecting the coming of the Redeemer, and with His Advent their glorious future. Whatever ameliorations, or social benefits, Christian benevolence, or human policy may confer upon them, something better, higher, and nobler is anticipated by them. The coming of the Messiah is the main hope and heart's desire of the whole nation. He is expected to bring them back to the Holy Land; restore to them their ecclesiastical and civil polity, and the Levitical ritual in all its ancient splendour, and to work such a marvellous change in their position among the nations as only Divine power can accomplish. So, while the Jews are idolizing their ancestry, and magnifying the prospects of their posterity, they themselves, alas! remain under the curse of the law, because of unbelief.

But, sad as the general aspect of their religious condition is, and remote as it is from what true friends of Israel would wish it to be, it is not wholly destitute of encouraging symptoms.

No one who comes in daily contact with Jews, can fail to notice the glimpses of light which proclaim that the day of their reconciliation is beginning to dawn. The wholesome spiritual revival which is now animating the Church, is also stirring up the Synagogue, and awakening among the Jews a remarkable spirit of enquiry.

It is most encouraging to find so many among them, who were only lately perfectly satisfied with the Talmudic traditions, now beginning to bestir themselves, and speak of the same as something outworn, and unfitted for the present age.

In spite of their deeply rooted prejudice against Christianity, there are very few educated Jews, especially in this country, who have not read the New Testament, whole or in part, and learnt to admire the principles inculcated in the Gospel, and its sublime code of morality. No one can help noticing that great changes are taking place in their midst, affecting both heart and mind. The harvest in the Jews' mission field is now more promising than it has been for many centuries. Thousands of them have already acknowledged their faith openly, and are showing the reality of their conversion by a true Christian life and conduct.

This is most remarkable, especially when we bear in mind that the missions which have achieved such great results among the Jews have not been carried on by the strenuous efforts and united co-operation of the Church at large, such as are devoted to heathen missions, but by the comparatively inadequate efforts of the few, in whose heart God has stirred up a desire that Israel should be saved. For instance—such men as Canon Wilkinson, vicar of St. Peter's, Eaton Square, to whom I owe myself, in a great measure, my very awakening to the vastness of Judaic error and Christian truth.

Since the Hebrew apostles and martyrs quitted the battle field of the Church militant, their successors have done very little for the evangelisation of the Jews. For centuries many did not trouble themselves at all about their conversion, and others employed means which were more in accordance with the intolerant spirit of the Koran than with that of the gospel of peace; better calculated to embitter the Jews against Christianity than to convince them of its divine truth.

Thus we find, more than eighteen centuries after the promulgation of the Gospel, millions of Jews, in the midst of Christendom, still living in superstition and unbelief.

The Church, of which they once were the favoured and privileged children, exists no longer. In his present religious condition, the Jew may be compared to the wounded man in the parable of the Good Samaritan. The Holy City he has left long ago, and is now far advanced on his way to accursed Jericho. Here on the road he is lying helpless, plundered, robbed, and grievously wounded. Now what is the duty of the Church towards him? Is it to stand still, and question whether this man may be considered her neighbour? Is it to speculate whether the heathen in distant lands may not have a stronger claim upon her missionary zeal?

While the Church is realising her obligation to preach the Gospel to all mankind; while she is sending her missioners all over the face of the globe, seeking to attack with the whole armour of God the strongholds of heathenism in the isles afar off, and thus, like the first Apostles, delivering the message of salvation to a hostile world; like them proclaiming that she is the only depository of spiritual grace—the only custodian of Divine faith; now, while the Church is thus engaged in her Catholic mission, is it right that she should neglect the Jew, who lives almost next door to her Priests and Levites, and under the constant gaze of the Christian world?

Few things seem to me to be more clear than that it is the most sacred duty of the Church to commence her charitable work of evangelisation at home, and preach the Gospel to the Jew first, and then also to the heathen.

In commissioning the Apostles to proclaim His message of salvation to mankind, Christ did not exclude the Jews. On the contrary, He commanded them to begin at Jerusalem. And the holy Apostles, who undoubtedly knew what the Lord required of them—what He meant by *Jerusalem*, preached the Gospel to the Jews first wherever they came.

The aim of Christianity is to raise fallen man, whether he be a son of Abraham or not. Its end is universal holiness and obedience. Its means, the preaching of the Gospel; and the Apostles and their successors, God's instrumentality on earth. The terms of their commission are to *teach* and *baptize*. Their scene of action is the *whole world*, and the starting point, *Jerusalem*. Their authority is derived from the Lord Himself. By Him they are invested with spiritual power, and it is He who commands the world to obey them. "He that heareth you heareth Me; and he that despiseth you despiseth Me" (St. Luke x. 16).

Their efforts, when earnestly directed to accomplish His will, must prove efficacious in the end, in spite of all obstacles and opposition;

for Jesus Christ, the Author and Finisher of our salvation, the Corner Stone and Head of the Church, has promised His Divine presence and co-operation throughout all ages. "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (St. Matt. xxviii. 20).

The holy Apostles obeyed our Lord's command to the letter; and He so blessed their labours that their exploits are unprecedented in the annals of religion or empire. A handful of men, labouring in strict obedience to His will, succeeded, within the short period of about half a century, in propagating the Gospel throughout the then known world; in diffusing its doctrines far and wide in the Roman empire, and in planting Christianity so firmly, in spite of the malice and cavil of a bigoted Synagogue, scoffs and doubts of a proud academy, and the furious rage of a deeply rooted idolatry, that Roman tyranny and heathen cruelty, let loose for centuries, could not check its growth. If the Church now wishes to have her efforts equally blessed, she must remember that in succeeding to the privileges and prerogatives of the Apostles, she likewise succeeded to their obligations and duties. In preaching the Gospel we are bound to follow in the footsteps of the Apostles, and deliver the message of salvation to the Jew first, and also to the heathen. Both, Jews and Gentiles, have only *one charter* of *salvation*, dated Calvary, and written in the blood of Jesus.

If the heathen have claims on the love and compassion of the Church, the Jews have greater claims. If ever men were bound to acknowledge an obligation, Christendom must acknowledge that it owes a most sacred debt to the Jews.

Whatever the Church has to prize most came through God's ancient people, handed down by converted Jews. Her sacred rites and ceremonies, most of her liturgy, all her psalmody, her inspired oracles, her foundation and head are Jewish. And the glad tidings of man's salvation, giving that joy in life and hope in death which only Christianity can impart, reached the world through the lively faith and indefatigable zeal of the first Christian saints and martyrs, who were Jews

In addition to the special claims which the Jews have upon Christian sympathy, and the powerful incentives to exertion for their spiritual well-being, with which the records of their past history furnish us so abundantly, their present condition appeals very forcibly to the missionary zeal of the Church: "That through your mercy they also may obtain mercy" (Rom. ix. 31).

While the external fabric of the Jewish Church was still erect, while their national polity, civil and ecclesiastical, however shaken and undermined, was still in existence, St. Paul mourned over their fallen state (Rom. ix. 2, 3). Now this Apostle enjoins Christians to be followers of Him (1 Cor. xi. 1). What is, therefore, the duty of the Church towards the Jews while beholding their present condition? Once enjoying such privileges and Divine blessings, now groaning under the heavy displeasure of God; banished, dispersed and plundered, a by-word and a hissing among the nations; surely the Church ought to feel compassion for the Jews, and show them some mercy for Christ's sake; and beyond all controversy, you cannot show them greater mercy than by bringing them within the pale of the Church, and opening to them the gate of salvation.

Many Christians take little, if any interest, in the evangelisation of the

Jews, simply because there are numerous passages in the Scriptures predicting, or intimating, that a time will come when they shall be nationally converted and reconciled to God.

It is impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion with regard to God's design respecting the future of the Jews. We cannot know of the Divine intention more than the Holy Spirit vouchsafes to reveal, and the Scripture passages relating to their future are highly enigmatical.

Undoubtedly, in His all-wise providence, God preserves them for some special purpose; but the nature of that purpose is *hid* from us. Their wonderful preservation in dispersion and unbelief, is an enigma puzzling all conjecture. And however glorious their future may be, yet *the present generation* may not live to see it. What warrant, therefore, have we to neglect our present duty towards them, on the ground of their having a future? This must have been equally known to the Apostles, who never neglected to preach the Gospel to the Jews. The Jew unfolds a mysterious depth of God's goodness and severity which no philosophy possesses sufficient line and plummet to fathom. In his very existence we must recognise the finger of God, aiming at something which the Church ought not to overlook. St. Paul assures us that, even in their rejection, there is a remnant according to the election of grace; and although this remnant may consist of only one from a town and two from a family, the Church ought to seek them out, gather in the first-fruits of God's ancient vineyard, and present them an offering to the Lord.

That this is a work highly pleasing to God, is not only intimated in the sacred pages of Scripture, but also fully demonstrated by the marked blessings which accompany every effort for the evangelisation of this people.

The visible reward for missionary enterprise is the enlistment of new materials, and the greater the intrinsic value of the materials, the greater is the prosperity of the Church. Now the Jewish people comprise materials which might become very serviceable to the Church. Even in their unbelief, God's special providence is watching over them. In your midst you see a people which has endured unparalleled judgments for ages, and yet has not been destroyed, nationally, physically, nor morally. Like firm rocks they stand amidst the shoreless ocean of Divine Providence, on which every form of scepticism and infidelity cannot fail to suffer shipwreck. Even in his fall the Jew bears record to the truth: even in his rejection, he is a religious being. Religion is mixed up with the very existence of the Jews, and even those who have lapsed into infidelity do not, and cannot shake it off; while the great mass of the people are the very type of religious firmness and zeal. Only bring them to Jesus Christ; convince them that "there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved" (Acts iv. 12), and you enlist into the Church a most valuable auxiliary; you gain for the mission-field an army of Evangelists, whose characteristic is an inherent zeal for God; whose enterprise and perseverance are extraordinary; who can speak every tongue, and thrive in every clime. Conversion to God is sure to render them the most efficient and zealous heralds of the Cross, carrying the glad tidings of salvation with a vigour and success unknown since Apostolic times.

Missions to the Jews have hitherto been deprived of the most valuable

support and co-operation of a large number of earnest and influential Churchmen, apparently for no other excuse than the want of an agency with whose system of working and soundness of doctrine they could sympathise, without any sacrifice of principle.

This *excuse* exists no longer, thank God. We have now a new society—"The Parochial Missions to the Jews." The system of this society is of the most effectual and surest nature imaginable; and the many well-known names which compose its list of supporters and subscribers, fully warrant the soundness of its Church principles. The missioners of this society are licensed curates, but specially fitted to work among the Jews in their respective parishes. I have myself the honour of being connected with this society, and have now been working on their system in the East of London, for nearly five years, as curate of St. Paul's, Haggerston. Our efforts have met with great encouragement. During this time, I have had the privilege of admitting into the Church, by Holy Baptism, 36 Jews and Jewesses; and these form but a very small portion of the real number of believers who have been gained to Christ through our instrumentality. May God, in His mercy, stir up the hearts of those who are able to come and help us.

In proportion as the awakening of our spiritual life becomes stronger, the desire to promote universal holiness and obedience, by the preaching of the Gospel, must grow deeper, wider, and higher. Of all the great objects which can influence the Christian heart next to our own personal salvation, nothing can be higher, or more important, than the salvation of those for whom Christ condescended to suffer and to die; and among those the Jews ought to be considered first, for they are still beloved for the fathers' sake (Rom. xi. 28), and therefore GOD has a special regard for those who love them.

ADDRESSES.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF RIPON.

I AM thankful to find that after eleven years the Jewish subject has come up into remembrance, and has been brought forward at the Church Congress at Derby. If there is one subject which appeals more directly to the vital interests of Christianity than another it is that of the Jews. I will endeavour to bring some elementary arguments to confirm this statement; there are three points of view under which the subject may be considered:—

I. The National.

II. The Scriptural.

III. The Missionary aspect of the Jews.

I. Upon the supposition that we had never read anything about the Jews in the Bible, we have this remarkable fact before our eyes. We have a nation scattered throughout the world which is not mingled with the other nations; it has a language of its own, a special mark of its national covenant; a peculiar physiognomy; a religion differing from all other religions; a Sabbath observance; and claiming an antiquity, and authority, and supremacy, for its books which have their source and revelation from God Himself. Whatever may have been their previous condition when they inhabited

their fatherland, their numbers and influence now are very considerable. There must be, at least, some nine or ten millions of Jews living in different parts of the world. Their genealogy and descent may be traced in many localities just as distinctly as that of any other nation; as for example the Jews in Rome, in number about five thousand, who from the time of Pompey and Titus have inhabited the Ghetto, having survived the terrible persecutions of heathen and papal oppressors. The same may be said of the Felasha Jews in Abyssinia, the Beni Israel in Arabia, the black Jews of Malabar, the Portuguese and Spanish Jews in Holland and Germany, and the Jews of Russia, Poland, France, and England—all proving that they belong to one family, and claiming their descent from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Now I would ask, are we to regard their circumcision, their Sabbath keeping, their language, their sacred books, and their national existence otherwise than one of the most remarkable facts in history? We look in vain for the evidence of a true genealogical representative of the ancient Assyrian, Egyptian, or even Roman nation, they have passed away, but Israel remains with the distinct mark of the Divine Providence upon him, as much in the night of his present affliction as in the brightest hour of his former national ascendancy.

II. I now turn to their Scriptural aspect.

1. The Jews form the basis of the history, the poetry, the prophecies, and the doctrines of the Old and New Testament. Exclude the Jew, and the Bible ceases to be what we believe it to be—a revelation from God; so indissolubly are they identified with its testimony.

2. The typical relation of the Jewish law and ceremonial is an essential part of the evidences of Christianity, for the New Testament would be unintelligble without the antecedents of Judaism. The words of Jesus, "Salvation is of the Jews," would have no meaning, it would be like a lock of which the key was wanting, or the second volume of a book of which the first had been lost.

3. The Jews have been and are the living witnesses to the truth of their own inspired writings. In all ages they have unwillingly and oftentimes unconsciously fulfilled the predictions which had gone before concerning them, and there can be no stronger proof of the authenticity and inspiration of the Bible than the present condition of the Jews and their relation to the Christian Church. Is it possible for us to conceive that prophecies written in books which existed hundreds of years before the translation of the Septuagint, or in other words more than 300 years before the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem should have been a series of guesses or chance fortune-tellings of the future of the Jewish nation and of the Gentile Church; and on the other hand, that in the chequered procedure of events, there should have been by accident such an accurate adaptation and fulfilment. Sceptics in their objection to Jewish prophecy forget that they call upon us to accept a more difficult alternative, for they expect us to believe that a fortuitous series of prophecies have met with a fortuitous accomplishment.

4. The Jewish Scriptures reveal the character of God in His holiness and faithfulness and justice and power. The records of His mercies and judgments, His mighty deliverances and miracles and marvellous acts are preserved, and the nation itself is preserved as ensamples to us to the end of time. What, then, shall we say if all these are fables and myths? Can we say (I speak reverently), that Jesus Christ was deceived, or a deceiver, when He referred to them again and again in His

teaching? Was He speaking that which He must have known in His infinite wisdom to have been a fable, when He referred to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, to Jonah in the belly of the whale, and to Moses at the burning bush. To say nothing of the many arguments which might be brought forward, these are sufficient to show to a Christian audience that the Jew holds the very first place of interest in our exposition of the Word of God, and we are not surprised at the confession of a sceptic who said, "If we can get rid of the Jew, we can get rid of the Bible."

III. The Missionary aspect.

1. That it is our duty to preach the Gospel to the Jew, as well as to the heathen, stands upon the highest authority. "To the Jew first," and "beginning at Jerusalem," are Divine commands. But missionary work among the Jews differs from all other missionary work in this respect, it is controversial, it is a question of Scriptural authority and interpretation; it is one which, if it makes aggression upon the Jew, puts the Christian upon his own defence. It is therefore a vital question; it is nothing less than the Divinity of Christ—the true Messiahship of Jesus; the sacrifice and atonement which He has made for sin—the Son of God and the Son of man. If the Jew is right in denying this, we are wrong in asserting it. If the Christian is right in asserting it, the Jew is wrong, fearfully, fatally wrong in denying it; for he rejects the whole testimony of Scripture; he denies the Lord that bought him; and it is no palliation of his sin to say there is not much difference between us. They have the Old Testament, we have the New. Our Lord makes no such excuse for Jewish unbelief; "*If ye believe not that I am, ye shall die in your sins.*" This is the one thing needful. "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by Me."

2. The responsibility which rests upon the Christian Church to make up past neglect. It is not necessary for us to relate the persecutions inflicted upon the Jews by Emperors and Popes of Rome, by Mohammedans and by Crusaders, by kings of England, of France, and Spain, but with shame and sorrow of heart to confess that from the days of the Reformation to almost the commencement of the present century it might be said, "This is Zion whom no man seeketh after." Missions have been established in the face of much opposition, and little or no sympathy has been shown by the Christian Church as a Church, and notwithstanding the efforts which have been made in England, and Switzerland, and Germany, to awaken the Church to its duty in this respect, our hearts are filled with dismay at the revival of the old enmity in professedly Christian countries, as Russia, Germany, and Austria, and this, too, at a time when the Jews are in the providence of God brought to the front in almost every branch of political, scientific, commercial, and literary eminence, insomuch that they seem to be reversing the prophecy, "I will provoke them to jealousy by them that are no people," for they are provoking the Gentiles to jealousy by their social and commercial progress. Nor are they lacking in the distinction they have gained as Theologians, for many of our most learned critics and commentators of Scripture are Jews—converted Jews. We have about 200 ordained clergymen who are Israelites; one was a Bishop of Jerusalem. We have Nicolas de Lyra, and Tremellius, and Neander; and Delitsch, and Dacosta Margoliouth, and some 40 professors in the German Universities whose names stand in the first rank of Biblical expositors. And with all the change which is taking place in these changing days, are we ignorant of the fact that the Jewish mind is undergoing

a considerable revolution? There are many who, like St. Paul, have been led to the foot of the Cross, there are more who are dissatisfied with Rabbinical doctrine and are turning to Moses and the prophets, there are more still who have thrown off all religious belief, and the rest who cling to the old traditions, but all are emancipated from the old bigotry and antagonism to Christian sympathy. There is a spirit of independence which leads them to study Christian literature, the New Testament and the English Prayer-Book translated into their own Hebrew tongue; and in the several institutions and missions organised by the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, there are not wanting humble and earnest enquirers after truth. And is it not a strange thing and a wonderful privilege granted to us in this day of their persecution that England should be the nation to which the poor Jews, driven from Russia and Germany, should look for protection and sympathy? Let us thank God that England has responded and is responding to the call; many emigrants have already been sent to Palestine and Syria by English liberality, and more will follow. Time will not allow me to enlarge upon this; I will only add one word as to the future.

Events are taking place which show that there is a real connexion between the land of Israel and the people of Israel. The Jews were delivered from the captivity of Egypt after four hundred years, and the Jews were delivered out of the captivity of Babylon after seventy years; and now it would appear that the two representative foes of Israel are to be finally subdued. The Euphrates is to dry up, and Egypt become a desolation.

The Turks, who came from Assyria, have had possession of Egypt since 1517, and have nearly fulfilled the period assigned to them in Rev. ix. The year, the month, the day, and hour; 365 out of 391 years are expired. And what is to be the result of England's Conquest of Egypt? Is Egypt to be emancipated from the cruel lord, and the door opened for the Evangelisation of its poor, ignorant, and misgoverned population? Is the iron yoke of Mohammedan fanaticism and cruelty to be broken, and the way opened for the Jews to return to their father-land—the land of promise? Persecuted and driven from Russia and Germany, will they seek a refuge between the Euphrates and the Nile? Already the way is prepared; the traveller may pass by railway dryshod from Egypt to Assyria; and the signal of the Prophet is sounding in our ears—"Go ye swift messengers to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; to a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers of Egypt and Euphrates have spoiled."

"In that time shall a present be brought to the Lord of Hosts, to the place of the name of the Lord of Hosts—the Mount Zion."

The Rev. R. C. BILLING, Rector of Spitalfields.

MY only right to say a few words in this discussion is that which arises from the fact that I have under my charge a very large number of Jews. In the parish of Spitalfields, at the present time, there are at least 8,000, and the Jewish population is constantly on the increase. The point I wish specially to address myself to is this—we must bear in mind that we should endeavour to realise what a debt of gratitude we owe the Jews. It may be that the hostility which some of the

Jews display towards Christians and Christianity may tend to lessen our charity towards our Jewish brethren; but at the same time we must remember that the less we are loved by them, the more we should love them. Can we forget that the Lord Jesus Christ, who was Himself a Jew, has given us a commission to preach the Gospel, beginning at Jerusalem? I entirely agree with the Dean of Ripon that when we come to deal with the Jew we have of necessity to enter into controversy. But at the same time we must bear in mind that the human nature of the Jew, and of the Gentile, is the same—that both are sinners before God—that the need of the soul of the one is the need of the soul of the other, and that there is still great force in the preaching of Christ crucified, whether to the Jew or to the Gentile. Still, in dealing with the Jews, we must enter on the field of controversy, and it is necessary that we should be well armed on all sides, so that we can present to them, in the most forcible way, the truths of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. By the duty of the Church to the Jews, which is one of the subjects of to-day's discussion, I understand that of the Church of England to the Jews. We have been told that for some time there has been hardly an adequate realisation of what that duty is. In that I entirely concur. There have been two societies at work, the older society, "The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews," and the younger society, "The Parochial Mission Fund." I may say of the former that it has of late been working exactly on the lines instituted by the Parochial Mission Fund, and we ought to be grateful to that association for stirring up the older society, and causing it to adopt a line favourable, I believe, to the promotion of Christianity amongst our Jewish fellow-countrymen. I refer to the work of evangelising the Jews through the the parochial system. I believe there are peculiar advantages arising from the adoption of this plan, and I am glad to say that I have a curate working with me now who is himself a Jew, and who is partly supported through the kindness of the Committee of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. I must also bear my testimony to the liberality of the East London Church Fund, and to the assistance afforded by the Bishop of Bedford, for the Bishop is anxious that the special wants of the Jews, in his part of the diocese of London, shall be attended to. I think the clergy, who have Jews in their parishes, need to be stirred up to greater action. I know it is frquently the case that, when we have prayed for the Jews and the Turks together, once a year, we think we have done all we need do for them. A subscription to some society may perhaps be added, but as for the work of promoting Christianity among them, some of us really do very little. I know parochial clergymen—indeed they are among my own friends—who say, "We are not responsible for the Jews; they do not belong to our communion, and they refuse all our ministrations." I say it is our duty to preach to the Jews, as well as to the Gentiles; I believe that we are responsible to the Lord Jesus Christ, and will have to answer at the last day for the souls of our Jewish, as well as our Gentile parishioners. To my mind, one advantage of the two societies working through the parochial system will be, that the parochial clergy generally, will be stirred up to a deeper sense of responsibility to their Jewish parishioners. There is another advantage, for I think that great use can be made of the status of the English Church for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. Missionaries continually complain of the difficulty they have in obtaining access to the Jews, but my experience is that, if anyone goes to them as a minister of the Established Church, he

is at once welcomed. Hitherto, in this country at least, very few converts have been made, except from among the lower orders, and I think that the more we use the parochial machinery, the more easy we shall find it to approach the better class of Jews. And when we come to speak of the duty of the Church of England to the Jews, there are one or two things which it seems to me right to do. It is our duty to the utmost of our power, to prepare men for this special and difficult work. Men need to be specially prepared for it. It is very undesirable that the Church should relegate this duty altogether to the societies. We should endeavour to send forth into our parishes men specially prepared for the particular work. I should very much deprecate confining the choice of such agents entirely to the Jewish people. While acknowledging that no one can thoroughly enter into the mind of a Jew but a Jew, I feel, at the same time, that many Jews are best approached through Gentile agency, because there is such a strong prejudice in the Jewish mind against the convert, or, as he would term him, the "pervert" to Christianity. Therefore I think the missionaries should be selected not only from among the converted Jews, but also from the Gentiles. I think it is the duty of the Church also to use its peculiar opportunities for doing away with that prejudice which exists among the Jews towards the Gentiles; and I must confess, among the Gentiles to the Jews. There are plenty of Gentiles who are very jealous of the Jews, for those very things to which reference has been made by the Dean of Ripon. If anyone here came to live in the East of London, they would know what I mean. The Gentiles there are jealous of the Jews, because they outdo them in thrift, in temperance, and in industry; and the consequence is that the landlords would much rather have Jewish than Gentile tenants. They know that the rent will always come much more regularly from the Jew than the Gentile. Although I have been labouring in my parish for several years, I have never seen a Jew intoxicated. I wish I could say the same of my Gentile parishioners. I have never seen a Jew intoxicated, and I have never heard of a Jew being taken up before the magistrates in our district, because he was incapable of taking care of himself in consequence of drink. It is the thrift, the industry, and the temperance of the Jew that makes him an object of jealousy to the Gentiles. Another duty to which I would refer is that of producing suitable literature for Jews. It is very desirable that the intelligent, the educated, and the thoughtful Jew should have readable and useful literature. I hope, Mr. Dean, that, as you have taken so much interest in this Jewish cause, you may live to see the day when there will be a Chair of Hebrew literature in our own Universities, and when young men will be prepared not only to take up ordinary mission work among the Jews, but to address themselves to such questions as can only be dealt with through the press. No one can more desire than I do that the Church of England—the National, responsible Church of the Nation—should arouse herself to a sense of her duty to the Jews. With their future is bound up in prophecy the future of the whole race of man. If they are to be the missionaries to the Gentiles, how desirable is it that they should be brought to see that in Him their fathers crucified the True Messiah and the Saviour! Our opportunities of hastening on through them the grand final consummation of God's purposes in the work of redemption, are far greater than those of any other people. They love us—they flock to our shores and enjoy here liberty and quietude. We may do for them or through them for the whole world what no other people and no other Church can. May God enable us to use our advantage.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. JOSEPH MCCORMICK, Hull.

WE have heard in the addresses and the sermons which have been delivered to-day, that there is considerable difference of opinion, and much constroversy in the Church with which we are connected. I venture to say that one of the best securities we can have with reference to the truth is, a knowledge of the past history, the present condition and the future prospects of the Jewish people. I believe that a man who is well versed in Jewish literature, and thoroughly acquainted with the Hebrew character, is capable at very short notice of coming forward and defending the faith once for all delivered to the saints. We have an illustration of this in the case of the late Dr. McCall. When certain persons somewhat rashly attacked the Pentateuch, Dr. McCall was ready at once to enter the arena against them, and he was able to deal such a blow at their arguments, that all men who loved the Bible rejoiced greatly before God. In the various controversies of the present time, an acquaintance with Jewish history, is, in my opinion, very valuable. With reference to the duty of the Church to the Jews, it is of the utmost importance that we should show the Jews what are the true principles of Christianity. They are greatly prejudiced against us because of the persecutions that have taken place in the Christian Church in former days, and on account of the lamentable persecutions to which they have recently been subjected in Germany, Austria, Russia, and other countries. I think we ought all the more, therefore, to endeavour to show them a spirit of brotherly love, and that we ought to denounce such persecutions as contrary to the principles of our faith. We have done much by our action in succouring the persecuted Jews, and I may say that in Hull the Jews treat me now with the greatest respect, and there is scarcely one of them, who since that action, has not been ready to take off his hat to me in the streets. One of the things we have to teach the Jews is, that Christianity is not a new religion. There are many persons who wish to draw a very hard and fast line between Judaism and Christianity. Our rationalistic friends do much in that direction. It becomes us then to show that our authority is by no means a new one; in other words, that we acknowledge the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures. The Jews themselves love the Hebrew Scriptures, and believe in their inspiration, and we ought to let them know that our feelings on the subject are the same as theirs. While doing this we are able to advance still further, and to impress on them that the Old Testament is evidently an unfinished revelation, that something more is required to make it complete, and we can prove by argument that the New Testament is the proper completion of the Old. It is also important that we should let them see that we recognise the very principles which their fathers maintained on the subject of national religion. We do not discuss the old teaching like some of our Nonconformist brethren appear to do, who virtually take the Books of Kings, and put them entirely on one side. We believe that kings, as such, are bound to pay honour to Christ, and to do all in their power to protect the Gospel; some Nonconformists tell us that kings, as such, have nothing to do with religion. We say that it is the bounden duty of a nation, as a nation, to recognise God, and I believe in whatever controversy that may take place with regard to the recognition of God in our Houses of Legislation, the Jews will be found on our side. There is, of course, great difficulty at present concerning many questions of religion, but I think we have a grand platform to stand upon, where we can point to the Jewish people whom God Himself declares are His witnesses. As we refer to their state, trodden under foot, persecuted, and still surviving, a separate nation with all the different characteristics to which the Dean of Ripon has referred, I think we have an unanswerable argument in dealing with rationalist and sceptical tendencies. In connection with the Old and New Testament Scriptures, we have the revelation of one great and glorious Jew—I speak with the greatest reverence—the one great man, Jesus Christ. We are told at the present day that it is difficult to find out where truth is. Thank God, with the Jewish Scriptures in our hands, and the testimony of the Jews, by their very existence in our favour, we can say we do know the truth, and we can add that Jesus Christ has said, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." It is the duty of the church to make use of the Jews as witnesses, to challenge men to account for the existence of the Jews, and, above all, to try and explain how it is that there is this unique character, this wonderful and glorious man, the Lord Jesus Christ. I do hope that the propagation of Christianity amongst the Jews will now rapidly spread throughout the length and breadth of the Church of England, and that the result may be that

those who are now in a state of darkness may be brought into the glorious light of the Gospel of God, and have the same peace and joy as we ourselves possess.

The Rev. WILLIAM AYERST, Vicar of Hungarton.

MY apology for having sent up my card, must be the urgency of my own particular case in connection with some of the Jews. Last week I found it my duty to make over the charge of the Hebrew Missionary College to others, and to go to the Vicarage of Hungarton. On the night before doing so, I had a farewell gathering of Hebrew Christians, over an hundred of whom came to me and appealed to me not to desert them. I said I would not go altogether away from them; they should come to me if they liked. Many of them wanted to enter the ministry, and they told me that there was no one to train them if I went away. The Jews' societies are doing very good work in promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, but when a Jew is once baptized, there ends the work of those societies as far as he is concerned. When a young Jew is converted to the faith of Jesus Christ he loses everything; his education is broken off short; his friends leave him, his nation repudiates him, the Christian world somewhat doubts him, and he stands alone. Then is the time to take him by the hand and to give him a Christian training, and we must remember that the young convert is the man who makes the best missionary, full as he is of the love of Christ, and conscious of the good that Christianity has done to his own soul. When I was an Indian chaplain, I had in my parish a population of six millions of people. Well, I could employ all the Jewish converts who enter the ministry in that one province. If I could get a few friends to help me in taking by the hand these young men, I should be very grateful. One of them is coming to me for training, and the Bishop of Peterborough has promised to ordain him. I cannot send him or others away, but I have no money to carry on the work, and I should welcome any assistance that might be given to me. Everybody knows that if we can only educate and train a man of promise, he is worth ever so much more. Let us then not cast aside the most precious results of our missionary labours, but let us do our best to turn them to account. It has often happened that young converts have been lost to the Church of England, simply because the church has not held out the hand to them. Ridley, Herschell, and others, would have laboured for the church if we had only done what should have been done. If the Missionary Schwartz had only been taken by the hand at the right moment, he would have worked for our noble society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. I beseech you to give us some help in this matter. If you do so, believe me you will be doing a good work.

The Rev. CANON HOARE, Tunbridge Wells.

I WISH very briefly to take up the subject of the prospects of the Jews. I am prepared to maintain that there is not a district on the face of the earth so important to the commerce of the world as the country originally given to Abraham. We have watched the Egyptian war with intense interest. Now what was the object of that Egyptian war? Was it not to keep open the great maritime high-road between the Eastern and Western hemispheres? By that war we have protected, and I hope permanently, the western side of the Suez Canal. But who is to take care of the eastern side? Suppose some great prince of the north were to come swooping down upon Palestine, what is to become of the Suez Canal, and the great high-road to the East? I gather therefore that it is a matter of absolute importance, and one which of necessity the politicians of Europe must ere long consider, how the canal is to be protected on the eastern side? But, more than that, there is the northern boundary of that same district to be considered, namely, the great river Euphrates. People do not think much about the proposed Euphrates Valley Railroad, but you may be sure that some day we are certain to have it. Draw a line on the map from London to Calcutta, and you will see it runs almost straight down the Euphrates Valley; thus you have the two great high-roads from the West to the East—the one by sea through the Canal, and the other by land through the Euphrates Valley. And the remarkable fact is that these two main roads are the boundaries of the country originally given to

Abraham. Let any powerful country hold that district—Abraham's territory—and that country will have the command of the commerce of the world. And who is to hold it? Poor old Turkey cannot hold it long, that is clear; the sick man is dying. Russia must not hold it. Who then is to hold it? Why, the nation to whom it belongs, the nation to whom God gave it. It is for the Jews, that loyal, enterprising, commercial nation, to hold the country which is their birth-right, and of which since the days of Abraham they have held the title deeds. I know that many of the Jews do not wish to go back; I had two Jews in my house not very long ago, and they neither of them had the slightest wish to return. They said they liked England better, and I have no doubt that is the case with many. But is not God making their Russian home uncomfortable, and their German and Polish homes uncomfortable? Have we not this very day read of the outrages in Pressburg and the surrounding neighbourhood? What is the meaning of this? Is not God stirring their nest? Is it not that while a home is being prepared for the people, the people are being prepared for the home? The political changes of the world are assuming such a form that our politicians must take measuses to bring the Jews back to their country, and the persecuting Germans and Russians are already taking measures to prepare the Jews to quit their homes in Europe. The land by political events is being prepared for the people, and the people by persecution are at the same time being prepared for the land.

THE CHAIRMAN.

WE have now arrived at the end of the discussion, and I will not detain you many minutes whilst I say a few words on the subject as it presents itself to my own mind. The first thing that strikes me, after listening to the excellent speeches which have just been delivered, is, what a remarkably interesting people the Jews are: a people whose history runs back for some 5,000 years, and who during all that period have held the great truth of the unity of God, and have faithfully preserved for us the Scriptures of the Old Testament. The light in which we ought to regard the Jewish people and their faith is, that that faith ought to have its natural development in the acceptance of Christianity. I do not think we have always approached the Jewish nation in the right spirit. Have we not looked down on them as though they were our inferiors, instead of regarding them, as we ought to do, as a people of very high and noble ancestry? Our blessed Lord was a Jew, the Apostles were Jews, and the Jews are to this day remarkable for their great ability in everything they undertake, whether in science, in literature, or in commerce. They are not a people to be despised; on the contrary, they are a people to be loved and respected as a great people; and it ought to be the aim of such a nation as ours to lead them onwards to that position in which we as Christians stand, through God's goodness. I remember —and this rather touches the question of the Fund in which I myself am interested— when I was Archdeacon of Buckingham, the late Sir Anthony de Rothschild came most kindly to me with a handsome subscription to a church which I was engaged in restoring. I expressed my surprise and pleasure at receiving such a contribution, and from him. His answer was, "You need not be at all surprised." After speaking very kindly of his respect for me, he went on to say, "You are a Christian; so are the Wesleyans, the Baptists, and the Independents. You are all in one boat; we are in the other boat. But you of the Church of England are in the established boat, and we Jewish people have a great respect for religious establishments. Every country ought to have its established religion, and I think it a privilege as well as a duty to do what I can to support the established religion of the country." This led me to think that the best way to approach the more intelligent Jews was through the agency of the parochial system; because they would be more likely to recognise a clergyman coming to them as an official of the Establishment they had learned to respect. I cannot, therefore, but think that the most hopeful method of winning the Jews is to approach them, congregated as they are in parishes, through the ministry of Curates specially educated for the purpose, and licensed by the Bishops. We all remember with gratitude and admiration the name of Lord Beaconsfield. Lord Beaconsfield was by birth a Jew, although he himself was a very devout Christian. I remember that once a question was put to him in society, in rather a public manner: "Pray, Lord Beaconsfield, are you a Christian, or are you a Jew?" The answer, after a moment's pause, was, "Well, I am a

developed Jew." I do not think it would have been possible to have given an answer which more exactly described the position of our Hebrew-Christian brethren, who are really nothing but developed Jews; for what is Christianity but that to which Judaism was intended to lead? May God in His mercy lead us to remember how much our own interests, and our own happiness as Christians, are bound up in the conversion of the Jewish people.

DRILL HALL, TUESDAY EVENING,

OCTOBER 3RD.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

EVANGELISTIC WORK AT HOME.

(*a*) NEGLECT OF PUBLIC WORSHIP—CAUSES AND REMEDIES.
(*b*) THE CHURCH AND REVIVAL MOVEMENTS.

PAPERS.

The Lord BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL.

IT is a great fact which, I fear, admits of no dispute, that the working classes of England, as a body, are "conspicuously absent" from the public worship of God on Sundays. Census after census in our large towns has lately brought this painful fact before the public mind. My own eyes continually see proofs of it, when I preach in some quarters of Liverpool. I often see things which make my heart bleed. After making every allowance for defective, unfair, and unfriendly enumerations, there remains a mass of evidence which cannot be gainsaid. A vast number of English working men never go either to church or chapel, and, to all appearance, live and die "without God."

This state of things, we must all feel, is eminently unsatisfactory, and deserves the best attention of a Congress. But it is much more than unsatisfactory; it endangers the very existence of the Established Church of England. We cannot do without "the masses." The Church, whose adherents are a minority in the land, will not be long allowed to retain her endowments and her connection with the State in this age. A regiment consisting only of officers and band, without rank and file, adds nothing to the strength of an army. A Church which can only number the rich among its members, and is deserted by the poor, is in a most unhealthy condition, and not like a servant of her Divine Master, whom "the common people heard gladly." I repeat that we are in front of a dangerous and unsatisfactory state of things; it is high time to search our ways, and try to "set our house in order," if we would not die, but live.

The subject is wide and my time is short. I shall simply try to clear away three common delusions, and to point out two remedial things, which, in my humble opinion, are much wanted in this day, and, by God's blessing, might change our position. As Napoleon said at Marengo, "It is not too late to win the battle."

(*a*) For one thing, then, I do not believe that the absence of working men from public worship arises from the spread of systematic infidelity among them; I know that this is an opinion held by many, but I take leave to call it a delusion. My own impression is decided, that even among the rudest and roughest ranks of society there is often a deep-seated vein of sturdy faith in a God and a world to come. No doubt there is a large quantity of most offensive infidel literature, such as the *Freethinker*, which is exclusively circulated among the poorer classes, and is far too coarsely flavoured to suit the taste of the upper ten thousand. But of reasoning argumentative scepticism, there is just as much among the rich as among the poor. At this very moment, I shrewdly suspect, there are more agnostics and sceptics, in proportion to the population, in the West end of London than in the east. Nor is this all; the Tower Hamlets unbeliever is often a more honest man than his rich brother in Belgravia; erring as he is, he has the courage of his opinions, and never goes to church at all. The rich sceptic, on the contrary, will often attend religious services for respectability's sake, or by way of example to his servants, while in reality he despises the whole thing in his heart.

(*b*) For another thing, I believe it is a complete delusion to suppose that the working classes in England have any inherent dislike to the Established Church, and, if left to themselves, prefer the Dissenting Chapel. I believe nothing of the kind. I grant that our poorer brethren are very apt to judge the Church by the parson, and if he is not a satisfactory "persona ecclesiæ," to take a dislike to the body which he represents. If, for instance, he is a thoroughly worldly man, "a Nimrod, a ramrod, or a fishing-rod," who neither does his duty as a preacher or a pastor—or, if he is one who in his zeal for ceremonial, does things which they think are Romanism—it is very likely they will forsake the church and stay at home, or go to chapel. But wherever the Church is properly represented, both in the pulpit and the parish, I maintain that, as a general rule, the working men will stick to her, and prefer her ministrations to any other. They like her Prayer-Book, her orders, and her general system, and will stand by her to the last.

(*c*) Once more, but not least, I regard it as a rank delusion to imagine that Christianity is an effete and worn-out system, that the old Gospel has lost its power, and that the nineteenth century requires a new religion. This is a sadly common idea in certain quarters. Men of intellect, as they are called, sneer contemptuously at such grand old verities as the atonement, the inspiration of the Bible, the reality of miracles, the need of grace, the personality of Satan, the judgment to come. They coolly tell us that these things will never move the working classes in this day, and that they will not come to church unless we give them a broader, more rational theology, stripped of everything supernatural. I do not admit this for a moment; I believe it to be empty talk and baseless assertion. I fail to see the slightest evidence that the old religion, which turned the world upside down

eighteen centuries ago, has lost any of its power. I can discover no new system of teaching which regenerates heathen tribes, relieves burdened consciences, binds up broken hearts, checks sin, changes characters, deprives death of its terrors, compared to the old-fashioned Gospel of Christ. If there is such a new system, let men show it to us, and show us its fruits. The working classes, I am convinced, are not to be won to the Church by modern wind-bags and fireworks, but by the old story of the Cross.

But, after all, what *positive* suggestions can be made in order to meet the evil which we deplore? What is it that is wanting in the present day, which would be likely to draw the working classes into our churches, if we could supply it? I will briefly name two things which, in my judgment, are secrets of strength, and commend them to your consideration.

(*a*) For one thing, we want a great deal more *direct lively preaching of the Gospel* in all our pulpits, whether in the full liturgical service of the Church, or the simpler elementary service of the Mission Room.

In saying this, I would not be mistaken. I ask you to remark that I lay stress most emphatically on the words "direct" and "lively." That the distinctive doctrines of the Gospel are far more frequently found in the sermons of this day than they were in the sermons of last century, I have no doubt whatever. The wretched moral essays which our forefathers often heard, and which brought out the bitter remark that the clergy were only "apes of Epictetus," are no longer tolerated, and I trust will never return. But still I must express a suspicion that the distinctive doctrines of the Gospel are often placed before the working classes in such an unattractive way that they will not listen, and will rather stay at home. It is vain to deny that when Christ's Gospel has been preached by such men as Whitfield, and Wesley, and Venn, and Grimshaw, in days past,—or by Spurgeon, or Guthrie, or Moody, or Aitken, or even by General Booth, in our own age,—there was, and is, little difficulty in getting working men to hear them. Where is the defect, then? What is it that is wanting? I fear there is only one simple answer: our Clergymen, as a body, do not pay sufficient attention to the *way of putting things*. They forget that it is not enough to have good tools, if they do not handle those tools in the right way. Will anyone tell me that Whitfield, last century, or Moody, in our own time, would ever have assembled myriads of working men if they had only read cold, tame, orthodox, theological essays couched in the first person plural number, full of "we" and "we," and destitute of warmth, vivacity, direct appeal, or fire? I will never believe it. But surely, if their style of address arrests and attracts the working classes, it seems a thousand pities that it is not more generally adopted. It is perfectly amazing to me that at this late period of the world men should need to be told what Greeks and Romans knew well, that it is not the speaker's thoughts only which arrest the attention of hearers, but the style and manner in which those thoughts are conveyed.

I hear people complain sometimes that Mission Services produce no lasting effect, and too often the complaint is just and well-founded; yet the explanation, in many cases, is simple and easy—a mission preacher comes into a parish and addresses the people, with "thoughts that breathe and words that burn;" he brings no new doctrine; he

tells them nothing that they have not heard before; but he tells his story with such vivacity, and fire, and personal application, that he rouses the whole parish, and makes all classes want to hear him. The church is filled; the incumbent is delighted; the old clerk and sexton keep awake; the empty benches are all occupied; the whole place seems stirred. And then what happens, far, far too often? The mission preacher goes away, and the fire cools down. The innocent, well-meaning incumbent returns to his old style of preaching and gets into his old groove, and in two months undoes the missioner's work, and empties the church again. And all this is because he will not see that fiery liveliness and directness of style are one grand secret of pulpit success. For my part, I heartily wish that clergymen who invite missioners to address their people would remember that, if they would keep up the missioner's work, they must preach in his style. After all, it would be a great gain to the Establishment if a huge bonfire were made, and myriads of essay-style sermons were burned.

I cannot, however, leave this part of my subject without adding the expression of my firm conviction that there is *far less preaching of the whole Gospel* than there ought to be. When I say that, I mean that there is not enough made of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and His office and work for our souls. This platform, of course, is no place for sermonising. But I must say that we are all apt to forget that it is quite possible to make an orthodox statement of doctrine, and yet not to *present Christ* to our hearers in the manner and proportion in which He is presented to us in the New Testament. I am struck with the undeniable fact that all preachers who succeed in getting hold of the working classes—whether Whitfield, or Moody, or any other—give a very marked prominence in their sermons to the atoning death, the ever-living intercession, the boundless mercy, the all-mighty power to save of that blessed Person in whose name we meet to-day. You have only to read reports of their preaching in order to see proof of what I say. And I will not hesitate to declare before this Congress my firm belief that, if we would get hold of the working classes, we must make "Christ crucified and risen again" far more the sun of our homiletic system than we have done in the Church of England. This is the lever which shook the world eighteen centuries ago, and is able to shake it now. It is a great magnet, which in every age, from the Apostles downwards, has drawn men whom nothing else could draw; and it is a magnet, I am convinced, which has lost none of its attractive influence. I need hardly say that it would be easy to enlarge on this point if time permitted; but I cannot leave it without quoting the words of a mighty layman, which deserve attention—a layman of great experience and observation—a layman who in his time has taken great interest in religious questions. The layman I mean is the present Prime Minister of England, Mr. Gladstone. He said, on the 22nd March, 1877: "It is the preaching of Christ our Lord which is the secret, and substance, and centre, and heart of all preaching; not merely of facts about Him, and notions about Him, but of His person, His work, His character, His simple yet unfathomable sayings—here lies the secret." (*Times*, March 23rd.) That witness is true. Mr. Gladstone never said a truer thing in his life. The sermon full of Christ is the sermon which the Holy Spirit most usually blesses.

(*b*) The other suggestion which I venture to make, in order to solve the problem before us, is one which I hold to be of vast importance.

I say, then, that if we want to bring the working classes to church, *there needs throughout the land a great increase of sympathy and friendly personal dealing with them on the part of the clergy.*

I confess that I have immense faith in the power of sympathy and kindness. I believe the late Judge Talfourd hit the nail right on the head when he said, in almost his last charge to a grand jury, at Stafford Assizes :—"Gentlemen, the great want of the age is more sympathy between classes." I entirely agree with him. I think an increase of sympathy and fellow-feeling between high and low, rich and poor, employer and employed, parson and people, is one healing medicine which the age demands. Sympathy, exhibited in its perfection, was one secondary cause of the acceptance which Christ's Gospel met with on its first appearance in the heathen world. Well says Lord Macaulay—"It was before Deity taking a human form, walking among men, partaking of their infirmities, leaning on their bosoms, weeping over their graves, slumbering in the manger, bleeding on the cross, that the prejudices of the synagogue, and the doubts of the academy, and the fasces of the lictor, and the swords of thirty legions were humbled in the dust." And sympathy, I firmly believe, can do as much in the nineteenth century as it did in the first. If anything will melt down the cold isolation of classes in these latter days ,and make our social body consist of solid cubes compacted together, instead of spheres only touching each other at one point, it will be a large growth of Christ-like sympathy.

Now I assert confidently that the English working-man is peculiarly open to sympathy, and the clergyman has peculiar opportunities of showing it. The working man may live in a poor dwelling, and after toiling all day in a coal-pit, or cotton-mill, or iron-foundry, or dock, or chemical works, he may often look very rough and dirty; but, after all, he is flesh and blood like ourselves. Beneath his outward roughness he has a heart and a conscience, a keen sense of justice, and a jealous recollection of his rights as a man and a Briton. He does not want to be patronised and flattered any more than to be trampled on, scolded, or neglected; but he does like to be dealt with as a brother, in a friendly, kind, and sympathising way. He will not be driven; he will do nothing for a cold, hard man, however clever he may be. But give him a clergyman who really understands that it is the heart and not the coat which makes the man, and that the guinea's worth is in the gold and not in the stamp upon it—a clergyman who will not only preach Christ in the pulpit, but come and sit down in his house, and take him by the hand in a Christlike, familiar way during the week—a clergyman who realises that in Christ's holy religion there is no respect of persons, that rich and poor are "made of one blood," and needed one and the same atoning blood, and that there is only one Saviour, and one Fountain for sin, and one heaven both for employers and employed—a clergyman who can weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice, and feel a tender interest in the cares, and troubles, and births, and marriages, and deaths of the humblest dweller in his parish —give the working man a clergyman of that kind, and, as a general rule, the working man will come to his church.

I invite the special attention of my clerical brethren to this point. We live in days when public work of all kinds seems every year to absorb more of a clergyman's time. Committees, Bible-classes, lectures, meetings, frequent services, are rapidly increasing so much, that they seem to leave ministers no time for house-to-house work, family work, and winning the confidence of individual souls. I warn them to be on their guard. All the public work in the world, however good, will not compensate for the loss of opportunities for cultivating relations of sympathy between yourselves and your people. Make time for going among them, sitting down with them, holding friendly converse with them, and, in the long run, you will find no time so well bestowed.

I am not speaking theoretically only. I have seen proof upon proof that I have warrant for what I say, both in colliery districts and in towns. I will give one, and so conclude my paper.

I know at this moment a parish of 4,500 people in Liverpool with not a rich man in it, but only small shopkeepers, artisans, and poor. There are only thirty families in it who keep a servant, and not one family which keeps two. There are 195 houses with more than one family in each. There are 133 families living in cellars. Many of these cellars are within a few yards of the church, and under its shadow. In short, that this is a thoroughly poor, working-class parish, I think no one can deny.

Now, what does the Church of England do in this parish? Listen, and I will tell you.

In a plain brick church, holding 1,000, built thirteen years ago, there is a simple, hearty service, and an average attendance of 700 on Sunday morning, 300 in the afternoon, and 950 in the evening. About half the sittings are rented, and half free. In three mission rooms there is an average attendance of about 350 in the morning, and 450 in the evening.

The total number of communicants is over 800, almost all of the working classes, and nearly half men. I myself helped once to administer the consecrated elements to 395, and I saw the hands which received them, and I know by those hands that many of them were dock labourers and foundry men.

The worthy minister of this parish began his work alone, about fourteen years ago, with four people in a cellar. He has seen a church built, and has now with him one paid curate, one paid Scripture-reader, one paid Bible-woman, and one paid organist. But he has eighty-two voluntary Sunday-school teachers, 120 Church-workers, seventeen Bible classes, with 600 adults on the register, and 1,700 Sunday scholars.

The practical and moral results of the Church's work in this parish are patent and unmistakable. Of course, some of the people remain to this day unaffected and careless. But the congregation raises £800 a-year for the cause of God. There are 1,100 pledged abstainers in the district. There is not a single house of ill-fame or a single known infidel in the parish.

These are facts, simple facts, which anyone who visits Liverpool may, if he likes, verify for himself. The incumbent of this parish is a quiet, unpretending man, who, perhaps, would not gather a congregation in the Temple, Westminster, or St. Paul's, or fascinate an Oxford or

Cambridge University audience. But of one thing I am certain, he is a man who tries to preach Christ in the pulpit, and to visit his people in a Christlike, sympathising way as a pastor, at the rate of seventy-five families a week; and to these two things I attribute his success.

Of course, man cannot command success under any circumstances. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth." Nor can such results as those I have just stated be reasonably expected in huge, overgrown, long-neglected parishes, of fifteen or twenty thousand people. In such districts it is no wonder if thousands are slaves of drink, or live in ignorance, worldliness, and sin. Yet even then much may be done by a right incumbent, with a good staff of curates and lay-helpers, and by steadily keeping in view territorial sub-division.

But nothing shall make me flinch from the position that, with a proper supply of clergy of the right sort, and a reasonable sub-division of our large parishes, we have no reason to despair about the working classes. I will never admit that they are hopelessly sunk in ignorance and infidelity—never, never! I will never admit that they cannot be got to church—never, never! Give us right preaching in every pulpit, accompanied by right house-to-house visiting in every parish, and I believe the working classes will be found the best friends and members of the Church of England. She will become in deed as well as in name "the Church of the people."

The Lord Bishop of Bedford.

It is obvious enough that Public Worship is neglected by large massess of the people. Whether this neglect is much greater than it was twenty-five or fifty years ago, it is by no means easy to determine. It is bad enough now. Of course church-going or chapel-going is not the whole of religion, and that there is a certain amount of vague indefinite religious feeling widely diffused among the neglecters of Public Worship is not to be denied. Yet attendance at a place of worship is, as a rule, the best available test of respect for religion, as neglect of such attendance is the simplest and most obvious evidence of either indifference or hostility. Of course here we touch at once the causes of the neglect we deplore. The hostile are not likely to come; and, with those large classes which are uninfluenced by public opinion, or influenced the wrong way, the indifferent, are not much more likely. We have not advanced our subject much by saying that the reason why irreligious people do not go to church is because they are irreligious. We want to go back a step farther, and to ask what has made them irreligious. We must not forget that evil will always abound, nor expect a miraculous conversion of the people; but there must be something gravely wrong when you can in many large towns go along a street from house to house, or, in the more crowded parts, from room to room, and find scarcely one (perhaps two or three women, and perhaps one man—a marvel and portent among his neighbours) regularly attending any place of worship. Even in country villages the proportion of labouring men attending church or chapel is very small. Now, that social changes have had something to do with this we cannot doubt. One may sigh over the good old Sir Roger de Coverley

days, the humble peasant at the church door hat in hand, with his curtseying wife and awe-struck children, as the squire goes by; but those days are gone, as the feudal days before them. Well, we have got some good things instead—better pay, better food, better houses (at least in the country), and better education. But class feeling and class separation have done much to keep the working man outside the church door. Would to God we could learn the secret of bettering and elevating and invigorating one class without teaching it to hate and envy and misconstrue another! But are there no other causes to be looked for in the very services themselves—causes more easy of detection and of solution—causes touching us of the clergy more closely? In other words, have our services been the best fitted for the people, the best adapted to attract and to edify them? Has there been anything, either in the Church's system, or in our handling of that system, which has generated a distaste for, or indifference to, the public worship of the Church? It is a well-worn objection to say that our Church services are too refined, too elaborate, too scholarly, for the ignorant and uneducated to appreciate. I think rather too much has been made of this, though there is doubtless some truth in it. But there is one thing truer still; and that is, that those who have never learnt to pray, who have never accustomed themselves to realise the Unseen, to whom God is a mere name, an abstract Being at best, with whom they have no conscious personal relations—that such must find anything and everything worthy of the name of worship unreal and unintelligible. Of course for such we want a very elementary presentment of worship. They have to learn the alphabet, or, rather, they have to learn something before they come to worship at all. They have to learn that God *is*, before they can learn to seek Him. Therefore inability to enter into a Church service is not in itself a proof that the service is faulty, either in conception or in rendering. Still, it is impossible to deny that our Church service is specially adapted for cultivated minds, that it pre-supposes some attainment in spiritual things, and that its finished beauty of expression, its careful order, its chastened spirit, are merits which grow upon the devout worshipper, trained in the Church's system and teaching, and are not likely to be detected by the ignorant and unfamiliar visitor. Are we then to level down our services to the rude and elementary ideas of worship which some such ignorant and unfamiliar visitor might bring with him into our churches? God forbid. Surely the Church is bound, first of all, to meet the wants and fulfil the longings of her most devout and loving children. And, thank God, her services are, in hundreds of churches, devout and helpful to a degree undreamt of by our forefathers. Two questions, then, seem to suggest themselves—(1) What has the Church failed to do, and what could she do, to make her services more fitted for the classes which now neglect them, without detracting from their beauty and helpfulness to the devout and cultured worshipper? And (2) What has the Church failed to do, and what could she do, to teach the primary idea of worship to the ignorant and careless, and to provide for the wants of those unable as yet to enter into her thoughtful and beautiful ritual?

1. I suppose there is no doubt that to those untrained in worship the sermon always appears the most important part of the service. To listen and learn is a simpler idea than to realise God and pray. The former, in some shape or other, is habitual; the latter is strange, possibly all but

unknown. Well, sermons are immensely improved. And—they are still capable of immense improvement. I must not enter into this large subject here. Let it suffice to say that, if a poor man is persuaded to come to church, and, when there, first of all quite fails to understand the service, and then quite fails to understand the sermon, he is not much to be blamed if he does not come again; and that, if only our sermons were very simple, very earnest, very loving, very practical, and not too long, a good many more would be glad to hear them. I have no doubt at all that much of the neglect of public worship is to be traced to the dull, dry, dreary preaching which has too often prevailed. Speak from your heart to the hearts of your people in language they can understand, and listeners will come. But I want rather to speak of the Prayers—taking the word popularly—of the service which precedes the sermon. I do not think it has always been the great aim to make the service intelligible, reverent, and congregational. Without great care a clergyman very easily lapses into an indistinct, over-rapid, indevout, manner of saying words with which he is very familiar. I suppose there is no rule like the old one which bids you, if you would say the prayers impressively, to *pray* them. Your own devotion will best teach your people to be devout. Then the Lessons—how often are they read hurriedly, insignificantly, as if it were not of much importance whether they were well understood or no. I am sometimes not a little amused in East London, when I propose to read a lesson, to observe some little surprise, as if it were just a little *infra dig.* for a Bishop to read the Bible. But let me tell you what always grates upon my ears and distresses me when I hear it. The clergyman begins the service reverently enough, we will assume. He does not aim at a choral service, at least so far as his part is concerned. He simply reads. I like reverent intoning best, but good reading is better than bad intoning. He says the first words of the Confession, and lo! the organ or one of the choir pipes out G, and I know too well what to expect—a Confession said as if it were an act of praise; a gradual descent from beginning to end; the organ probably crashing out the "Amen," of course on G, as much as to say, "There, you see you have flattened a tone and a half;" and the people—Oh, dear! can we hope they will join? Go and kneel among them, and listen how many take part. Now the Confession is as simple and touching and beautiful as possible, when properly rendered. Thank God for that addition to our Prayer-book of 1552, so in harmony with the earliest records of Christian worship! Let the Confession be said very softly, very penitently, on a low note, with a "humble voice," as ordered, and with no organ for the Amen, and depend upon it the people will not only understand it better, but learn to take their part in it better. This is only a sample to suggest what a little thoughtful attention to the spirit and meaning of the service—perhaps I should say a little common sense—may do to make it intelligible and helpful to all. A thoroughly good choral service is undoubtedly much loved and valued by many, and is to such a help to devotion. But undoubtedly also, there are many whom it does not help, and who cannot appreciate it, and it is a mistake to despise a simpler style of service, which may be very reverent and impressive. Only, if the service is not fully choral, do let me plead against a high responding note, which inevitably hinders responding. Nothing is more painful than to hear the prayers taken on a low note or on no note at all, and the Amens and

other responses taken on a note certainly above the comfortable level of the voices of the people, and sounding the higher by contrast. In such cases it would be far more helpful to intelligent devotion to have the whole responsive part of the service cast in a lower key. I must utter one protest against subservience to the ambition of choirs in the use of difficult or uncongregational music, and pass on, leaving many things unsaid which I should like to say on this part of my subject, and only summing up my remarks by saying that what we must aim at, to make our services attractive to the ignorant as well as helpful to the cultured, is a simple, reverent, solemn and expressive rendering, with every possible endeavour to make it easy for all to take their appointed part, so that it may be clearly felt that the service is for people as well as priest—a service in which it is the privilege as well as the duty of all to join.

2. I now take up my second point, and ask, has the Church done all she could, and if not, what more could she do for the classes who now entirely neglect public worship? I suppose the very fact of this neglect itself proves some neglect or mistake on the part of the Church. We do not want to cloak our faults: and vast masses of our people alienated from, or utterly indifferent to, the Church's ministrations, a "heathen England" to be converted (as the Salvation Army somewhat sweepingly affirms), churches half empty, or occupied only by the well-to-do—all this surely tells its tale of past shortcomings. If the Church had been all she might have been to the people, all this could not have been. No doubt the causes have been manifold, and no doubt, for many of the causes the Church is not responsible. But for many she is. And whether it be that her system has been too stiff and unbending and lacking in power of adaptation, or whether it be that her clergy have been supine, or worldly, or ill-trained for their special work among the godless and ignorant; or whether it be that her laity, for lack of encouragement or for lack of faith, left all to the clergy, and woke up too late to the great work lying before them, the Church has need to humble herself and confess her shortcomings, and pray for power to undo past mistakes and to repair past neglect. Certainly, the Salvation Army is teaching us one great lesson which we must not be ashamed to learn. With all its faults in a Churchman's eyes, it is assuredly showing us that there is a mighty work of evangelisation to be done by single-minded faith and self-sacrifice. Would that we might copy the faith and self-sacrifice, while setting forth a richer, fuller, more reverent type of Christianity! One thing I have said we must not do; we must not lower the glorious ideal of holy worship which God has been leading us up to in these latter days in order to catch the ignorant and careless. We must not depreciate or neglect Sacraments, Church order, Church doctrine, while we strain after the conversion of sinners. "This ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." But, with this principle held fast, surely we must welcome all and everything which can help in the reclamation of the masses. Shorter, simpler services, with earnest evangelistic addresses—often addresses with scarcely any service—warm and hearty hymn-singing—we must have these in churches, in schoolrooms, in public halls, in the open air—anywhere. We must learn not to be too squeamish. I do not say that good taste is not often a safeguard of reverence. But we need not wear kid gloves and velvet slippers in order to be reverent. I heartily wish there were more liberty in the use of *additional*

services in church. It is very hampering to be limited to the Bible and Prayer-Book. But one thing I would say as regards the Prayer-book. We can surely teach our people its use even in the very simplest services. Any people will learn to say the Confession all together, as they do the Lord's Prayer. Anybody can understand the General Thanksgiving. Any one, however ignorant, would soon learn to say the first four suffrages of the Litany. When, at their request, I preached one evening to a corps of the Salvation Army, I was greatly struck by their proposal that one feature in the short service should be the saying all together the Apostles' Creed. When I went to preach some concluding sermons at the close of a long Mission, conducted last year by Mr. Mark Knowles at Northampton, I was astonished to hear the people in the street, on Saturday night, take up the Confession as it was said by one of the clergy. I named it to Mr. Knowles, and he said, "Oh, I have taught it them"; explaining that during the six weeks he had been there holding services and preaching, under the sanction of the clergy, several times daily, he never omitted to use the Confession, so that the whole town seemed to know it. Surely it must be well thus to familiarise the people with some of the leading features of our worship, so that when they came to church (and we must not be content till they do) they may not find all strange and new. And then, lastly (for I have no time for much I would say), there is the individual dealing with souls—patient, quiet, laborious work. No preaching, no praying, no multiplication of services, will do much without this. And this is the hardest of all. And for this—for all—oh, what grace, what faith, what zeal, what courage, what love, what humility, are needed! "Who is sufficient for these things?"

The Rev. ARTHUR JAMES MASON, Honorary Canon of Truro.

THE whole subject of the Church's attitude towards revival movements, has of late been brought into greater prominence than ever by the upspringing of a huge body of revivalists outside the Church, upon whose work we look with the deepest sympathy, and with the most sickening misgivings. The Salvation Army presents an interesting spectacle to the student of Church history, as being in all probability the last movement of the kind that will appear in England for centuries. It forms the climax, the *ne plus ultra*, of such exhibitions of energy. The mind can imagine nothing to come after it, unless in re-action. It has reached the utmost limit of Christian zeal; indeed, it has passed it; it would be truer to say that extravagance itself could go no further and retain any claim to be thought Christian. But it is not my task to consider the merits and demerits of the existing Salvation Army, or how the Church ought to deal with it. My task is rather to dwell upon some of the lessons it conveys to the Church for her own evangelistic work. Herein lies its permanent value. Sects both bad and good have arisen during the nineteen hundred years of our history, and those who have laboured in them piously, with a single aim, have done good, and met with their personal reward. But the systems which they hoped to found, have fallen, decayed, dwindled, vanished; and their chief fruit, after all,

in the providence of God, has been the effect produced by them upon the Church which, it may be, they had despised or hated. And so will it be with the Salvation Army. Whether, after much modification, it is incorporated into the visible Body of Christ, or whether they remain aloof, their main contribution to the world's welfare will lie, not in the number of souls directly saved by them, or in their own ephemeral organisations, but in their influence upon the Catholic Church, in the impulse they have given to her missionary zeal, in the way they have thrown us back on our first principles, in showing us experimentally what we ought not to do, as well as what we ought, in challenging us to consider afresh what missionary agencies we have, or might have, at command.

The Salvation Army has given an impulse to our efforts at home evangelisation. It has forced us at last to see clearly what we had long guessed, that the pastoral, parochial, edificatory theory of Christian work, though good, is but one-sided. Before the Reformation, this theory was corrected by the wide spread of such bodies as the Preaching Friars; but since that time the parochial theory has had exclusive possession of the Church, and we now see the disastrous extent of the failure. The parochial theory lacks the spirit of aggression ; and wherever Christianity ceases to be aggressive—we thank Mrs. Booth for having taught us the word—there Christianity recedes. The result of 300 years of reformed Christianity (which ought to be the most potent) is, that we find ourselves in the midst of what has been called a "heathen England." What the Salvation Army has forced us to perceive is—not that we should fling away the parochial theory, and embrace exclusively the other, missionary theory, as they do—in that case, the failure would be far more disastrous, indeed, irretrievable—but that we must imperatively carry on a wide work of conversion, side by side with the work of edifying, with no jealousy between the two departments.

It must be said in our excuse, that our backwardness in the line to which the Salvation Army incites us, is connected with some of the best features of Church life. If, for instance, our laymen have not preached, it is in large measure because the first note of a true Church layman is his modesty. And, perhaps, the chief reasons why efforts for the conversion, as distinct from the training of souls, have been less marked among us, may be found in our richer and wider views of life and truth. Conversion is to us but one point among many as important in a soul's education. And even the whole culture of each individual soul belonging to her, is but a fraction of the work of the Church. Mr. Booth's article in the *Contemporary Review* shows us that the mainspring of all his energy is the belief in what he calls "the old Gospel," and that the central point of that "old Gospel" is, to him and his, a vivid imagination of hell. To the Salvationist, all but the assured few are already (as it were) wrapped in unquenchable flames. The one business of life is, to hale as many of them out as possible. It cannot be denied that this restricted view of life gives an intensity and simplicity to the work of preaching which we often lack. But this ought not to be so. Wider conceptions of the purposes of God ought not to diminish our earnestness in the work of conversion. Though to us the saving of souls means much more than rescuing them from hell, we ought not to be the less, but the more eager to save them. Love of souls ought to be

in direct, not in inverse, proportion to the grandeur of the destiny which we believe to await them. And of all men we ought least to acquiesce in educating a few elect specimens of the race. We can understand a Luther saying, in half-jovial, half-cynical retrospect, "When I was a young preacher I seriously meditated making all mankind good," and adding, that he had abandoned the dream. But for a Churchman, such a saying should be impossible. The realisation of that abandoned dream of Luther's is solemnly imposed on all our priests at ordination as their life work. The universality of our mission is at least one of our claims to the proud title of Catholics. To abandon it would be an apostasy.

But while the Salvation Army has made us feel how remiss we have been in converting zeal, it has taught us also, how *not* to display it. It acts as a caution to us, not as an example only. It makes us more thankful than ever for the religious soberness which our grandfathers delivered to us. We see, on a huge scale, the evils of sensationalism. Not that I would be understood to decry everything that might be called sensational. Street preaching is of itself sensational. A surpliced procession singing a litany is sensational. To see a company of persons kneeling on a road or in a field is sensational. But these things have their uses. There is a legitimate excitement which attracts men, and prepares their minds to receive truth; for few persons can receive truth as truth; they require to have it translated for them into feeling. But as soon as sensation becomes an object in itself, sought for the pleasure it brings, or because it is mistaken for religion—if once it ceases to be spontaneous, and is forced or feigned, or is allowed to go beyond control, or forgets reverence—then it becomes purely mischievous, neither spiritual itself, nor leading to a spiritual result, but earthly, natural, sensual, carnal. Better that the Church should settle into apathy, than that she should degrade herself and her Lord by such sensationalism. Ways which lead to a sudden and *éclatant* success rouse our suspicion. We have learned of One who was not less eager than any modern revivalist for the salvation of souls, but of whom it was prophesied before, and observed in fact, that He neither strove nor cried, and no man heard His voice in the streets.

We may, I think, hope that the abuse of sensationalism by the Salvation Army will have a strong reactionary effect upon our own Mission Work, especially in one particular. They have reduced to a *minimum* the use—not only of teaching, but of preaching. It has been almost suppressed to make way for other means of influencing minds. Modern instruments of warfare—shells, torpedoes, and mitrailleuses, noisy explosives, doing execution wholesale—have been substituted, to a very large extent, for the one weapon which we knew of old—the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. But if we believe the Scriptures, and all the great Fathers, it is the plain preaching of Christian doctrine—of the life and death of Christ, and of His living presence, power, and love, of His sacred laws and His blessed promises, which is to win the world. It has the force and penetration of a sacrament. And I think, with the Salvation Army before our eyes (I hope none will think that I speak in barren censure of them, but only to draw our lesson from them) that we may learn to make our Missions more effective, by making them more full of teaching. What we want is a short and persuasive sermon, followed by clear, incisive, perhaps catechetical instruction, leading on to devotion.

Had we only to think of the roughs, it might be otherwise. But such is not the case. A friend of mine, whose name would be received here with respect, if I might mention it, and whose judicious and large-hearted efforts for the working classes give him a right to speak for them, wrote to me some time ago, and said, that so far as his experience went, the class of respectable artisans was at least as averse from the methods of the Salvation Army as the classes socially above them, and that, in his opinion—Christlike as is the work of reclaiming the outcast—it was a still more Christlike work at present, and peculiarly laid upon us, to win back the respectable artisans; and he added, that we ought to think well before, in our yearning to reclaim the outcast, we identified ourselves with methods and principles which would make it harder for the artisans to be saved. Sympathetic, reverent, large-minded exposition of Christian faith and practice, is the instrument by which such an end can best be compassed. John Stuart Mill and Harriett Martineau, were only samples of a vast class who have abandoned Christianity because it was presented to them in the form of some ghastly caricature. If the true doctrine could have been at one period of their lives set before them in the right way, we should not have had to deplore their loss. Teaching, patient teaching, generous, heart-felt teaching—if there is a panacea for all our ills, that is it.

But if our Missions are to be teaching Missions, it follows that they ought to be of longer duration than they usually are. Mr. Aitken, I believe, following the example of the great Roman Catholic missioners, sometimes prolongs his for a month, and it is not at all too long. No Mission seems to me complete without explicit instruction upon the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer—the ethics, the dogma, and the devotional system of the Church; and the cramming needed to bring all this into a week or ten days destroys the fulness of its effect. Long Missions have many advantages over short ones. At the end of the first week the people are only just fully roused to attention and receptivity. They are just beginning to lay aside their suspicions. Their shyness of each other and of the missioners is just wearing off. It seems foolish, then, to fly away. The long Mission has a far more lasting effect. Conviction of sin has begun to deepen into repentance. Excitement has had time to finish its effervescence. No half-made converts stroll off at the close to seek fresh sensations in Dissenting chapels, Papist or Protestant. By the end of the Mission they are provided with the helps and safeguards they require. And the often-debated question, how to get hold of those who are moved, answers itself in a long Mission, for those who want help come of themselves—which always does them more good than forcing them into conversation during an after-meeting.

There are, however, many places, especially in country districts, by no means ripe for these regular Missions, where nevertheless some kind of evangelistic work ought to be attempted; for the country is not less heathen than the towns. As a sample of the kind of thing that might be useful, I may mention an experiment which was tried this summer in Cornwall. Two clergymen, accompanied by two young laymen, started, under the Bishop's sanction, and with the approval of the parochial incumbents, to conduct an itinerant Mission in a group of parishes on the north coast of the county. On Sundays they preached in the parish churches; but

on the week-days, afternoon and evening, out of doors, in the various scattered hamlets—sometimes in a carpenter's wood-yard, sometimes on a hillside above a fishing cove, or in a cart-shed, or among the holiday makers at a sea-side fair with horse-races. They travelled on foot from place to place, returning again to each preaching station at a week's interval. They cast themselves upon the hospitality of the villagers, and never in vain, thus gaining many a good opportunity of learning the people's ways, and of speaking quietly to souls. To make it perceptible at a glance that it was a church work, the two clergymen wore their cassocks as they went. The texts of their discourses were always from the Lessons of the day. There was nothing remarkable in the character of the meetings. But the whole country-side was quietly stirred. Many people flocked from one station to another to be present. The consecutive teaching of a Mission, where the hearers are the same night after night was, of course, impossible; but, not to speak of individual lives which were changed, the population, as a whole, was affected. Prejudices were removed. In a district wholly, one might say, lost to the Church, it was felt that the Church did love her children after all. They were struck with her witness for holiness. The way was prepared for fuller work hereafter, both missionary and parochial.

In addition to lengthened parochial Missions and to evangelistic tours, such as I have described, there is abundant room for the Church to develop a movement more nearly resembling the Salvation Army's own work. Such a movement has already been inaugurated at Bristol, Hammersmith, and elsewhere; and the society known as the "Church Parochial Mission Society," which has Mr. Aitken for its head, has lately thrown out a branch in this special direction. I hope that some subsequent speaker will be able to tell us more fully about the work of the "Church Mission Army," under Mr. Carlile and others. The fact that they state on their circular that, "No one will be accepted who has been a paid officer of the Salvation Army," is, I trust, a pledge that they will not carry their imitation too far. The agents in this work are to be working men from twenty to forty years of age, able to "testify clearly to their own sense of acceptance with God," and Church communicants. They will receive from £1 to £2 a week. Undoubtedly we have here the beginning of a work of great interest, and destined, no doubt, under the management of such earnest leaders, and maintained by so wealthy a society, to reach large proportions and to influence the Church of England much. I believe also that the "Church of England Working Men's Society" has taken some steps in a like direction.

I may confess, my lord, that my great anxiety with regard to much of our revival or Mission effort is concerned with its ultimate control. History teaches us that even the best intended organisations which have gone to work without a careful and sincere subjection to the Divinely instituted authorities of the Church, have ended in producing jealousies, and even disruptions. The history of the Preaching Friars, the Lollards, the Jesuits, the Wesleyans—to come down to nothing later or nearer—is full of warning. Private societies—especially such as start with any special doctrines of their own, or any sympathies less wide than those of the Church herself—are apt to become powerful before the Church sees where she is, and to give trouble which they never meant to give. A society does not become a Church society by the fact that all its

members are members of the Church, nor even by the patronage of two or three bishops. To make any revival movement a Church revival movement (and on such I was told to speak), it is not enough that it should tolerate, as an accident of the circumstances in which it was born, the diocesan government of the Church. It ought, I consider, heartily to throw itself into that system without reserve, accepting frankly such difficulties as it may in practice involve, as part of the discipline by which our Lord tries His Church's patience and obedience. How different, for instance, would have been the result of Wesley's work, if he had recognised this fact. He thought himself—strangely he still seems to many to have been—a thorough Churchman, and sincerely meant his revival for a Church revival; but his system, though it told its members to attend their parish churches and altars, had no vital, organic, necessary connection with the general system of the Church. It was not penetrated by the Church idea. It ignored the notions of mission and jurisdiction. The allegiance of its adherents was exacted not for the Church's officers but for its own. And the end we know.

Your lordship's diocese, guided by your lordship's own wisdom, was one of the earliest to place Mission work, in which your lordship has had so wide and so blessed an experience, upon a proper diocesan footing. Here, and at Lincoln, and at Salisbury, are diocesan societies of missioners, with rules much alike, except that the Lincoln society is clerical only, the other two admit laymen. A concordat has also been formed with Mr. Aitken's society, which has happily secured to the diocese the services of my friend, Mr. Lester—the appointment having rested, if I mistake not, where it ought, with your lordship alone, while the stipend is provided by the society. And I understand that Rochester is about to form a like concordat.

At Truro we have not as yet a society of the same kind, though I hope we may have one before long. But we have the nucleus of it in a small college of missioners, who live together in a fraternal way, free from parochial and other ties, and devoted solely to such work of evangelisation as the Bishop may assign to them. It is now widely felt that, although our best missioners at present are beneficed clergy, and it would be a tremendous loss to restrict Mission preaching to men not so attached, yet there ought also to be some who make this their life work, who keep themselves free for it, who are ready to go at an hour's notice wherever they may be sent. Prolonged Missions are impossible without it; so is itinerant preaching of any magnitude; so are operations like those of Mr. Carlile. It is done by Mr. Aitken, and by many members of his society; it is done also in a different form by the Evangelist Fathers of St. John at Cowley. The House of Missioners at Truro differs from both of these in being strictly diocesan. The Bishop has the entire control over its work. Like the Cowley Society, however, and unlike Mr. Aitken's, it adopts the form of a common life, though without a lifelong obligation. Regarded from the very lowest point of view, the maintenance of a number of missioners is thus made cheaper. Perhaps some of us could find other things also to say in favour of such homes for religious workers, without disparaging any other mode of living. That system, as applied to religious women, has come to be universally recognised in the English Church—witness Wantage and

Clewer, witness Mildmay Park—even within the lifetime of him who may be said to have restored the idea—the great saint who entered upon his rest a fortnight ago. But men who have tried it find it as helpful to them as women do. It is not the craze of a few extreme partisans. Holy Archbishop Leighton, Burnet's model, passionately lamented that the old monasteries had been destroyed and not reformed. Holy Henry Martyn, Simeon's best loved son, strengthened himself for his cruel labours by the contemplation of "those holy men who had retired into a convent,"—a St. Bernard, a St. Francis Xavier. And I trust I am not taking too great a liberty, my lord, in saying that I hope to see not only the increase of our little house at Truro, but also the rise of similar institutions elsewhere.

ADDRESSES.

J. TREVARTHEN, Esq., Redhill.

MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I must appeal to this vast meeting for the utmost sympathy and consideration, standing here, as I do, as an obscure layman, to speak upon one of the most important subjects that can be considered by the Congress, and coming after two such remarkable men as the Bishop of Liverpool and the Bishop of Bedford. They have said so much that is good, and so much to the point, that I have the greater difficulty in addressing you. But I hope to receive your indulgence in putting before you my particular view, as a layman who has had something to do with mission work, and special opportunities for becoming acquainted with that work, as successfully carried on by others. The Church has obviously failed, so far, to lay hold of the masses to the extent that we should desire. We may consider this as an accepted fact, so I will not go into statistics; but I may make one reference to the words of a leading man in mission work. Some ten years ago, Lord Shaftesbury said that, after making accurate enquiries on the matter, he had learnt, with very much regret, that not two per cent. of the working-men of London attended our churches, or any place of worship whatever! Of course, there may, and must be, many reasons for this neglect of public worship, some of which are very evident, and upon the surface; but I think I may call your attention to two or three of them with advantage. First of all, it is obvious, to my mind, that the population has entirely outgrown our church accommodation. It appears to me that this outgrowing of accommodation mostly took place at the time when, unfortunately, the administration of the Church's affairs was at the lowest ebb. There is no stronger proof of the Divine origin and authority of the English Church than the marvellous way in which she survived the Georgian era; and in those days, when the population was increasing, and the church accommodation was not proportionately increasing, it is no wonder that the masses were being left behind; and this is shown in our own day by the deplorable ignorance which is found to prevail of even the very rudiments of religion. I will mention one little illustration from my own observation. I am connected with a Society in the South of England which has to do with the most unpromising type of juvenile offenders. We, at the Philanthropic Society's Farm School, Redhill, take in and put to work some

hundreds of almost hopeless outcasts—lads who have lost their position in the world—and, I am glad to say, we are able to return some eighty or ninety per cent. of them back again as useful and honest members of society. It is my duty, amongst other things, to thoroughly examine the antecedents of these lads, and when they come to the Institution I naturally ask the boys if they have ever been baptized. They generally answer, "Oh, yes, Sir." In more than one case I have asked this question, and the boy said, "Yes, Sir," and when I questioned him further, and asked *where* he had been baptized, the answer I received was, "Here, Sir," pointing to his arm. That lad had been brought up in this great Christian country, and yet he did not know the difference between baptism and vaccination! That is an appalling fact, and some of these lads have been to National, and many to Board Schools—those triumphs of modern legislation. The second point I will call your attention to is this, that even in the churches that do exist, the working people—the masses of the country—have not yet had fair play. I will tell you why—on account of the pew system. Why, even the Bishop of Liverpool's pattern church has only one-half of the seats free! What does that say for the rest? You know, my friends, that it is very difficult to get working men into the Church at all, and when a man is induced to attend, he must mind where he goes, or he is told, "That is *my* seat." Under those circumstances what will he do? Why, he probably leaves it at once and for ever, and I cannot wonder at it. The fact is, many people have been absolutely lost to the Church because of this pernicious pew system, and if time allowed, I could tell some painful stories of its effects. The next point I will refer to is, that not only are the churches ineffectively used in that way, but they are not used often enough. Standing here in the front of, and among the dignitaries of the Church, I am bound to say that, in my opinion, if the churches were used as often as the Church has ordered them to be used—at least fourteen times a week—the working classes would not have gone so much astray. How, in the name of common sense, English people have been content to pay their thousands of pounds for their magnificent churches, and keep them hermetically sealed from Sunday to Sunday I cannot understand. And, then, as you know, the very appearance of some of our churches is enough to frighten the poor man out of his wits. I could mention several churches of that kind—for instance, the well-known Saint Pancras. I dare say you know the parish church of Saint Pancras, near your great Midland Station, and you must have observed that a striking portion of it looks like a sarcophagus! Do you suppose that a man who scarcely wants to go to church at all will be attracted by a magnificent imitation of an Egyptian tomb? Not likely. The very last thing the Church ought to be, is repellant to the masses, and that is what she has been, alas! in many cases. Then, not only have our churches not been used often enough, but we do not provide a sufficient variety of services. The Bishop of Bedford says there should be elasticity about them, and I say so too. I am afraid we shall never provide sufficient variety in our *churches* under the Act of Uniformity. What, then, is the cure for that? It is to start all over the place a number of good, and, it may be, plain mission churches, and there you can do, practically in these free days, nearly anything you like. And if in any parish the type of service adopted in the mother church is not acceptable to a minority, as is often the case, you can provide them with another type of service in a mission church. We ought to provide a large number of such places, with attractive services. Then I

must add that there has been a very inadequate supply of clergy. I believe that since the Reformation the population of England has increased four-fold, and I am told that the clergy have scarcely increased at all until just a few years ago: and what has made matters worse is that we have drifted into this most unsatisfactory state of things, that the Diaconate in the Church of England is almost a dead letter. We have not such a thing as a real Deacon now. We have 'prentice priests, and how they manage to learn their profession in one year when other professions take seven, I do not know; indeed, a friend of mine who came to the Congress, told me on the journey that he was going to get his Diaconate shortened to even less than a year! One of the things we want is, not only an increase in the number of our clergy, but a revival of the real Diaconate amongst us; because it really is the "missing link" between the clergy and laity. We have lost that because the deacon is merely at present a 'prentice priest. Now I am coming to what I consider my great point. I say that until the Church of England discovers and learns the lesson which the Wesleyans could have taught her years ago, she will never have ministerial staff enough to do her work: I mean, that she should have lay preachers all over the place. In Cornwall, as our good friend Bishop Benson could tell you, through the ministrations of John Wesley, that great evangelistic worker, that county has been saved to Christianity. But how has it been done? Nearly everywhere, as I know in my own native parish, you will find six chapels to one church. The more shame to the Church, I say. And although the Wesleyans have done their work imperfectly, and not up to our standard of how it should be done, yet they have accomplished a grand work. If we do not learn that lesson, it is hardly necessary for me to say that we are not doing our duty. The Salvation Army can teach us a lesson of enthusiasm, and, indeed, if we had only one half the enthusiasm in our missions that General Booth has in his army, we should very soon accomplish our work, considering our great advantages and opportunities. Let me say, in conclusion, that it seems to me that the reason the Church has fallen behind in this matter is because she has lost what the soldiers call "the touch." Do you remember the glowing description which appeared in the papers the other day of the progress of the British army in the late Egyptian campaign? Do you remember how in the early morning, as they marched out in the darkness, it was said their only chance of going forward efficiently was by keeping "the touch?" If they had lost "the touch," that gallant army would have been disbanded and useless. We, the Church's army, have lost "the touch" between baptism and confirmation, and again between confirmation and communion in many cases, and I think I could tell you the reason, if I had time. And we have, alas! lost "the touch" even after they have come to communion. The obvious cure is to increase the number of people who can give and carry on that "touch," and the more people you can employ in the Church, and the more varied the ways, the more substantial work you will be doing for her and the people. And I must add a word about the sermons. I was not surprised to hear the Bishop of Liverpool say that half the sermons used in our churches had better be burnt. I should not like to have said so bold a thing myself, but upon his authority I endorse it; for if anybody should know, it is Bishop Ryle. Let us learn this lesson: if we want the people to go to Church, we must, in this and other respects, make the Church attractive; and anyone with half an eye and a

measure of good sense can find out very soon what really is attractive. If we will but do our duty, God helping us, I am sure we shall succeed in this grand work.

H. F. BOWKER, Esq., Richmond, Surrey.

LET me preface my remarks on the subject which has been assigned to me, by saying, that I purpose to speak especially on that part of the revival work of our day which is being exhibited by the Salvation Army. All experience and observation show that God never permits any great difficulty to arise, without sending a warning and offering some remedy. That uprising of the democracy, so often predicted as one of the characteristics of the closing days of the dispensation in which we live, and which has been referred to by the Archbishop in his sermon, and by our President in his opening address, is accompanied by a great cry for Christ, from the same section of the people. We are alarmed at the liberty and independence, so freely shown, lest it should degenerate more and more into licentiousness, but a great counteracting remedy is offered. The work of the Salvation Army has shown us that the masses can be reached for the reception of the Gospel of Christ, and in some aspects, shows us how. I need hardly say that our responsibility is great. As the National Church, we territorially divide the land. It is mapped out into parishes throughout the kingdom. I have heard some say, "Let the Salvation Army do their work, and we will do ours." If this view were to prevail, we may close our Churches, and leave others to do the work which we should thus prove ourselves incompetent to do. Away, however, with such thoughts. We are responsible for giving to every person in the land, the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ. With all its extravagance of utterance and of action, and its errors in teaching on one great subject, the Salvation Army is doing a great work. Perhaps the extravagance may be a re-action on the excessive rigidness of that which we call order, a mere refinement upon it, unknown in the early days of the Church;—and the error may be a re-action from a too exclusive attention to one part of truth, that which we designate doctrine, as distinguished from the practical things which mark our daily lives. Let me not be misunderstood. True doctrine lies at the root of all true conduct, only it is possible to give a proportionally undue attention to one side of truth to the neglect of another. The Christ-life which all His disciples are called upon to live has not been sufficiently lived out to invite and attract the great mass of the people. That we may know their need, let us look, for a moment, at the habits of many amongst them. I enter a public house, and what do I commonly see at the close of the day. Many are drinking beer, singing snatches of ribald songs, uttering scandal, telling imaginary stories, swearing very freely. Let me bring these same people under the sound of the Gospel, get them to a gathering suited to their condition. Let the conviction of sin and the converting grace of God touch them, through the power of the Holy Ghost, and how is the great change shown? The scandal and the imaginary story are exchanged for the testimony to Christ; the ribald song and the profane oath for the hallelujah and the loud amen; the beer-drinking in most cases, for total abstinence. Their habitations, notwithstanding all the improvements which have been introduced, both by private and public efforts, are too often scenes of misery and deprivation. The contrast between all this and Christ—a present Saviour and the Great Giver of future glory is so great, as to fill these people with

exulting joy. Our long neglect has left them without the reticent and chastening thought which the more highly educated feel the power of. The Salvation Army present Christ to them, not as afar off but nigh ; not up in heaven only, but near ; the written and the Personal Word brought nigh, so that they may partake of His blessing, and receive Himself. Those of the Salvation Army with whom I have spoken, and I have come in contact with many of them, have got a realistic grip of Christ, far more powerful than the great mass of our Church and Chapel-going people. They have a consciousness, too, that Satan is a real personal foe, whom they have to encounter, it may be daily, and who can only be overcome by Christ consciously present with them. Let us brace ourselves, in the strength of the Lord, to this work, Until the day arrives that our Churches are thrown open freely for all Christian work, and I pray that that day may soon dawn, let us provide a hall or mission-room in each parish, and let the Clergy take up this work themselves, assisted by all the Christ-living earnest people in the parish. The Salvation Army has shown us a method of reaching and attracting the people ; let us avail ourselves of this ; avoiding the extravagance, and preserving such order as will conserve reverence without destroying zeal. Let the origin and principle of our Cathedral system, be in part, a model. The choir and chancel were for the worshippers, the nave for the outsiders, and here all the preaching was originally given. Let our Churches represent the chancel and choir for the worshippers, and our mission-rooms and halls the nave, for the bringing in of the ignorant and unsaved. Then let them, where possible, be drafted off to the Church. Our services must be adapted to their wants. Very lively hymns, short prayers, short expositions of Scripture ; much liberty to give testimony to Christ and His love and power to save and to keep. Let us not be afraid of the share we may may freely give to those whose hearts are touched, to take part in such services. Lest an excessive caution should get the better of me, let me recall a scene which took place some eighteen hundred years ago at Jerusalem. Some cut down branches from the trees, others took off their garments, and threw them in the way as the Great Master in His lowliness entered the city. And when, in their enthusiasm they cried "Hosanna to the Son of God," the very respectable inhabitants of Jerusalem, led by the Scribes, drew the attention of our Lord to this *extravagance*, He refused to interfere, saying—"If these should hold their peace, the stones would cry out." And now nothing can satisfy these people but Christ. It is with them, Christ only ; Christ always ; and Christ enough. Let me, in conclusion, state what has been done at Richmond, in Surrey, in the parish of Holy Trinity, towards meeting the need. A meeting is held every Thursday evening by the Vicar of that parish. The men come in their working-clothes—very commonly straight from their work. Some young men of education, for the most part, seek others out—sometimes from the public-house. Very lively hymns are first sung, then prayer ; then a short exposition of Scripture. After this, singing again ; then prayer, offered in most cases by the men who have themselves received blessing. These prayers are short, and most commonly express the uppermost sense of need of him who prays. Then more singing, and afterwards time is allowed for testimony—short and to the point ; testimony to the saving, and keeping, and delivering power of Christ. Many of these prayers and testimonies are very moving. I have heard, during a somewhat long experience, many a powerful and eloquent sermon, but never anything more moving and heart-searching than some of the testimonies I have heard fall from the lips of these rough

men. This is what affects them. The living witness of a mate, a fellow-labourer ; a man whose temptations and difficulties are like their own ; the living witness that drunkenness can be given up ; that all vice and wickedness can be pardoned, and the whole life changed by the power of the Lord Jesus Christ. Let us go forward in faith and with boldness ; God beckons us on, and the promise of a rich harvest awaits us to satisfy the loftiest ambition and the most energetic zeal.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

BEFORE we proceed to the general discussion of this subject, I wish to introduce to you a speaker who has had very large experience in the work which we are now considering, having held for several years a prominent place in the first ranks of the Salvation Army. Lately he has withdrawn from the Salvation Army, in no spirit of opposition, but from the desire to work on the lines of the Church, and under those circumstances I have offered to him, and he has accepted, the post of Lay Evangelist in the diocese of Lichfield. I can only say that I wish I had a hundred such lay evangelists, and I hope to increase the number very soon. I will now introduce to you Mr. Colville.

Mr. COLVILLE.

I SHOULD not have ventured to have spoken here to-night, had not your lordship called upon me. You are my general, my lord, and I obey orders. I should like to say a word or two about the mass of the people outside the Church, outside the Chapel, and outside all Christian influence. That the mass can be got hold of I think now is proved beyond all doubt. I have no doubt whatever of it, and that they can be made good Churchmen. The only question is, how is it to be brought about? My view is that this evangelistic work must be done outside the Church. The masses cannot be got at first into the churches, and I will tell you two or three reasons why I say so. In the first place, suppose I went into the streets and saw marching three hundred or four hundred of the roughest class, women with their hair all down their backs, and men of the roughest type, and I marched them into one of your churches, where the congregation consisted of people like those before me here, What would you think of me? The ladies would begin to draw back, and there would be no place for them, and you would not like to sit among them, even if they could be got inside the Church. Then, when they get inside, the service is not suited to them, to begin with. So far as I understand the Prayer Book, it is for converted people. But this work of evangelising the masses must be done outside. I say what we want is large halls, and plenty of them, in our large towns and all over the country, where these people can be got in, and when they are in, the first thing, without beginning with the Prayer Book, is to get them converted. You must first make them Christians, then Churchmen. When you have got hold of them, and they have got peace and joy, I say, from the experience I have had of working among the masses, that you can teach them anything you like : you can teach them by special meetings the Prayer Book. The unbaptized you can teach and prepare for baptism, and those who are baptized you can teach and prepare for confirmation, and so you can teach them and make them a living body of Churchmen, such as the Church has never seen before. From my experience of the masses, they are the people of which to make real living saints. In order to do this, we must begin in the right way, and that is, I believe, outside the Church, by services such as they can understand and such as will win their hearts ; and then the great thing is, when they have found peace, to get the masses to work among their own mates. I can assure you I have known a great deal of good done in a foundry of five or six hundred men by one converted man. These people have to go through things

which you have no idea of. The "chaff" which they have to go through, and the noble way in which they stand up for God, and the devotion and holiness of their lives, are preaching sermons every day in the places where they work. But I want to impress upon you this one thing before I sit down, and that is, I do not expect to make drawing-room saints all at once of tap-room sinners. You cannot do it. Remember the class of people I am talking about, whose lives have been heathen—men who have never been in a place of worship for years and years, and who have lived lives of the lowest degradation. Remember that these men lay hold of our blessed Lord's salvation, and find peace. Remember these men have been drawn, and cannot restrain themselves and keep in their joy as we can, although I think a little more of the blessed enthusiasm would be a grand thing. It seems that we can get enthusiasm about politics and anything else, but when it comes to the eternal things of our souls, and salvation, and the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, we hold it to be excitement. If you have any one thing worthy of the excitement of man, it is the blessed word of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, I say this, that we must not all at once expect too great things of them ; we must let them have this enthusiasm, and if a man feels it in his heart, we must let him say Hallelujah, and not restrain him.

The Rev. R. R. RESKER, Vicar of St. Mark's, Walworth.

I RISE with very considerable trepidation to address a Church Congress for the first time, and I should not have presumed to do so had I not been asked to say a word about the Church Army Mission, which has commenced its first operations, in connection with the Church Parochial Mission Society, in my parish in London. I suppose, my lord, that there is not one clergyman in this vast assembly this evening who has tried to do his duty among a large poor population such as we have in our parishes in London, who, as he has looked round upon his congregation, his communicants, and his Church workers, and has thanked God for all that has been accomplished, has not had his heart filled with sorrow, and almost with dismay, as he has thought of the multitude outside who have not been touched as yet. Perhaps, my lord, he may have been, as you were in Newington, an open air preacher, and have tried to influence them by bringing the Gospel to their very doors ; and I have to thank God for blessings that have come through open air services. Perhaps he may have tried other means, such as Special Church Missions from time to time ; and I have good reason to praise God for mercies he has given to many in my parish by such missions, conducted by Mr. Aitken and others. But still there are the "great unwashed"—the multitudes outside, who have never been touched by the existing organisations ; and the question arises, what are we to do for these? Are we to sit still, and with folded arms contemplate the Salvation Army marching through our streets and sweeping them into their barracks, without the Church putting forward a finger to draw them within her fold by similar means. I believe that the Church can do this work, and I thank God that it has been commenced by the Church Parochial Mission Society, to which many parishes already owe so much in regard to the special missions which have been held in different parts of the land. Having taken up this more particular work under the direction of the Rev. W. Carlile, late curate of the parish of Kensington, a Church Army Mission has been at work in my parish for the last fortnight, and it will go on for some time to come. I am here to say that by the blessing of God that agency has led to many coming into the services at the Parochial Mission Hall who could never be got within the walls of the Church. It has already rescued many whom we have hitherto failed altogether to reach. I do think, my lord, that the Church must in these days face the question whether we are to be content with our open churches, and frequent services, and special missions, and do nothing more to gather in these roughs who have souls to be saved—souls for which Christ died—and whom I can testify can be made earnest soldiers of the Cross. There is one more thing I should like to mention. I have heard, on very good authority, that the Salvation Army have this purpose in view—the planting of barracks in every square mile of our large cities and towns. That is a fact which the clergy ought to take into consideration ; and to ask themselves whether they are to let this matter alone, and whether they would like such an agency in every one of their parishes. We can do without it if we put our shoulders to the wheel, and binding together all our people who know the truth, send them forth to do the work. May I say one

word as to the means employed. The opening services held in the church were more especially intended for the workers—many of them working men—and then we commenced somewhat on the lines of the Salvation Army itself. We have a procession, preceded by a banner, going through the streets of the parish and singing lively hymns, thus interesting the people and getting their attention; then at different stations a word or two of invitation to the meetings is said by the people themselves. There is one working man among them, himself a communicant, who has most successfully worked in these out-of-door missions. He tells them that he is a "working chap like themselves," and urges them to go where he himself has got such blessing. Thus the mission band goes round the parish for an hour and returns to the Mission Hall, which has every evening been filled. I should like to take you, in imagination, to the hall, crowded by the right class, on the two last Saturday nights, when Mr. Carlile employed the agency of a magic lantern and exhibited various Scripture scenes. The last six views thrown upon the sheet were photographs of bas-reliefs, representing our Saviour's crucifixion, the final one being the head of our Lord as the Man of Sorrows. And these rough men and women whom we can never get into our churches listened to the few words that were said about these pictures in absolute silence, and a very great impression was made upon them as we concluded by singing, "There is a fountain filled with blood." Last Sunday night, after the Church services, the hall was crowded, and one man got up to give his testimony. He was a working man, and told his simple tale in words somewhat like these. He said—"For many years past I have been a drunkard, and I never brought home any money to my wife. I spent my evenings in the public-house, and as many hours as I could on the Sunday as well. Three weeks ago, I thank God, the 'Blue Ribbon Army' came this way. I was led by it to give up the drink; but I felt that I wanted something else more than that. I thank God that the Church Mission Army came this way, and now I can say that by His blessing I have not only given up the drink, but I have given up sin, and I want to serve Christ." That man's wife not many weeks before had to go to the hospital because of his brutal attacks, when she unwillingly admitted that he had endeavoured to choke her; but now see the change that has been brought about. My friends, if we can get hold of these people within the Church Mission Room, as a stepping stone to the Church, we shall do a great work. I trust, by God's blessing, this is only the beginning of great things for the Church, and that it will tend to lengthen her cords and strengthen her stakes.

The Right Hon. the EARL NELSON.

I WANT in the first place to make a sort of protest, because, although I am perfectly certain that there are, as the latter part of my few remarks will show, an immense number of heathens in England, I think it is rather too far to call it "heathen England." And I am quite certain from the intercourse I have had with many of the working classes—addressing them at large meetings and in other ways—that, although there are many who do not go to church or chapel, there are reasons why that is not the true test in their case of their being Christians or not. I cannot help thinking that in these days, both in church and chapel, we have ordered our services—both as to the time and as to their form—with an eye to the wants of the higher or middle classes, rather than to those of the masses of the people, who ought first to be considered. Very many of the shortcomings on the part of the Church arise from this feeling of respectability, and is sufficient to account for masses of men who are Christians not coming to our services. If we wish to make them come to our services, we must have our churches free and open. We must have our services at times suited to the people, and we must have shortened services that can be easily understood by the people. Of course it is impossible really to win the practical common-sense men who compose our working classes unless we show (1) some reality of Christianity by the example of a Christian life; (2) by teaching them something to believe in, and (3) by giving them something to do for Christ. The reason I sent in my card was that I wanted to say a few words as to the present position of our Church in the face of the Salvation Army movement. I dare say many of you, too, have lamented the course that the Church took at the time of Wesley's great movement. We have often said in our pride of heart that if we had lived in that day, it would not have so been. What was the cause of the Wesleyan movement? It was because, notwithstanding the work done by the Church in many parishes at that

time, there were still great masses of the people who were not touched by the Church organisation. And it pleased God to show His disapproval of their ministrations, and to give a call to the Church to go into the work by giving the blessings of the overflowing of His Holy Spirit to extraordinary efforts. So now, notwithstanding the very great work which has been done in many parishes, notwithstanding the fact that many of our neglected people are coming in, and that we can find several hundred of our churches filled with working men, we must yet allow—for the Salvation Army has taught us that there is a class among the lowest of the people who have to be won, who can be won, and who can be organised to carry on a work for Christ. And it seems to me that it is very much the same reason that has called the Salvation Army forth, as that which called forth the Wesleyan movement. Many Wesleyans who had that work among the masses handed over to them for a time, and many of the other Nonconformists bodies and many of our clergy, have allowed the old respectable spirit to come too much upon them, and have practically forgotten to go out into the highways to compel the masses to come in. The Church of England has another call to enter more energetically into this work, and I hope to God that we shall act up to it this time, and not let it slip away from us. It is all very well to talk of excesses, but are we going to allow people who have been called and converted (and there is no doubt, among those who have looked into the matter, that many have been converted), are we to stand by and to leave them, without any attempt to build them up, for it must be remembered that the Salvation Army proposes, first, merely to convert them, allowing them to go to any body they choose for further growth in grace. Again, seeing that that these people can be taught, and won, and organised to work for Christ, are we not bound to see if we cannot do something over and above our ordinary organisations for the purpose of carrying out this great work? I believe we can do it by having special services, by holding these services as far as we can in the open air, and in mission halls and other places. And I believe we do require to take a lesson from the Wesleyans and the Salvation Army, and to do something as a church toward the permanent organisation of lay work to assist the Clergy in evangelising the masses.

The Rev. ALEXANDER HATCHARD, Shadwell.

AT this late hour I will not detain you long, but I have some qualification as a practical man who addresses himself to the subject we have in hand. There are several things I will briefly mention as to the causes which keep people away from public worship throughout the land—the chief are carelessness, irreligion, want of public opinion in large towns to compel them to come, as in the country, to places of worship, and vice. But the one point on which I feel qualified to speak, and which I wish to impress upon you is this. You have heard it said that people do not attend places of worship simply because of infidelity. My duties have called me into connection with many sceptics and infidelity in many forms. I have met many of the leading infidels in England, and last year, for a particular purpose, I made an investigation, after the Church Congress at Newcastle, into the number of sceptics among the working classes. I made a report to the Archbishop of Canterbury upon that particular point, to show that the number stated by Mr. Bradlaugh and company, as their followers, were frequently much exaggerated. Now I speak to you as a practical person, who knows what he is saying, and I tell you distinctly, that when Mr. Bradlaugh says that tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands of persons are his followers, he states that which he dare not meet me face to face upon in public. I say it is not true. Now I come to the remedies for not attending places of public worship. Some people say the only remedy is to give the poor alms, and tickets, and such like. I know places in London which are simply kept filled by the giving away of tickets for groceries, bread, and wearing apparel. I say, if you do that you ruin and pauperise the people. Then, as to the excitement of the Salvation Army. I have known General Booth ever since he first preached about London, seventeen years ago, and I have watched his work week by week, and I know he has brought in a large number of the very lowest class of people to his places of worship; but I say, that in pure excitement we should not try to follow him. I know two Christian Missions in the east of London, one in George Yard, in Whitechapel, and another in Love Lane, Shadwell, where there is a large room constantly filled by the lower class of

people without any Salvation Army excitement, without tickets, or anything of that sort, but where the people are brought in largely, not simply by gospel preaching, but by outside means. I go in for magic lanterns, social meetings, working men's societies. These are very useful adjuncts in the George Yard Mission, going on under Lord Shaftesbury. It is no use saying you cannot get the working men in if you have the church open only once or twice a week, and let the people come in and out, or stop away, as they please. You know that the name of Charles Lowder has been received here with much favour, and living near him for two years, in one of the most awful dens in London, I do not exaggerate when I say that it is not simply by religious work that you must get the people in, but it is by means of friendly meetings, working men's clubs, magic lanterns, and that sort of thing that you get hold of the people. You must interest them, and they will then come in and remain with you. These means are very simple, and what is there to prevent the great mass of the people belonging to the Church joining in the same movement? In all country places people attend public worship more or less, but in London it is not so—in the east of London, to my own certain knowledge, I could take you through vast districts, the people of which never enter a place of worship. You may do anything you please in the ordinary way, but without these special means it is not of much good. You must drag them in—I do not like using the words—or you really cannot get hold of them. In this work the Additional Curates' Society greatly helps by its grants to poor parishes. Let me urge the claims of this society upon you.

Captain BARNES (late 27th Inniskillings).

THERE is one aspect of the subject I should like to bring before you, viz., the reason why the worship of God is defective. I look upon it in a spiritual light. The Church ought to be a reality. That is to say, if our bishops would only uphold the ordination service, we should have more of the upper and lower classes to attend the public worship of our Church, instead of neglecting it as they do. I feel it a great disadvantage to come after two such great speakers, but I could not help saying a word, as I feel most earnestly on Church matters. If we could only get our people to believe that our bishops are, as many of you know, not only most respectable members of society, living in palaces, with good incomes, but to look up to them as spiritual fathers in God, and that they have powers given them which no one else has, and that they, through the Church, can give powers to help us laity to come into the fold of Christ to receive the blessing that they only can give through being ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ. How can the people believe in the Church of England if they find such things going on as the quarrels between the various parties, and how are they to know which Church to go to? Let us try to put away all dissensions, all evil speaking, all bitterness of feeling. Let us try to draw not only the poor, but to realise the service of the Church of England as a spiritual service. I wish to corroborate the views of one speaker who bore testimony to the wonderful effects of depicting the sufferings of our Lord on the Cross by means of the magic lantern. I was told by a person who went into a chapel and saw the stations of the Cross, how awfully they brought before one, and enabled them to realise the sufferings of our Lord.

The Rev. CANON HOARE, Tunbridge Wells.

I HAVE listened to the discussion with great interest. I would not say one word to discourage any additional effort, or to lower the thoughts of the vast demand there is upon every one of us; but I must confess that I am jealous upon two points. I am jealous when it is said that nothing has been done, and when the great and glorious Gospel has been spoken of almost as having failed amongst the working classes. I do not believe that it has failed. I know perfectly well that up and down this country there is parish after parish, town after town, in which faithful and laborious and devoted clergymen have preached the Gospel, and God has been with them, so that their churches are filled with the working classes, and both pious men and women; and God has shown that He has been with them of a truth. I

heard one of the speakers say that Mrs. Booth had taught us the word "aggression;" thanks be to God I knew it more than 40 years ago; I knew it and I practised it, I venture to believe, before Mrs. Booth was born. Once more I am jealous of strange fire. I read of the fire from God and I read in that same chapter, the 9th of Leviticus, of "strange fire." Let us make use of all legitimate means; let us labour diligently; let us pray earnestly; let us work hard; but let us remember that the fire that must melt the hard heart is the fire from God, the fire of the Holy Ghost. You may march about the town; you may have your flag and your drum, or dress in your cassock, or do anything you like, but you will leave souls unconverted unless God the Holy Ghost takes God's own weapon, and by means of that weapon pierces the very soul of the sinner and brings his thoughts up to God. Many of us have seen Him bring the dissolute profligate, the hard-hearted wife-beating drunkard, to become the humble, loyal, devoted, believing child of God. God grant that that fire of the Holy Ghost may rest upon all the work of the dear old Church of England.

TEMPERANCE HALL,

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 3RD.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF NELSON in the Chair.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE:

(*a*) DISCIPLINARY LAWS AS AFFECTING THE CLERGY—CRIMINOUS AND NEGLIGENT CLERKS.

(*b*) CHURCH COURTS.

(*c*) CANONICAL OBEDIENCE.

The CHAIRMAN.

I WAS rather anxious to be present at the other meeting, in the Drill Hall, but I received my commands, as I may say, from your Bishop to take the position that I now occupy. For one reason I am glad to take the Chair at this meeting, because it gives me an opportunity of saying that one of the reasons that weighed with him in appointing me to preside, was that I was a Bishop of a Colonial Church of the ecclesiastical province of New Zealand, which owes its organisation, in a great measure, to the foresight and the wisdom of the late Bishop of Lichfield—Bishop Selwyn. You will be glad to know that the Constitution of that Church appears admirably adapted to all the circumstances of the Colony, and that it has certainly worked very well towards the ends for which it was drawn up. I will not detain you any longer, but I just felt it my duty to bear testimony to the admirable organisation of the Church of New Zealand. I have now simply to perform my duty of Chairman, and call upon the various speakers. I will take the papers in the order in which they are put down in the programme, and will therefore call upon Canon Gregory to read his paper. For the purposes of facilitating the discussion, I may state that the time given to each speaker is necessarily limited, and I would ask gentlemen, therefore, to confine their speeches within as short a space of time as possible.

PAPERS.

The Rev. ROBERT GREGORY, Canon of St. Paul's.

THIS is the subject which I have been invited to handle; and I must deal with it as a clergyman, not as a lawyer. I must leave courts and modes of procedure, and questions about preliminary investigations, and such like, to more competent hands, and endeavour to show where the present Disciplinary Laws, as they affect the clergy, seem to me to be defective, and need amendment.

Speaking generally, with respect to the laws for dealing with criminous clerks, I should say that they ignore the special requirements of the clerical office, and treat the peccant clerk as if he were a peccant layman. For his personal sins he is responsible, just as a layman is for his; but over and above that, indiscretions, self-indulgences, follies, thoughtless and doubtful ways of speaking and acting, spending days in what is called jovial society, or in a ceaseless round of pleasure or amusements, which would argue light-mindedness or want of earnestness of purpose in a layman, become positively sinful in a clergyman. For he is bidden to show himself "a pattern of good works"—to "abstain from all appearance of evil"—and has pledged himself, at his ordination, to be "diligent to frame and fashion himself and his family according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make himself and them, as much as in him lieth, a wholesome example and pattern to the flock of Christ." When, therefore, the priest fails to do this, he fails to fulfil his obligations to Christ and His Church. The layman can only be made amenable to the laws when by direct act he violates one of their provisions; the priest violates that higher law which he is bound to obey when he places himself in a suspicious or doubtful position; when he is guilty of indiscretions or approximations to evil, which may lead those of whose souls he is placed in charge, and to whom he ought to be a pattern and guide, reasonably to imagine that he has been guilty of vices or crimes, though he may possibly have stopped short of perpetrating them. It is impossible to read any ordinary trial of a priest for incontinency or excess without feeling that he deserves to be condemned, though the proof of the consummation of his crime may not be legally complete. That he has sinned against the brethren and against his Divine Master, by giving occasion to the enemy to blaspheme, is too often certain, and in a commissioned servant of Christ such conduct is a crime, and as such the laws affecting the clergy ought to regard it. They should be framed on a high ideal; they should regard the office as well as the man; they should be at least as thoughtful of the spiritual interests of the flock as they are of the temporal interests of the shepherd. No freehold should bar the power of the Church to free herself from those who cause scandal, or who degrade her ministry by unworthy living. Whilst saying this, we have to remember the miserable depths into which godless party spirit will sometimes sink pharisaical partisans, and the need there is to protect the innocent from the suborned accusations of those who think much of their party shibboleths, and little of the eternal principles of justice, righteousness, and truth. If our own generation had not seen shameless women charging devoted ministers of Christ with foul sin which

their souls abhorred, and for which there was not a tittle of reliable evidence, it would not have been felt so necessary to emphasize this caution.

But whilst there is need for an amendment in the laws affecting criminous clerks which will hit this blot, it is refreshing to think how comparatively small is the number of those commissioned to serve Christ in the ranks of the ministry of His Church in this land who can be reckoned as such. I can honestly say that I believe at no period of her history has the Church been served by a more earnest, devoted, and self-denying body of clergy than is the Church of England at this day; but when the army is so large, it must be expected that there will be some unworthy soldiers in it; and none are more interested in tightening the reins of discipline, and in doing whatever law can do to expel from their ranks those who by misconduct or neglect bring discredit on the service, and on the great and holy cause to which they devote their lives, than the faithful clergy themselves.

If we turn to the case of negligent clerks, I fear that much more requires to be said and to be done. As love is the fulfilling of the law, so a large portion of the work of a parish priest can only be really understood or practised by those who love the duties committed to them, and make it the pleasure as well as the business of their life to discharge them as efficiently as possible. For this there can be no adequate substitute. The manner in which the work is performed is as important as the work itself. The usefulness and success of a clergyman's labours depend, to a very great extent indeed, upon the spirit in which they are executed; and the triumphs of the Gospel achieved through his instrumentality will be mainly owing to his reflecting his great Master's sympathy and love and zeal in what he says and does. But whilst fully recognising this, it is incumbent upon us to remember that all cannot be expected to be actuated by this highest motive. It would be a miracle indeed if all the 20,000 clergymen who minister in the Church of England were such perfect saints that they needed no law to secure the complete performance of the duties to which they are pledged. We know, as a matter of fact, that such is not the case, and that such can never be expected to be the case. The question then arises, What should be the law of obligation? What requirements should be made upon them, which may be enforced by pains and penalties?

As the law now stands, the requirements are very small indeed. Whilst the law may be strained to the uttermost to punish excessive zeal, or to imprison clergymen who adopt unusual methods of influencing their flock, or who prematurely revive observances which they think (wisely or unwisely, rightly or wrongly, I do not here enquire) may tend to the spread of religion and piety amongst their people, it is certain that it is very tender towards the negligent and slothful. Services may be slovenly and scantily performed; but if the legal *minimum* is fulfilled no one can authoritatively interfere. The prayers may be hurriedly gabbled over, and two short sermons, copied out of a book, or bought from some needy hack who supplies discourses to the clergy after the manner in which impositions are procured by prodigal boys at school, satisfy the law's demands; and the priest who thus performs his Sunday's duties need fear no interference from the Church's courts,

and for the most part from no other authority on this side the grave. The Church's schools may be unvisited, or be handed over to a school board; the Church's children may remain uncatechised, and be allowed to grow up with no knowledge of those truths which can make them wise unto salvation; the people may be unvisited; the profligate and those who are out of the way be unwarned; the doubting and the tempted may have no hand held out to rescue them from the unbelief or the vice towards which they are tending; the parish may be left with no efforts to diminish drunkenness, to promote purity, to encourage thrift, to console the afflicted, to guide the young into paths of godliness, and the ecclesiastical law is silent; and if only the parish priest should call at the house of any person who may urgently send for him, that law has certainly no terrors for him. I very much doubt whether he may not disregard even this last-named small requirement without any dread of being called to account.

That this is what may be done is, I believe, certain, though I am happy to think that instances of such neglect are comparatively rare. But do not let us flatter ourselves that they do not exist. Let me tell you of two cases which have fallen under my own knowledge; happily both the clergymen of whom I am about to speak have ceased to minister in the Church, but the facts I have upon evidence which is demonstrative. The first was the incumbent of a town parish, with a population of about 4,000, none of them very poor or very rich. The parishioners were persons engaged in trades or professions, and were in the enjoyment of adequate but not large incomes. The church was a fairly good one, and had been built comparatively recently; it was well attended, and the incumbent derived an income of several hundreds a year from pew rents. The church was never opened except on Sundays, and then the services were only two. In the morning the incumbent appeared in his own pew in a black gown, or sometimes remained in the vestry to complete the preparation of his sermon, whilst the prayers were being read by a curate. He would never take part in celebrating the Offices of the Church beyond preaching his sermon; if the Holy Communion was administered, it mattered not how numerous were the communicants, he received in his black gown, as if a layman, and left the curate to administer in both kinds. He made a rule never to visit a sick person, and during the more than thirty years that he was in charge of the parish he never broke his rule. His own churchwarden was dying, and sent to ask for his ministrations, but he declined to go. Persons who had contributed largely to the erection of his church urgently petitioned him to visit their dying relatives, but in vain. He was never known to pay a parochial visit during his tenure of the cure; and once, when I had occasion to call upon him officially, he showed me the church, but kept on his hat the whole time, as he told me that he was afraid of the cold. Much of this was told me by the bishop of the diocese in which his cure lay, but nothing was done, or, perhaps, could be done, as the law now stands.

The other case was in the country, and in a diocese very differently circumstanced. The population was small—under 500—and the income was ample for the work which had to be done. I happened to know a parishioner, who was vicar's churchwarden. His wife died of cancer, after an illness of some years. The vicar never saw her during

the whole of that time, and was never known to minister to the sick or sad of his flock in their own houses during the more than twenty years that he held the cure. His wife was very kind in ministering to the temporal wants of the poor; but the spiritual wants of the people were never thought of beyond the performance of the two statutable services on every Sunday.

I imagine there is no Christian person who would hesitate to say that something should be done in such cases as these. If imprisonment, which may be lifelong, is to be considered an equitable punishment for an earnest clergyman who refuses to plead in a court which he believes to contravene the authority which Christ the Lord committed to His Church, and which all thoughtful persons who have examined the question must feel to have been constituted in a manner difficult to reconcile with fundamental principles, which until quite recently had always governed the relations of Church and State, what ought to be the doom of such negligent shepherds as I have described, who feed themselves, and not the flock of whom they are placed in charge, but suffer the wolf to devour it, and the pestilence to destroy it?

So far there would probably be general agreement; divergence of opinion arises when we seek to amend our system. Two knotty points have to be settled, and the settlement has to be set forth in definite legal language. The points are—(1) What shall be the requirements that a parish priest can be compelled by law to fulfil? and (2) Who is to determine whether such requirements have been fulfilled?

1. What shall be the requirements? Here we must bear in mind that we have not to set forth the ideal of what a parish priest ought to be, but to describe a standard to which the least worthy must attain. For "the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly, and for sinners" (1 Tim. i. 9); and, therefore, in describing legal demands upon the clergy, we must take care to limit such demands to obvious duties. If we require more than this, two evils will follow—(1) the law will generally become a dead letter, for no one will venture to put it into operation when its requirements are felt to be excessive; and (2) if ever it should be attempted to enforce it, popular sympathy will be on the side of the accused, and more harm than good would certainly result.

This, then, is the first condition required in any change that may be made in the law; the second is that no mention should be made of the spirit in which a clergyman should fulfil the duties of his office, but only of acts which he may be called upon to perform. It is quite true that the success of his ministry will largely depend upon the spirit in which he fulfils what he has to do; it is not less certain that his fellow man may egregiously misinterpret the spirit in which he acts. Party spirit, personal bias, want of sympathy, may easily distort the motives of another, and so, under cover of pretended zeal for the furtherance of the Church's cause, inflict great and undeserved wrong. Anxious as I am to see the ranks of the clergy purged from those of their number who fail to discharge efficiently the important functions committed to them, I am not less anxious to preserve all from the irritation and loss which must result from their being unfairly assailed.

A third point to be borne in mind is that in any enumeration of required duties we practically free those of whom the law would even

take notice from all obligations not included in such enumeration. A court of law would probably narrow down to the uttermost its interpretation of the requirements of duty of which it is empowered to take notice; if the parish priest had visited the sick and dying person even once or twice during a long illness; if he had been known ever so occasionally to visit his parishioners; if he had entered his school ever so casually, it is probable that he would be held to have visited his sick parishioners, cared for those who are whole, and discharged his duty with respect to the schools of which he was in charge, so far as the law could take cognisance of the acts.

With these difficulties to overcome, how shall we attempt to make more stringent the discipline of the clergy, and insist upon the few careless and negligent members of their body performing in a more worthy manner the duties of their office?

It seems to me that we might take as the basis of obligation the promises made by every priest when he received from the bishop the power to minister in this Church of England. He then bound himself to give all faithful diligence to minister the doctrines, and sacraments, and discipline of Christ, as this Church and realm hath received the same; to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word, and to use both public and private monitions and exhortations as well to the sick as to the whole within his cure, as need shall require and occasion shall be given. Besides this, he promised to use like diligence in fashioning his own life and that of his family; in reading and studying and praying, and in maintaining quietness, peace, and love amongst all Christian people. Concerning the latter portion of these obligations, it would not be possible to examine satisfactorily; not so with respect to the former. All could tell when they were *grossly* neglected—when no attempt was made to fulfil them—when they were practically ignored. And it is for those who thus offend that I desire to see a law provided, so that the bishops may not be powerless, as they now practically are, when an idle worthless incumbent defies their authority, and, sheltering himself behind his legal obligations, refuses to do anything which he cannot be compelled by law to do.

Equitably and successfully to enforce even such a low standard of obligation would require a court in whose decisions all would have confidence; the possibility of party spirit or personal malice being able to use such a court for its own purposes must be diminished as far as possible; the aim of all interested in the well-being of the Church must be to remove from the cognisance of such a court all questions of doctrine or discipline, or interpretation of rubrics about which there are differences of opinion amongst those who loyally seek the prosperity of our spiritual Zion. A joint committee of the Upper and Lower Houses of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, ably presided over by the Bishop of Exeter, agreed to recommend that the definition of what constitutes inadequate performance of duty on the part of a clergyman should include the neglect, not only "of the regular performance of Divine Service on Sundays and holy days," but also of such as are solemnly promised by every clergyman of the Church of England, at the time of his admission to the holy orders of that Church. The same committee recommended, "that the commissioners to enquire into

any charge of inadequate performance of duty be the archdeacon or the rural dean, at the discretion of the bishop; a Canon Residentiary of the cathedral, elected by the dean and chapter; two beneficed clergymen of the archdeaconry, elected for not more than three years by the beneficed clergy of the archdeaconry, at the archdeacon's visitation, to whom the incumbent concerned should be allowed to add a fifth, being also a beneficed clergyman of the diocese." To these recommendations the Lower House agreed, but in the Upper House it was thought desirable to add to the obligations of duty promised by every priest at his ordination, the words, "which may reasonably be required from everyone who has cure of souls," and to substitute "one layman, being a Justice of the Peace, resident within the limits of the archdeaconry," for one of the two clergymen to be elected by the clergy of the archdeaconry. These amendments were accepted by the Lower House, and so became the act of the Southern Convocation.

We have, therefore, the authority of the Southern Convocation for asserting that such a reform as I have been advocating is desirable; and we have a very definite manner of making such reform set before us by the same high authority. I should be very glad to find that this recommendation approved itself to the clergy generally, and that they would do all in their power to secure its being eventually sustained by Parliamentary law. I believe that such a change in the law would remove some of the scandals by which the Church's all-important work is hindered; our advocacy of it will seem to show that we are anxious to do what we can to get rid of all impediments to the full and fair administration of discipline, and that we consider it no privilege to be screened from suffering harm and loss if we neglect our spiritual duties. To administer discipline must at all times be a difficult and irksome task; and all experience shows that it is ever marked with undue leniency towards the idle and unworthy, and towards all who do not arouse against themselves excessive indignation by gross crimes, or partisan hostility by the advocacy of principles or practices to which another party or school of opinion is opposed. We need not, therefore, be afraid that if a charge is made undue severity will be meted out to offenders; we are satisfied that such will never be the case. But be that as it might, we are bound, as faithful ministers of the New Testament, to do what we can to advance the kingdom and glory of our Divine King; and one way in which we can do this is to secure that unworthy persons shall be excluded from holding commissions in His army, and so from betraying the cause for which we all are sworn to contend to the utmost.

The Rev. Canon TREVOR, D.D.

THE Church courts have been of late years so completely appropriated by the legal profession, that a clergyman runs the risk of being warned off as a trespasser in discussing their constitution. My apology is twofold—(1) that the Church courts belonged to the clergy before the legal profession was born; and (2) that we are still the only class of her Majesty's subjects who are bound to know anything about them.

A layman—even a lawyer—may pass his days in blissful ignorance of their existence: a clergyman cannot say, or not say, his daily prayers without their judicial correction. In point of fact, no lawyer enters a church court without being paid for it, just as no one makes shoes except to sell. The clergy, who are forced to wear the article, have a right to show where the shoe pinches. The truth is, they are making us wear other people's shoes; and it is no wonder they do not fit.

The Church courts were instituted to correct the laity for their soul's health, and our Protestant people liked the discipline so little that they kicked themselves clean out, and prefer to go about barefoot. Then the lawyers, not to lose a profitable trade, took to forcing the shoes upon us in utter disregard to spiritual corns. They have turned the Church courts into lay tribunals for the prosecution of the clergy at the suit of their parishioners.

This grotesque revolution is often attributed to the vindication of the Royal supremacy at the Reformation. It has really been brought about within my own recollection, and mostly by the very modern practice of "legislation by inadvertence."

I have traced the whole course in a pamphlet, published by Parkers,* to which I must refer you for the proof of what I have now to compress into twenty minutes. Since then I have read a very different account by the learned barrister who is to follow me on the present occasion.† As I shall have no reply, I must just say a word by way of putting you on your guard. His theory is briefly this: that while the Church possesses a legislative authority in Convocation—which, by the way, she is not allowed to exercise—she has intrusted the State with the execution of her laws. It is for the Church, he says, to decree rites and ceremonies. The enforcing of the decree she leaves to the State. She keeps the doctrine in her own hands, and confides the discipline to the Crown. In this discipline he comprises the powers of erecting tribunals for all Church matters, of nominating the judges, making the rules of procedure, inventing penalties, and superintending their infliction.

This is what modern legislation has brought us to! When I was ordained there was not a single court, and never had been one, answering to any part of his theory. There were no Ecclesiastical judges nominated by the Crown; no State rules of procedure; no State-invented penalties. The Ecclesiastical courts were the courts of bishops and archbishops. The judges were their delegates. The process was for the soul's health of the parties, and regulated down to the very fees by the canons of the Church. The penalties were the spiritual censures of admonition, suspension, deprivation, penance, and excommunication. They were remitted by absolution. The powers, in short, were those of the keys which Christ gave to His Church, and no Christian State ever claimed to invent or possess.

I admit the difference now. Mr. Dibdin's theory fairly fits the court of Lord Penzance, with the exception that nothing has been "confided"

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* *Ecclesiastical Courts.* James Parker and Co., Oxford and London, 1882.

† *Church Courts.* An Historical Inquiry into the Status of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Second Edition. By Lewis T. Dibdin, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-law. London: Hatchards, 1882.

to it by the Church. And just because it answers to Mr. Dibdin's theory, Lord Penzance's court is denied to be a Church court at all. Indeed it is self-evident that on this theory there never could be a Church court. The Ecclesiastical courts must be State courts for the discipline of the Church, just as courts-martial are for the discipline of the army and navy. A *court* exists for discipline, and not legislation. Surely this is letting the cat out of the bag! I could understand a lawyer trying to persuade the Church, like the fox that had lost its tail, that it is pleasanter and more fashionable to be without that hirsute appendage; but it is too much to tell poor Reynard that his brush never really grew on his body, but was *always* flourished over his head by a horseman in pink and top boots. This may be law—crowner's quest law—but it is not natural history nor any other history.

The fallacy lies in confounding the court with the sheriff's officer. A Church court has no jurisdiction over persons or property; it proceeds *pro salute animæ* by purely spiritual censures; its authority is exhausted in excommunication. If any temporal effect is to follow, it must be by the law of the land administered by the secular arm. But the temporal effect is not the discipline of the Church, nor any part of it; her object is the soul's health of the offender. The court, the judges, the process, the sentence, are all her own. They bind and loose *in foro conscientiæ*, a region beyond the dominion of the State. The corporal penalty is the Crown's; but so far from the Church having confided her discipline to the Crown or the State, the historical fact is that the Crown has invested the Church with some of its own temporal jurisdiction, in aid of the Divine authority which she inherits from the Apostles of Christ. The temporal adjunct has been enlarged and restricted from time to time; but I assert without fear of contradiction, that from the establishment of the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction at the Norman Conquest to the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act, every Ecclesiastical court in this kingdom was the court of a spiritual prelate sitting in person, or by his commissary, to judge spiritual causes, by the canons of the Church, and for the soul's health of the parties.

The powers of such a court are twofold—first and principally, the spiritual authority of the prelate's office in the Church, and secondly, the legal jurisdiction accorded him by the State. The first is *jure divino*, the second *jure humano*. One is a matter of law, the other of religion. The lawyers do well to watch over the jurisdiction that comes from their master; they must allow the clergy to be no less jealous for the authority of the King of kings.

This is the language of all our legal authorities down to the present reign. Lord Coke, who was no friend to the Church, expressly asserts that "the cognisance of causes ecclesiastical belongeth not to the common laws of England," and he adds this caution, "Certain it is that this kingdom hath been best governed and preserved when both parties—that is, when the justices of the temporal courts and the Ecclesiastical judges have kept themselves within their proper jurisdiction, without encroaching or usurping one upon another; and where such encroachments or usurpations have been made they have sown the seeds of great trouble and inconvenience." *

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* 5. Co. Cawdries Case. 4 inst., 32.

In the Colenso case, the Judicial Committee said, "Pastoral or spiritual authority may be incidental to the office of a bishop, but all jurisdiction in the Church, where it can be lawfully conferred, must proceed from the Crown and be exercised as the law directs; and suspension or privation of office is matter of coercive legal jurisdiction and not of mere spiritual authority."* Observe the word *mere;* they do not say that spiritual authority is not required to deprive of spiritual functions, or that the Crown is possessed of such spiritual authority, but that something more is required, when the office carries temporal rights, and that is the jurisdiction which the bishop derives from the Crown.

Again, in another judgment, by the Master of the Rolls, Sir John Romilly says, "In all the works that I have consulted on this subject, the powers and authority of a bishop are classed under three heads—1, *Ordo;* 2, *Jurisdictio;* 3, *Administratio rei familiaris.* The power of order he derives from his consecration which, according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church of Christ, of which the Church of England is a branch, is a sacred authority derived by direct descent from the Apostles. By this power so conferred on him, he may transmit the spiritual power he possesses to others, he can ordain deacons and priests, consecrate churches, administer confirmation."

Under the second head, the power of legal coercive jurisdiction, the Letters Patent were found to be invalid, because the Crown was not competent to confer it in the colony of Natal. It followed that the bishop could hold no court of his own, but must proceed against offenders in the temporal courts of the colony.†

Here is the distinction between an Established Church and one that is not established. The Colonial Churches, the Scottish Church, and now the Irish, as well as the Roman Catholic Church and other communions in England having no legal courts of their own, must, as Mr. Dibdin says, "confide their discipline" to the courts of the Crown. The Ecclesiastical jurisdiction means exactly the reverse; not that the Church confides her discipline to the Crown, but that the Crown confers a legal jurisdiction on the bishop, in aid of the sacred authority derived to him in consecration by direct descent from the Apostles, who received it from Christ. The jurisdiction conferred by the king he can enlarge or restrict, but the spiritual authority derived from the Apostles the king can neither give nor take away. I venture to affirm that Lord Penzance is the only person who ever claimed to sit as judge in a Church court—either before or after the Reformation—without a canonical delegation from the spiritual prelate whose court it was.

The distinction between the two powers is clearly laid down in the original charter of the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction by William the Conqueror. The courts there named are the Archdeacon's and the Bishop's; their jurisdiction is in matters pertaining to the cure of souls; they are to proceed by the canons of the Church, and if the sentence of excommunication be defied, resort may be had to the justice of the king or the sheriff; but no king's officer or other layman is to intromit in the spiritual proceeding.‡ The Church canons provided an appeal from the Bishop

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* Judgment on petition of *J. W. Colenso, D.D.*, 20th March, 1865.
† *Colenso* v. *Gladstone* and others. Rolls Court, 6th Nov., 1866.
‡ "Burns' Ecclesiastical Law," ii. 33.

to the provincial synod, the original court of the Archbishop, and the supreme tribunal of the National Church of England. And in promising the aid of the secular arm the *justitia regis* necessarily retained the subject's right to be heard against the sentence. But these are clearly not *in pari materia*. The appeal to the archbishop in synod is part of the spiritual process : it results in remitting or confirming the bishop's sentence. But the king can neither excommunicate nor absolve. For him to try the case over again on the Church canons would be the very lay intromission which the charter forbids. He gives or refuses the action of the secular arm, as he deems just. He may require the bishop to reconsider the case, and even compel him to do his duty. But he cannot usurp the spiritual power to himself. The appeal is what the French law termed the *appel comme d'abus*, and the canonists *tanquam ab abusu*. It was the kind of control which our temporal courts now exercise over the ecclesiastical by *mandamus* and prohibition.

The course of Appeal is clearly laid down in the Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164. The Church courts then claimed jurisdiction in all offences, temporal or spiritual, charged upon clerks in orders—not only priests and deacons, but all the lower orders of the Church. These were the "criminous clerks" whom the courts were meant to correct. There was another process for irregularities of ritual and doctrinal error. The complaint was that the bishops suffered the culprits to defeat the king's justice by indefinite appeals to Rome. It was resolved that appeals should be from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop; and "if the archbishop should be slack in doing justice, resort was to be had to the king, by whose command the cause was to be terminated in the Archbishop's court, and proceed no further—*i. e.*, not by appeal to Rome without the Royal Licence." *

We find exactly the same course repeated at the Reformation. The Act for Restraint of Appeals, 24 Henry VIII., c. 12, begins with the famous preamble, affirming the power of the body spiritual, that—

> "When any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, it was declared, interpreted, and showed by that part of the body politic called the spiritualty, now being usually called the English Church, which always hath been reputed and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, and is also at this hour, sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of an exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts and to administer all such offices and duties as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain."

On this ground the rejection of the Papacy is rested. It is the main principle of the Reformation settlement. The act proceeds to enact that appeals shall be within the realm, and in no other manner than from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop, "there to be definitively and finally ordered, decreed, and adjudged according to justice, without any other appellation or provocation to any other person or persons, court or courts." The king himself cannot now license an appeal to Rome. The Archbishop's court is restored to its authority as the supreme Church court within the realm. The resort to the king followed in the Act of Submission passed in the next year, in the exact words of the Constitutions of Clarendon :—"And for

* Conc M. B., i. 435.

lack of justice in the courts of the archbishop it shall be lawful for the parties grieved to appeal to the king in Chancery, and upon every such appeal a Commission shall be directed under the Great Seal to such persons as shall be named by the king to hear and definitively terminate the appeal." This was the origin of the Court of Delegates, now replaced by the Judicial Committee. You will observe that the appeal is still in the old phrase "for lack of justice;" the only change is that instead of remitting the cause to the archbishop's court, the king is to issue a separate Commission on each appeal to persons of his own selection. This enabled the Crown to call in the legal profession, then becoming distinct from the clergy, on testamentary and other appeals involving questions of temporal law. Some modern lawyers tell us that this provision was in repeal of the previous act, and constituted the Crown the Final Court of Appeal in the Established Church. But this interpretation was never heard of till after the Court of Delegates had given place to the Judicial Committee; even then it was ruled by the Court of Exchequer in the Gorham case, 1850, that "the statute of 25 Henry VIII., c. 19, did but restore the ancient law of the land as settled on this point by the Constitutions of Clarendon in the reign of Henry II., A.D. 1164."* It would be strange indeed if, after resting the rejection of the Papacy on the power and sufficiency of the English Church, its authority were supplanted the very next year by a side-wind, and replaced by the wholly different power of the Crown. No such gloss is found in history. The two acts were both repealed by Queen Mary, and both revived in the 1st Elizabeth. They have always been in concurrent operation. There is not a word in the later act to prevent the Crown from remitting a spiritual cause to the Archbishop's court as before; indeed, it is done by the Judicial Committee to this day. The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, a contemporary exposition, shows that the intention was to remit such appeals to a select number of bishops, and in graver cases to the synod. This was, in fact, the old practice of the Archbishop's court. Before and long after the Reformation the prelates held their courts in person, leaving the routine only to their officials. The archbishop sat alone, or with three or four of his comprovincial suffragans; if the case was important enough he summoned the whole synod. Thus Cranmer, after the invalidity of the king's marriage had been synodically determined in Convocation, gave sentence of nullity at a court composed of himself and a few of his suffragans. To give the queen a show of appeal, the act provided that in causes touching the king the party grieved might appeal to the Upper House of Convocation. This was not a special tribunal (as has been lately imagined) for the king's causes, but the full court of the archbishop. The purport of the enactment was to remove all doubt of its jurisdiction over the king's person, whose prerogative would otherwise set him above the jurisdiction of his subjects.

The jurisdiction of Convocation was recognised by Lord Coke in the reign of James I., and affirmed by the Crown and the Judges in questions of heresy as late as Queen Anne. Bishop Burnet says the Delegates referred a case to Convocation, and I see nothing to prevent the Judicial Committee from advising Her Majesty in Council to do the

* Court of Exchequer, *in Re* Gorham, 8th July, 1850.

same now. In point of fact, it was not till Convocation fell into abeyance for political ends that its jurisdiction as the supreme court of the National Church was forgotten.

I say then, that no substantial change was made in the Church courts, or in their relation to the Crown, at the Reformation. There was an extensive alteration in the discipline itself, but none in the Church courts to enforce it. That the jurisdiction of the Pope was then transferred to the Crown is a vulgar error. The Papacy was a purely spiritual authority in right of the Holy See. It never had any legal jurisdiction in England. Its power over the monastic churches exempt from the bishops was appropriated by the Crown; but that did not touch the courts of the Established Church. The only thing that gives colour to the error is that under the title of Supreme Ordinary, invented by Pope Martin V., the Crown set up a *quasi*-Papal tribunal in the Court of High Commission. But this was neither a Church court nor a court of appeal. It was the King's court, a Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, making rather than expounding law in all matters ecclesiastical by a jurisdiction in every sense "original" and despotic. The Court of Commission was a *Cæsaro-Papacy*, if you like, and we know what came of it. It brought the king and the archbishop to the headsman's block; it overthrew the Church and the Throne in the Great Rebellion; when revived after the Restoration it cost the Monarch his Crown by a second Revolution; and then an indignant nation solemnly repudiated it in the Bill of Rights, "with all other Commissions and courts of like nature as illegal and pernicious." *

While this court lasted the Church courts were pretty well shunted off the line, and when they recovered their action at the Revolution, they were weakened by the lack of precedents, and the exemption of the laity under the Toleration Acts. Then Convocation disappeared, and the era of "modern law" began. Its precedents are drawn from the illegal and pernicious tyranny of the Tudors and Stuarts, in the extinct Court of High Commission, much more than from the constitutional relations of the Church courts.

The Judicial Committee was the first step. It was a wise and salutary reform for the objects in view.. It erected a strong appellate tribunal from the Courts of Admiralty and the numerous courts of India and the Colonies, which greatly needed a central and uniform administration. The ecclesiastical appeals were the least numerous, and related for the most part to the testamentary and matrimonial jurisdiction since removed to a temporal court. The doctrinal appeals which concern the purely spiritual authority were so rare that they were altogether overlooked. This we know from Lord Brougham, the author of the measure, and there can be no question it was a piece of legislative inadvertence not unnatural in the long abeyance of Convocation. Like the hedgehog in the fable, the lawyers, having got into the Court of Delegates, turned the spiritualty clean out, and began to refurnish our home for themselves.

The Church Discipline Act of 1840 tried to cure the blunder by adding the three Privy Council prelates, who have been since replaced by a *rota* from the whole Episcopate. These devices only result

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* 1 Will. III., *s.* 2 *c.* 2.

in a reproduction of the High Commission court. Two or three bishops cannot turn the Crown court into a Church court, any more than a couple of clerical justices can make a Church court out of the Petty Sessions. What this act really did was unconsciously to abolish the rights of the dormant Convocation, and promote the Crown court to the character, never assumed by the Delegates, of a Church court of Final Appeal.*

The mistake was discovered at the delivery of the Gorham judgment, and from that time to this the Judicial Committee has supplied a succession of party triumphs and increasing disquietude to moderate men. It floods the courts with litigation to the profit of the lawyers and the scandal of religion. It has settled nothing, and unsettled much that was quiet before. It is vain to suppose that questions of doctrine and ritual can be settled by what is called the legal construction of Church rubrics and canons. The legal meaning is the true, literal, grammatical, and historical meaning. The legal profession has no gift of tongues, nor of the interpretation of tongues. It has no monopoly of grammar, logic, or history. Common-law judges are the rightful expositors of common and statute law, because it is their professional study, and they are trained by experience and practice in the subject matter. By the same rule they are not the rightful expositors of canons and rubrics, which they neither study nor practice, and in the subject matter of which they take no interest. The impartiality which comes from contempt or indifference is no qualification for a judge. Of course, a judge may be a theologian, and a bishop may be a lawyer; but of all interpreters, whether of law or divinity, the least trustworthy is the clever man, who, giving his life to the other profession, gets up a judgment or a charge from a few "half hours with the best authors."

The Church Article insists that "we give *not* our princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments." Yet the advisers of the prince take upon themselves to decide what is, and is not, God's Word. They prescribe to the priest—to whom the ministry of the Sacraments *is* given—his place, posture, dress, gesture, and even the intention of the holy office; they determine the sacred elements themselves, and who is to receive them. They take the *not* out of the Article, and scrupulously restore it to the Ornaments Rubric!

Now, the Judicial Committee have no authority to do all this, and all the statutes of the realm could not give it them. This is the great defect. In the temporal court the decree of the judges makes law if it was not so before, and it takes effect, whatever we may think of its justice or logic. But religion is not a matter of goods and chattels. In religious questions no judgment can be effectual that is void of spiritual authority. That is why we have Church courts. Nobody would ever acknowledge the spiritual authority of the High Commission court, and nobody will ever acknowledge it in the Judicial Committee. The Salvation Army has a better chance.

The first thing Mr. Gorham did was to repudiate the doctrine ascribed to him in the judgment that acquitted him. The Bishop of London and more than half the clergy repudiated what was ascribed to the

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* 3 and 4 Vict., *c.* 86, *ss.* 13, 15.

Church. No one accepted the doctrine laid down in the "Essays and Reviews," or the Bennett judgment. They were welcomed on one side, and resented on the other, as party triumphs; but everybody of all parties continued to believe as before, and nobody of any party ever happens to believe with the Judicial Committee. It is the same with the ritual judgments. First the vestments and the eastward position were pronounced legal; then both were adjudged illegal; and now the eastward position is tolerated by law and the vestments are not. But who cares for this sort of law? Bishops and clergymen fling the judgments at an adversary's head, but for themselves they go on as they did before; or, if any change is made, it is in opposition to the judgment. The Judicial Committee is a temporal court, and all the power of man cannot give it the authority *in foro conscientiæ* which Christ gave to His Church.

As soon as the difficulty was felt, Bishop Blomfield brought in a Bill to refer spiritual questions to the whole Episcopate separately and synodically congregated. That was before the revival of Convocation. Now the Committees of the Lower Houses of both provinces recommend a return to the Reformation settlement, under which the appeal was to the spiritual prelates of the Upper House of Convocation, the true and original supreme court of the English Church. To soothe the bigotry of the lawyers, I have suggested that their determination should be taken (as of old) in the Archbishop's court before resorting to the Crown. Then, if the lawyers will only keep within the law, the Judicial Committee will have no call to meddle with the determination of the spiritualty, but may advise the Crown on the questions of temporal law involved in the appeal. Thus, in the words of the famous Act of Henry VIII., "both these authorities and jurisdictions would conjoin together in the due administration of justice, the one to help the other."

The Act of 1840, though entitled "An Act for better enforcing Church Discipline," is really only for the correction of clerks, and, beginning with the repeal of an old Act "for bishops to punish priests for dishonest lives," it shows the kind of offences primarily in view. Unfortunately, the language is wide enough to include all manner of charges—ritual, doctrinal, and moral—which are properly the subjects of very different procedures. The Act was intended to restore the personal authority of the bishop; but, after getting rid of the diocesan court, converting the Archbishop's court into the Court of First Instance, and the Judicial Committee into the Court of Appeal, it turned out that less than ever remained to the bishop. The very Commission, which he appoints to assist him, has been ruled to be his master. Absolutely nothing is left to the bishop but the right of initiation, which the courts would have interpreted away the other day but for the gallant defence of the Bishop of Oxford, and which is now the subject of attack in the Legislature. This Act has been described by Sir R. Phillimore as "a hybrid statute, half common law, half ecclesiastical, and half nobody knows what." The third half, I presume, means the noxious gases generated by the mixture of the other two. This is always the fate of Bishops' Bills. They are brought into Parliament pure carbonate of Episcopacy; there they meet the tartaric acid of law, and they come out fizzing and flying nobody knows where or what.

An unusually large amount of "nobody knows what" distinguishes the Public Worship Regulation Act, the last of the Parliamentary blasts that have turned our decorous old Church of England into a perfect cave of Æolus. The bishops did not know it contained any powers of imprisonment. Lord Chancellor Cairns, who remodelled the Bishops' Bill, did not know that his first-class judge was to fight for his jurisdiction with the Chief Justice of England, to be turned out of Lambeth by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to be hung up in the air till the House of Lords have decided whether he can legally come down in Committee-room E. The House of Commons, who passed the Act in a panic, did not know that out of the 20,000 clergy only fifteen could be hunted up for prosecution; that in eight of the fifteen cases the aggrieved parishioners would be snuffed out by the bishops; that five more would founder in the court provided for their relief; and only two of the proud armada reach the desired haven. No one knew or imagined that they were passing an Act to keep a clergyman in prison eighteen months for his religious opinions, while the parishioners legally aggrieved by his ministrations are besieging heaven and earth for his return. Considering that £60,000 or £70,000 have been spent in litigation under this disastrous Act, it must be allowed that one man in Lancaster Castle is uncommonly dear at the price.

If the Act of 1840 was a blunder, the Act of 1874 was a crime. It was aimed at a party, and however little we may like the party—and it is we old Anglicans who have most right to complain of it—the clergy and Church of England as a body do not believe in party persecution. We do not want a "sorrowful secession;" people are far more troublesome outside the door than inside. We want freedom and fair play all round. If you could burn your adversaries it would be worth thinking of; but it is of no use to imprison them, and you would have the house down on your head before you could put them out.

This is exactly where the spiritual authority is wanted; and this Act takes away the Church courts altogether, to set up a common law judge in their place, whose qualifications for determining questions of the law divine and of spiritual learning have been acquired in judicially putting asunder those whom God by matrimony had made one. It was not a bad appointment for effecting a divorce between Church and State.

By a marvel of legal ingenuity and of episcopal inadvertence, Lord Penzance has become possessed of the legal jurisdiction of both archbishops, without any commission from either. The spiritual authority remains with the archbishops, and the legal jurisdiction is gone to Lord Penzance with a separate maintenance. They have the keys of the Church and of conscience, and he has the key of Lancaster Gaol.

This prodigious innovation was wholly gratuitous, and without assignable object. If a single judge were required for both provinces, the same person could have been canonically commissioned by each archbishop without any Act of Parliament. The introduction of the Crown into the appointment only tends to efface the spiritual authority. This is the whole bent of modern legislation. There is a precedent, and only one that I can find. By one of the last Acts that received the Royal assent of Charles I., when the Primate was in the Tower, and a little before both were brought to the block, all the bishops were

deprived of their authority, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vested in a committee of the House of Commons.

The only good point in the statute is the power given to the bishop to defeat it by his mere *ipse dixit*. If their lordships had been as wise as they are after the event, they would have taken good care that not a single case ever got into court. And, then, what is the use of the Act? The bishop's authority was far greater under the provisions of the Prayer-book. These have proved sufficient in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. The difficulty is in the rare exceptions, when the bishop's directions are objected to, as against the law of the Church. And what is the remedy provided by the Act? Why, that the bishop shall require both parties to submit to his direction, whether legal or illegal! It will not let the bishop decide the law, but it would enable him to order a clergyman, who is legal overmuch, to break the law. The condition is unpractical and un-English. If the clergyman submitted to it, the lay complainants never would, unless they were sure of the bishop. And this is just what is meant. The bishop is to rule the clergy without law, and the laity are to keep the law for themselves, whenever they want it. And then you call the clergy "lawless."

When this preposterous condition fails, what does the Act require of the bishop, our father in God? He is to take his fellow-servant by the throat and deliver him to the judge, and the judge to the officer, and he is cast into prison, while the beds are sold from under his wife and children to pay the costs. This is the law of the land—not the law as the bishops or the Legislature meant it to be, but what the lawyers have made it. Secretaries of State, Attorneys-General, Vicars-General, and the workmen of like occupation, who "by this craft have their wealth," shout, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." But Christian people are shocked and scandalised at a revival of the Inquisition in the nineteenth century.

The proper remedy, as I have said, is to strengthen the canonical and spiritual authority of the bishop in taking order to appease diversities of ritual. This, I believe, would be effectually accomplished by a preliminary court of conciliation—carefully shutting out the lawyers—such as the Lower House of Convocation at York have just submitted to the bishops and the Royal Commission. Nothing more would then be heard of ritual litigation. But this is not what modern lawyers like. The Ecclesiastical jurisdiction was established to mark the difference between the authority of the Church and that of the State. It was to be a witness of the Kingdom which is in the world and not of it. When the foreign Papacy had usurped both, the line was drawn again, broadly and distinctly, under the Royal Supremacy at the Reformation. Then the Crown began to encroach, and after a long weakening of the distinction, from political motives, the aim of the last forty years has been to efface it, and absorb the spiritual jurisdiction in the temporal.

On the other hand, the Church, awakening to a truer sense of her Divine mission, demands the restoration of her own by a return to the Reformation settlement. All over the country you see the clergy and laity of the Church uniting to present their bishops with the pastoral staff, the symbol of spiritual and canonical authority. In this is the promise of peace. What modern legislation aims at is to

strike it out of his hand as an illegal ornament, and replace it by a policeman's truncheon. This is the road to litigation, disestablishment, and chaos.

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'THE Church of Christ upon earth appears to be subjected, by God's providence, to conditions very similar to those which affect human institutions; so much so, that with some writers its Divine origin, even when theoretically admitted, seems in their arguments often to be practically ignored. But however much human accidents may be allowed to obscure the Divine character, they cannot obliterate it; indeed, the cavils and controversies and prosecutions arising from disputes about matters which, from the world's point of view are but trivial, are, when rightly weighed, but evidences of the special means which God's providence has chosen to work out His design.

It is so with the Bible: God's own Word has by God's own providence been always, and in our time especially, subjected to the ordinary circumstances attending the dissemination of secular literature. For what is the Bible, in its first aspect, but an article of commerce, produced by the same mechanical contrivances as any other book or product of human manufacture, and in its outward appearance so like any other book that the casual observer would not discern any difference? Again, it is subjected, as other books, to the same laws of copyright, of distribution, of competition, and the like. And as this subjection to human laws does not invalidate the authority of the Bible as the Word of God, so neither must the apparent subjection of the Church at times to human laws be accepted as any argument for its purely human *status*, or militate against its Divine origin.

Still more clearly is exhibited the analogy between the Church and the Bible, and especially that portion of the Bible with which we, as Christians, are mostly concerned, when we regard the two historically. The chronicles of the four Evangelists, and the letters of St. Paul and of other Apostles, follow in the same course as chronicles and letters, of the same age, recording political history or treatment of secular matters. The manuscripts have been subjected to the same human accidents, such as the variation by successive copyists, and therefore the same doubts have been permitted to arise as to what were the exact words of the original text; and more than all, the very selection of such chronicles and letters from out of many was, by God's providence, allowed to be dependent on human choice. The history of that selection which came to be called the *Canon*, when duly considered, presents, perhaps, more striking evidence than can elsewhere be found of the responsibilities intrusted to human agency. And together with the *Canon of the New Testament* there was established a *Canon* of doctrine and practice, by which the truths of the sacred writings were to be made known, explained, and brought home to God's people. Cognate, and coincident with the canon of Scripture, the canon of the Church was in no wise second to it in authority. Indeed it could not

be so, for the same human agency was employed in determining the one canon as in establishing the other. "It is just as incorrect," writes Dr. Westcott, who has more closely than any living divine investigated this matter—"It is just as incorrect to say that the doctrine of the Church was originally derived from Scripture, as to say that Scripture was limited by Apostolic tradition. The canon of the Scripture and the canon of the truth were alike independent, but necessarily coincided in their contents so long as they both retained their original purity."

Nor must it be overlooked that the formation of one canon and the other was equally gradual. The greater part of the second century was occupied in collecting the material of the books of the New Testament, and it was not till the persecution of Diocletian that it is supposed the stimulus was given to decide upon what books should be held to be "standard," and, finally, it was not till the Council of Carthage—that is, after 400 years had elapsed from the birth of Christ—that the authority of the standard became recognised and the canon fixed.

Just so was it with the *Rule of Faith*. Council after council was held: erroneous doctrines, like uncanonical books, were separated from the others, and by this gradual sifting process the canon of the Church became established; not so distinctly circumscribed in its outward form as was that of the Scriptures, but yet defined, in that vast and rich store of writings of the early Fathers of the Church which providentially have been preserved to us. Not that the Fathers themselves lay down the doctrine, or prescribe discipline as of their own authority; rather they represent the *consensus*, and so the authority of the Church in her confessions of faith, and in the acts of her councils.

In any consideration, then, of the questions which trouble us now, it cannot but be advisable to go back to first principles; and these are, that there is a canon of godly writings, and a canon of godly doctrine and practice, both having, by Divine providence, their origin in the agency of that corporate body called the Church, which was itself instituted by, and in due order succeeded to, the Apostles, whom Christ sent as the Father had sent Him.

This corporate body appears to have acted throughout (and we must presume under Divine guidance, for it is inconceivable that God would leave His Word, and His Church to human agency without that) by means of councils; and, though we find that emperors and kings were present at such councils, it is clear that the council did all that was done and not the sovereign power. And with this principle established, it follows that no sovereign power, either as represented by what we call the Crown or by what we include under the term State—that is, through the Privy Council, the Parliament, or the law courts—can change those laws. And it further follows, that if the right of such external powers be once admitted, it cannot be stopped at the canon of doctrine and discipline, but must be allowed to extend to the canon of Scripture also. In other words, those who contend that we are dependent for our Church laws upon Parliament, or upon any other secular authority, which may for the time being be paramount, must also admit that we are dependent for God's Word upon Parliament, and that Parliament has authority to suppress, change, or add to any verse, chapter, or book in any part of the Bible.

But while the canon of the Church depended for its origin and its sustentation on the great councils of the Church, the same name was given to decrees and decisions of provincial synods, and the like; and thus we find throughout the middle ages there were promulgated many series of canons, issued under ecclesiastical authority, but reflecting in detail the greater canon of the Church. The canons known as those of Archbishop Theodore were promulgated at the National Synod of Hertford as early as A.D. 673, and the series continue, seldom with more than a few years' intermission, till 1603, when the Convocation, as representing the provincial synods, authoritatively set forth those which may be considered the last of the series.

On these canons, which appear under various names, but which, like the canons of the Church, are the decisions of authorised councils, synods, convocations, and the like, canon law is mainly based, and is still dependent for its interpretation.

It is to this canon law that the clergy are amenable, and hence their name *canonici*, though it must be admitted that the name seems to have been first of all applied to members who were subject to the canons or rules of great religious communities, such as the order of the Benedictines, or to collegiate foundations, such as we have still in our cathedrals. Practically, however, the case may be summed up that where there was a canon, the members subject to the same were called *canonici*, but when the term was applied to the whole of the clergy, it was so because they were subject to the canons of the Church. And for the same reason that they were called *canonici*, so their obedience in matters of doctrine and discipline to the canons has been called (though the term is not of any authority) *canonical obedience*, to distinguish it from the obedience in secular matters which every citizen, whether cleric or lay, owes to the civil laws of the country.

And here I have apparently to quit for the moment the thread of my argument, and to speak of what I believe to be a common meaning attached to this term—namely, obedience simply to the bishop.

In the ordinary course of things it must be so. The bishop is the officer whose duty it is to administer the canon law, and hence obedience to the canon law becomes obedience to the bishop. But this need not always be so, and the strong passages which are usually quoted from the earlier writings of the Fathers, and more especially from the letters of St. Ignatius, to show that an absolute obedience is the rule, do not bear, when joined to their context, the meaning which is put upon them. There are some ten or twelve passages in which obedience is insisted on, but in all cases the presbytery is associated with the bishop:—

> "It becomes you to concur in obedience to the will of your bishop (he writes) for your renowned presbytery is so framed together with the bishop as are the strings with the harp; whereupon, in unison of mind and in harmony of love, Jesus Christ is sung."

And again:—

> "I exhort you that ye study to do all things in unity of thought with God; with your bishop presiding in the place of God, and with your presbyters in the place of the synod of the Apostles."

And while throughout the writings of this and other Fathers of the Church the greatest respect and deference is insisted on as due to the

office of a bishop, there is a clear distinction drawn between this and the deference due to his judgment apart from his synod.

No doubt examples can be found, both in writings and in practice, in which the authority of a bishop is magnified. Indeed the history of the struggle in the fifteenth century, with respect to the authority of the Bishop of Rome turns upon this question. For in the Council of Constance, in 1415, it was decreed, after much debate:—

"That this synod has lawfully assembled in the name of the Holy Spirit, and representing the universal Church Militant, it has its authority direct from Christ, to which every one of whatever state or dignity he be, even be he that of Pope, is bound to be obedient."

This clause was re-enacted at Basle, but eventually became disregarded, and it has ended, as our generation has seen, in the infallibility of the Pope being enunciated as a dogma of faith; this being one of the most marked departures from the ancient canon into which the Church of Rome has drifted since her expulsion from her councils, through her tyranny, of a large portion of the Catholic Church. For the council of the Church has been part of the internal economy of the Church from the beginning, and the placing of a supreme power in the hands of an individual instead of the council, is calculated to produce schism, not unity; and as no canon was ever promulgated, or could be so according to the constitutional principle of the Church, obedience to a judgment, irrespective of a properly constituted council, can in no wise be called canonical obedience.

But the question in our days is further complicated by the following considerations. Firstly, the manifest encroachments by the Crown upon the liberties of the Church, and the manifest disregard of the rights and privileges of the Church of England in the debates in Parliament and in the general action of the Legislature. Such open attacks upon her material welfare, as legislation with respect to church-rates, churchyards, and the like, are less dangerous, because more open and noticed, than that subtle and secret encroachment which has been permitted to go forward upon her spiritual authority. The practical abolition of her spiritual courts by recent legislation, "here a little and there a little," is an example. And under the name of a Court of Appeal, the functions of a synod have been exercised, not to say usurped, and so on questions of doctrine and discipline, questions touching the most vital truth of Christianity, judgments will have been incorporated, if the clergy yield obedience to them, into the canon law, subversive of the laws made by the duly constituted authority in the Church.

How, then, does a priest stand with respect to his canonical obedience? I take two instances hap-hazard. He turns to his canon, as regards his judges (No. 127), and finds that—

"No man shall be admitted . . . to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except he shall take a certain oath and subscribe certain articles . . . . in the presence of the archbishop or bishop, and in open court . . . . or upon refusal to do, shall be suspended from the execution of his office until he take the oath and subscribe."

He has been told publicly by the two Archbishops, that the official who has exercised far more ecclesiastical jurisdiction during the last few years than any man living, has refused to take the oath or to subscribe, on the ground that he is subject to Parliament and not to the canon. I ask, is

submission to that judge canonical obedience? Surely not, but the reverse. Again he turns to his canon (No. 14), and finds that—

> "All ministers shall observe the orders, rites, and ceremonies prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer (the administration of the Sacraments being specially named), without either diminution . . . . in any respect, or adding anything in the matter or form thereof."

He is, on the other hand, told by the civil power, that he must read into the Prayer Book some other document, which in effect diminishes materially from the order of that book. Is obedience to an order, which is subversive of the canon, to be called canonical obedience?

I am aware of the subtle retort that the rules in the Prayer Book are not canon law, but statute law. But this is true only to the letter, not to the spirit, so far as the matter in question is concerned. The Prayer Book was the work of the Convocation of both provinces in 1661, and had their full authority, and therefore had all the authority of canon law. By the circumstances of the Crown and Parliament adopting that book, and incorporating it into the statute, they do not divest it of the force of canon law, they only add to it the force of statute law.

But the difficulties of canonical obedience do not end here. If it were so, the questions at issue being rendered clear, there would be more hope of their settlement. Unfortunately, however, for the present difficulties, the bishops—whether wisely, or unwisely, I do not for one moment take upon myself to judge—have counselled in the name of obedience to the law a submission to State usurpation of the rights and liberties of the Church. I say with regret, but I must say it, as it is necessary to my argument, that I look in vain in many Episcopal utterances for a recognition of the liberties of the Church in regard to her canons, and frequently find instead their use of the word "law," when analysed, to mean the decree of the Privy Council (subversive of the plain meaning of the words of the Prayer Book), or an acknowledgment of an uncanonical judge.

It appears to me not unreasonable under such circumstances, that those who show in very many matters a far readier obedience to the bishop and the canon, than perhaps the Church of England has ever seen since the Reformation, but who, out of deference to the canon, disobey the bishop in one matter should be acquitted of the charge of canonical disobedience. For the bishop does not ask them to obey the canon of the Church, but the law of the State, and this is not in his province to ask. Further, he is not infallible, and his council has not aided him.

But there is an argument to which I must allude, because it has been used freely—namely, that the bishop being set over the priest, the latter is relieved of responsibility in his action, if obedient to the bishop. I would venture to suggest that vicarious responsibility is a plea which should be very carefully considered before advancing it. When a man's conscience is fully convinced that of two paths, one is right, the other wrong, the word of another should, even though that other be a bishop, not be lightly taken. The plea has served as an excuse from the fatal day in the garden of Eden onwards.

Hence it is that canonical obedience has become a very complex matter, and if I were to enter on the question of the courts wherein the bishop can enforce obedience to the canons, I should show that it was still more complex theoretically than I have represented it. It is true

that ecclesiastical jurisdiction has been brought into abeyance by the encroachment of the State; but there is a wide gulph between the Bishop finding it difficult to enforce obedience in the courts which exist, and his handing over his authority to the State, or accepting the judge-made law of a few members of the Committee of the Privy Council as a canon of the Church. The fact is, the Church has been permitted, in a godless age, to have her rights and privileges invaded. Her canon law has been put at the mercy of the State, which has in many ways shown hostility to her, and her efficiency has in consequence been much impaired. Waking up to her position, to her dignity, and to her historical reality, her sons in this generation have to meet the evils bequeathed by a previous one, and in boldly asserting the great principle of her Apostolic foundation, they are not frightened at the apparent subjection of her authority to human powers, or led away by such appearance to forget her Divine origin. Viewing the Church as a trust, they boldly insist upon the recognition, not only of her canon, but of the principles of her canon.

They boldly assert that canon to be as vital as is the canon of Scripture; for they feel that in yielding the one canon, they endanger the other, just as when there are two fortresses, the yielding of one to the enemy, gives a vantage ground to him from which to assault the other. They have borne patiently the opposition, the hard words, the cruel jests (of which there have been more than one notable instance), and finally, out of respect for one canon, they have borne prosecution and imprisonment, promoted and effected by an impetuous and angry section within the Church, who profess a respect for the other canon only.

The battle is nominally one of courts and decisions of courts on matters of ritual. It is really a struggle for the independence of the Church of England, without which she cannot exercise her rightful influence, and for the assertion of her Divine origin, without which she has no more claim for authority than the most recent philosophy propagated. And when the canon of the Church is on one side, and the State on the other, canonical obedience is no easy matter. But I venture to think when the battle of this generation is recorded in the pages of history, four names will appear in the front rank on the side of the canon—God only knows if there will be more—the names of Tooth, Dale, Enraght, and Sidney Faithorne Green.

ADDRESSES.

J. THEODORE DODD, Esq.

THE title "Criminous Clerks" is somewhat misleading, for the word "criminous" suggests offences against the criminal law of the land, or at least some grievous immorality; but in truth it includes men who teach erroneous doctrine, those who neglect their duty, and even offenders against the Privy Council ritual. However in this paper I shall only discuss offences against morality and neglect of duty. With regard to neglect, the fault is not so much in the Church's law as in the tangled and unreformed

condition of the Church's courts, and neglect of the authorities in enforcing her law. And though I cordially agree with much that Canon Gregory has said, I must add that the Church's law distinctly orders the minister to visit the sick. Both the Canons of 1603* and the older canon of Stephen Langton, contained in Lyndwood,† are express as to this. Instruction of youth in the principles of Christianity, and preparation for Confirmation are also enjoined in the canons.‡ If the bishops had been as zealous with regard to gross and cruel negligence by a clergyman, as some of them have been in attacking ceremonious observances, I believe that such a case as that which Canon Gregory first mentioned would have been speedily remedied.§ I propose now *first* to enquire into the procedure against the clergy guilty of moral delinquencies or negligence, and *then* the standard by which their fault is to be tried. And, first, as to the procedure under the Church Discipline Act.‖ The consent of the bishop is essential to the promotion of any suit against a clergyman.¶ After certain preliminary proceedings, the bishop can either deal with the case, assisted by three assessors,** or send it by letters of request to Lord Penzance. I think no case should be sent on to Lord Penzance, for the following reasons:—(1) It is against the Common and Canon laws.†† (2) Doubts exist as to whether Lord Penzance has any spiritual jurisdiction, especially in the Province of York. (3) Further doubts exist as to whether he can exercise some specially spiritual functions, as suspension, deprivation, and excommunication.‡‡ (4) Also, it is most unfair to the clergyman to cause him the expense of a trial in London. (5) Finally, one reason for prosecutions of Criminous Clerks is the prevention of scandal, and suits before Lord Penzance unfortunately lead to scandal. I am aware that some persons

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* Canon 67. † *Lynd.* lib. 1. tit. 12, p. 64; Johnson ii. 106.

‡ Canons 59, 61. Compare *Lyndwood* p. 264.

§ Sec. 3 and 4 Vict., c. 86, s. 3; *Rugg v. Bishop of Winchester* (Joyce "Sword and Keys," 2nd ed. Appendix, p. 164; "Law Reports," 2 A and E 247, 2 P. C. 223).

‖ The usual mode of procedure is under the Church Discipline Act (3 and 4 Vict., c. 86). Certain neglects and omissions may be made the subject of a representation under the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874 (37 and 38 Vict., c. 85). Also in cases of non-residence, proceedings may be taken under the Pluralities Act (1 and 2 Vict., c. 106; see also 13 and 14 Vict., c. 93). But wide powers of dispensing with residence, and of sanctioning evasions of actual residence within the benefice, are given to the Bishop. Also under 1 and 2 Vict., c. 106, the Bishop can compel the performance of certain services. The Bishop of Exeter in his Pluralities Acts Amendment Bill, which received the sanction of the House of Lords in 1882, proposed to extend some of the provisions of the Pluralities Act, so as to include visitation of the sick, and religious instruction of the young, etc. In the present paper only proceedings under the Church Discipline Act are discussed. The preliminary proceedings are the issue by the bishop to a commission of five persons, to see whether there is a *prima facie* case against the accused. But the bishop is not bound to issue any commission. If the bishop tries the case with assessors, one of them must be a lawyer, and another either his chancellor, or a dean, or archdeacon of the diocese (1 and 2 Vict., c. 106, s. 11).

¶ *Julius v. Bishop of Oxford* (Law Reports, 5 App. Cas. 214).

** In the Chastleton case, the Bishop of Oxford sat under the Church Discipline Act, at the County Hall, Oxford, with Dr. Swabey (Chancellor of the Diocese), Sir G. K. Richards, Q.C., and Archdeacon Randall as assessors. The proceedings were public. The clergyman was acquitted but reprimanded (*Oxford Times*, Aug. 5th, 1882). It would be an improvement if in some cases proceedings were private; the accused, however, should be allowed a shorthand writer, as well as his legal advisers.

†† Coke 4 Inst. 330-334.

‡‡ From a recent judgment of the Judicial Committee, it appears that they are of opinion that Lord Penzance can excommunicate. *Sed quære.*

think the bishops incapable of sitting as judges because they are not lawyers. But one, at least, of the assessors will be a lawyer. * Moreover, every bishop ought to know at least the elements of Ecclesiastical law, or otherwise he is totally unfit for the government of the Church of God. † There is, however, another and more serious objection, namely, that in many cases the bishop is really the promoter of the suit, and has a pecuniary interest in the result of the suit, because of costs. ‡ This apparent unfairness would at least be modified if two out of the three assessors, instead of being appointed by the bishop, were elected by the clergy, to serve for a period of three years. This plan is suggested by a clause in the Bishop of Exeter's recent Bill, § and is much more consonant with the good laws of the Church than the present mode of appointment. ‖ However, until there is a change in the law, I should propose that the bishop on his own authority ask the clergy to nominate to him two duly qualified persons, whom the bishop, if he approve, may appoint assessors. As the law now stands, there is an appeal from the decision of the bishop and his assessors to Lord Penzance, and thence to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. I think the bishop should never consent to the promotion of any suit, except on express condition ¶ that the promoter, if he fails before the bishop, should not bring any appeal. By this plan the accused clergyman will be saved from crushing expense, and some of the difficulties about spiritual jurisdiction will be avoided. So much for procedure, but the most important question remains. By what law is the accused person to be tried? What is the standard of morals in the Church, and by what measure shall a clergyman's duty be estimated? We should naturally suppose that the highest standard of morals and rule of duty was Holy Scripture, and that lesser or derivative standards were the Prayer Book Articles and English Canon Law. ** Unhappily, the decisions of the Privy Council are part of the standard of morals and duty in the Church, just as they are part of its doctrine. †† Now the Privy Council neither founds, nor pretends to found, its judgments upon Holy Scripture. It does not regard Holy Scripture as an authority binding upon it. This will be clearly seen from a perusal of the collection of its judgments made by Messrs. Brodrick and Fremantle, and published under the sanction of Archbishop Tait when Bishop of London. ‡‡ I will show how this rejection of Holy Scripture will work in cases involving breach of morals and neglect of duty. If a clergyman refuses to re-marry a man who has divorced his wife on account of her §§ sin, during her life, he would be condemned by the Judicial Committee as a negligent clerk. The Privy Council would not arrive at this decision, because they think the Bible permits such re-marriage of divorced persons. They would simply say the Act

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* 3 and 4 Vict., c. 86. † See Service for the Consecration of Bishops.

‡ See *Reg. v. Bishop of St. Albans* (Law Reports, 9 Q, B. D. 454).

§ See note above.

‖ The Presbyters formerly had a share in the judicial and legislative government of the Church.

¶ See above as to bishop's discretion to refuse to allow proceedings to be instituted.

** This comprehends both the canons enacted in England, and also that portion of the general Canon Law which is received in England.

†† See the Grahamstown case (*Guardian Supplement*, July 19, 1882; 47 *Law Times Reports*, New Series, p. 51).

‡‡ See article on the Grahamstown Case in the *Church Quarterly* for October, 1882, pp. 169-184.

§§ A clergyman is not bound to solemnize the "marriage" of the guilty party.

of Parliament permits it, and they would not care the least what Scripture said. My complaint is not that they misinterpret Scripture, or that they would interpret the words of Christ differently from the Church of England, but that they would utterly refuse to receive Christ's words as an authority. They would decide by the Act of Parliament. In the same way if a clergyman is accused of neglecting or refusing to administer the Holy Communion to a parishioner, his case will not be tried by God's law. Thus in *Jenkins v. Cook*, * the case about the personality of the devil, the Privy Council came to their decision chiefly on the strength of a Statute of Edward VI. Sir Robert Phillimore, as judge in the Court of Arches, cited many passages of Scripture, but the Privy Council on appeal took another view of the case and avoided Scripture entirely. It is noteworthy that Sir Robert Phillimore, in quoting Scripture, limited himself almost entirely to passages contained in the Prayer Book and other Church Formularies, apparently regarding the Prayer Book, not Scripture, as the authority. Now I am quite aware that in Ecclesiastical cases before the Privy Council some bishops are present. But I think it is no use having bishops there if they leave the Bible outside. The bishops when sitting in, or with, the Privy Council have never proclaimed their determination to obey the law of Christ whatever the Statute law may say. The rejection of God's law is not less scandalous because certain bishops may openly or tacitly assent to the rejection. If, then, we wish to enforce any standard of morality and duty in the Church, this standard must be founded on the Bible. The Church can recognise no non-Christian standard. I quite understand that the Judicial Committee feel themselves bound by the Statute Law, whatever the Bible may say. But if the choice lies between the Privy Council and the Bible, we prefer the Bible. It must not be supposed that the grave dangers to morality which are caused by the jurisdiction of the Privy Council over the Church have been unforeseen. I will read part of a letter written by Mr. Gladstone in 1857:—† "It is neither disestablishment, or even loss of dogmatic truth which I look upon as the greatest danger before us, but it is the loss of those elementary principles of right and wrong on which Christianity itself must be built. The present position of the Church of England is gradually approximating to the Erastian theory that the business of an Establishment is to teach all sorts of doctrines, and to provide Christian ordinances, by way of comfort, for all sorts of people, to be used at their own option. It must become, if uncorrected, in lapse of time a thoroughly immoral position." I think this forecast of Mr. Gladstone is fulfilled, for the Church is now bound to administer Privy Council morality within its courts, and yet it teaches Bible morality in its formularies and, for the most part, in its pulpits. For this non-Christian standard does not only affect the Privy Council. Both the Bishops' courts, and the bishops sitting with their assessors, are bound by the Privy Council decisions, and by Statute law. The bishop is bound to ignore the Bible, and to administer to the Church a law which is of man and not of God. Of course it is open to the bishop to say:—"I prefer to reject Statute and Privy Council rather than to ignore

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* The judgment of the Judicial Committee is given in Joyce's "*Sword and Keys*," 2nd Ed., Appendix, p. 96, but unfortunately the judgment does not give an accurate view of the facts. To obtain this the reader should peruse the whole case, and the judgment of Sir R. Phillimore (which the Privy Council reversed) in the "Law Reports" (4 A. and E., 463; 1 P. Div. 80). The two Archbishops, Tait and Thompson, took part in the hearing of this case before the Privy Council.

† Life of Bishop Wilberforce. Vol. ii., chapter x.

the Bible. I regard the law of God rather than the law of man, whatever be the consequences to myself." But this has not yet been done by the Episcopate, though we gladly hail indications that, if relief is not soon given by law, some at least will take this stand. Hence I think that mere reform of procedure will not be sufficient, it is not enough that cases should be tried by the bishops or properly qualified ecclesiastical judges, but they must try them by Scriptural law. Any unbeliever can administer Statute and Privy Council law just as well as a bishop. In another way a law of morals and duty founded upon Privy Council decisions is most unsatisfactory. The object of Church discipline is not only the prevention of scandal, but reformation of the sinner. The suit is brought against the clerk "for his soul's health" *pro salute animæ*. This is not thoroughly grasped by the Privy Council. They, naturally enough, cannot comprehend that part of the work of a Church court is to save souls through the Gospel. They doubtless feel themselves entirely unfitted for that office. In fact, the whole system of Church Discipline becomes in the hands of the Privy Council bare morality which has lost its true foundation and its Christian life, and sometimes conflicts with the Church's moral teaching. Of course it may be argued that the possible conflicts of Bible and Church morality with Privy Council morality are very rare at present. It may be so. In the progress of the Church, as well as in "*Pilgrim's Progress*," Bye-path meadow at first seems to lead in the same direction as the straight road to the celestial city. But surely it cannot be right for bishops to sit and tacitly acknowledge Privy Council law. They must either try Criminous Clerks as Civil Servants or as Christ's Ministers. They must themselves sit in judgment either as the Stewards of the Mysteries of Christ, or as the Deputies of the Privy Council. The discipline of the Church is part of the law of the kingdom of Christ, and to substitute the discipline of any earthly kingdom is so far to reject Christ as being King over this Church. "His servants ye are to whom ye obey." The practical suggestions which I have to offer are these:—1. Let the bishops repudiate the Judicial Committee and declare for the Bible. 2. Let Churchmen inform the Royal Commission that it is no use attempting to preserve the Privy Council as Court of Appeal for the Church. Finally, though a breach of union of Church and State is much to be deprecated, it would be a lesser evil to suffer Disestablishment than to give up the Bible as a standard of the law of the Church.

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I do not propose to say anything as to the principles which do, or, which ought to govern the constitution of the ecclesiastical courts. Much has been said and written on this subject, and it is now occupying the attention of a Royal Commission. The main features of the problem are by this time tolerably well understood. No useful end seems likely to be served by the repetition of facts with which all are familiar, or the reassertion of inferences, the measure of acceptance accorded to which has long since been ascertained. There is, however, one matter upon which we are all agreed, and that is that the working of the Church courts is not satisfactory. We are probably all in favour of reform in this direction. Here, then, is a practical question which, although it cannot be adequately treated without constant reference to the past, yet

depends quite as much upon the present for its solution. Instead of the niceties of history we have to deal with the realities of our own day. What are the changes which our needs and our difficulties have shown to be required? We must remember that this is our main concern. It seems sometimes to be lost sight of. With a laudible desire, which I trust will never be abandoned, to preserve time-honoured principles, a tendency is discernible to revive obsolete institutions, as though principles could not survive a change in their outward expression. It is an age of restoration, but we shall make a fatal mistake if we imagine that in this matter of Church courts we have nothing to do but to reinstate a system which partly by natural decay and partly by legislative action has fallen into its present state. Now one of the points I desire to mention is the necessity of consolidation of the ecclesiastical courts. In former days England was covered with a complicated network of ecclesiastical courts. There were two or three archiepiscopal courts in each province, there were the Bishops' consistory and commissary courts, there were the Archdeacons' courts, there were deaconal courts, and capitular courts, and there were literally scores of minor courts whose functions extended over small areas where some peculiar or special jurisdiction existed. These last, to the number of about 300, have been swept away during the last fifty years. So far as I am aware, no complaint has been made of their abolition. What was the work which this multitude of tribunals performed? The most satisfactory answer will be found in the records of the courts themselves. The late Mr. Hale, Archdeacon of London, about thirty-five years ago published a very interesting book (now out of print, and I fear but little known), entitled *A Series of Precedents and Proceedings Extracted from the Act Books of the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Diocese of London.* It consists of short summaries of cases decided in the Commissary court of London, and the courts of the archdeaconries of London, Essex, and Colchester, between the years 1475 and 1640. It is, perhaps, not generally known that the discipline of the Church was in full exercise until the Rebellion of 1640, except during a brief interval in Edward IV.'s reign. The Reformation did not diminish the control of the courts over either the clergy or laity. Archdeacon Hale's book gives the best possible idea of the work of the ecclesiatical courts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. That work was sufficiently comprehensive, though not quite of the kind some might suppose. We find very few heresy matters; these were apparently taken to a higher court in the first instance, but petty cases of breach of contract abound. Stealing, breach of promise of marriage, tippling, swearing, witchcraft, are constantly recurring causes of ecclesiastical litigation. Village feuds were continually brought up for the arbitration of the judge. Thus, William Rooke, of West Ham, was proceeded against in 1577 for "that during Divine Service he pulled away Mr. Shipman's hat and threw it from him, and would not suffer him to sit in his seat, but molested him." Justice to William Rooke, however, compels us to add his version of the story. He confessed that "upon a certain Sunday, coming into his pewe in which he and his ancestors had of long time been placed by the churchwardens, he by chance did throw down the hat of Mr. Shipman, which hung as he entered into the pewe (and not otherwise), in which pewe the same Mr. Shipman wilfully and stubbornly entereth and sitteth, being not there placed by the churchwardens." Ill behaviour in church was another constant source of litigation, as when a youth, Lawrence Boyden, of Fobbing, was discovered "writing scoffing and uncomely rhymes in the church," and sentenced to be punished *multis verberibus* by his father in the presence of the guardians. Or, again,

Joseph Phenn, who was admonished for that he "did smile in church when one came in with his face all crock't." Cases of ordinary assault seem to have been dealt with by the ecclesiastical judge when the offence was committed on a Sunday, or where a spiritual person was concerned. Thus, Mrs. Johanna Madyson, of Buttesbury, was detected "that she unreverently abused Mr. Simons, our minister, in striking him upon his head in such sorte that she brake the same and made the blood runne downe." She was excommunicated. A very large proportion of the cases have reference to probate and divorce proceedings. Finally, it is to be noticed that the great majority of the entries concern suits against laymen. Now, how much of all this survives? What proportion of the work thus formerly discharged by Church courts still belongs to their jurisdiction? It must be admitted very little. Discipline over the laity is dead, and I do not hear even those who most regret its decay speak hopefully of its revival. This at once sweeps away more than half the business. Much of what remains is now relegated to the police-court or the county court. The probate and divorce jurisdiction is monopolised by a temporal court. And as to such disputes as that which raged over Mr. Shipman's hat, all who know anything of village life will testify that they are not yet extinct, but probably few would desire that it should once more become usual to carry them into the ecclesiastical courts. The old system of multiplied courts was probably of great benefit to the country. It rubbed down the roughnesses and reproved the misdeeds of our ancestors, and it brought justice to every man's door in an age when travelling was very difficult and very expensive. But things are altered now. There is neither enough work to keep numerous courts in activity, nor would their multiplication conduce to public convenience. I lay stress upon this, because there seems to be a widespread impression that some mysterious advantage will accrue to the Church from the resuscitation of a labyrinth of tribunals. The separation of the lately consolidated provincial courts is demanded. The restoration of the jurisdiction which the Church Discipline Act took from the Bishops' courts and conferred on the provincial courts is also demanded. Not long ago a committee appointed by Convocation prepared a series of proposals with reference to Church and State, amongst which I was surprised to read the following—"That the Archdeacons' courts be retained and strengthened if necessary." I have not heard that anyone has yet suggested the revival of the 300 "peculiar" courts; but really it could make very little difference; if we are to have scores of skeleton courts we may as well have hundreds. I venture to say that there is not at the present day enough ecclesiastical litigation in England to keep one strong court reasonably supplied with work. What, therefore, must be the result of subdivision? I answer, the complete collapse of the ecclesiastical courts. It is essential (1) to efficiency, and (2) to economy, that there should be plenty of work. Unless the judge and those who practise before him are constantly employed they soon grow rusty and useless. Moreover, it must be remembered that it is the suitors who pay for the court by means of fees. The smaller, therefore, the number of the suitors, the greater the expense to each. Cheap law can only be achieved when there are many litigants. The attempted revival of obsolete courts can result in nothing less but an unwise dispersion of strength as well as purposeless extravagance. Judicious consolidation according to the proper constitutional mode (whatever it is) must, I believe, be affected before we can have our Church courts in good practical working order. The other point to which I wish to refer has relation to the study of the canon and ecclesiastical law. I believe that this matter is

more important than is generally supposed. We are too apt to treat our national diseases symptomatically. Because trouble comes through the courts, we set to work to pull them down and rebuild them, expecting thus to effect a cure. But I feel very certain that at any rate one cause of disturbance, if not the chief one, lies deeper. First of all, consider the confusion of the canon law itself. What does it consist of? (1) The general canon law; (2) the canons and constitutions of Otho and Othobon, and of divers archbishops before the Reformation; (3) the canons of 1603, with subsequent modifications. Finally, to ascertain what is at this moment binding canon law in the Church of England we must weed out whatever in the foregoing is "contrariant or repugnant to the laws, statutes, and customs of the realm, or to the damage or hurt of the Queen's prerogative." So matters were left by Henry VIII., and so they remain. I need not remind you that the celebrated *Reformatio Legum* was intended to put an end to this anomaly. But as it never came into operation, what was intended as a mere makeshift has endured for 350 years. I think it will have to endure some time longer, for we must assuredly wait for calmer times before we can safely attempt so delicate an operation as the codification of canon law. But the difficulty of ascertaining what is the law of the Church only renders it more necessary that that law should be carefully studied. Now, what provision have we for this as compared with our ancestors? Before the Reformation canon law was taught in both Universities; there were Professors in it, and degrees were regularly granted. Henry VIII. put an end to the study of canon law in 1535 by Royal Injunction, and since then there have been no canonists either at Oxford or Cambridge. In the quaint language of Thomas Fuller, the King "destroyed their whole hive." Again, from very remote times the advocates in the ecclesiastical courts, and especially the Archbishops' courts, were a separate order. Their training and admission to the right of pleading were the subject of archiepiscopal constitutions as early as 1295. In the sixteenth century they formed themselves into a sort of college—Doctors' Commons—by which the study of ecclesiastical law as a separate profession was kept from falling into neglect. No one could plead in the Court of Arches unless he had the fiat of the Primate, and the Primate granted his fiat to no one who was not a member of Doctors' Commons. So things went on for 300 years. About 30 years ago, however, this ancient college was dissolved. No separate order of advocates now exists. The archbishop's fiat is in abeyance, and any barrister is permitted to plead before the Dean of Arches. There is too little Church litigation to make it worth the law student's while to learn ecclesiastical law, and thus there is nothing to prevent its falling into absolute decay and becoming the prey of the antiquarian. Now, if we must leave it to our successors to improve ecclesiastical law, at least we can keep it extant. Indeed, I do not see why there should be any great difficulty. Surely it might be possible to revive the study of Church law at the Universities. When the number of professorships is being multiplied so rapidly, room might, one would think, be found for a professor or reader in ecclesiastical law. Let degrees be granted in it. Let the Archbishops revive their fiat and bestow it only on graduates in ecclesiastical law. Let the canon and the statute, which make the qualification for a Church judge, the possession of a degree in civil law or arts, be altered so as to apply to the new, or rather the revived, faculty. If undergraduates intending to take orders were encouraged to attend Professors' lectures in ecclesiastical law for (say) one term, sufficient support would be secured to keep the study alive, and I think that few clergymen would in after years regret that

they had gained some acquaintance with a system to which they are supposed to be specially subject. I do not know what difficulties there may be which I have not considered, and perhaps my suggestion may not be feasible in the shape in which I have made it; but certain I am that unless some remedy is found the study of ecclesiastical law will quickly fall into such utter decay that its revival will become hopeless. And whether I am right or wrong in thinking that its neglect has tended to produce the present disorders, it is surely obvious that ignorance of ecclesiastical law, if allowed to prevail, must very seriously aggravate those disorders.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. BISHOP COURTENAY.

I HOPE I shall be able to carry out your wish, by confining my observations much within the limits alloted to me. The question before us, it seems to me, is not so much what are the defects of our present courts, however great they may be, nor the defects of the ecclesiastical law, but rather what is to be done?—What law shall we have in our future courts? What is to be the ideal of the courts, by which better discipline is to be secured? We cannot say that the thing is so unpracticable after having heard from the Chairman, that at least in one Colonial diocese there is an efficient Clergy Discipline Bill. I have asked permission to speak to say the same thing of my diocese in Jamaica, over which I presided for three and twenty years. We have had for a considerable portion of that time a Diocesan court which has worked so well that, although it was instituted sixteen years ago, we have hardly had any faults to find with it, or been able to say what its faults were. If it fails, there have been so few cases to test its failures that I cannot say how an alteration for good could be made. At the same time, I may say that in another Colony—British Guiana—where the bishop requested his diocesans to report what they thought best as to a Clergy Discipline Bill, they reported in favour of what has been in force in my late diocese. I by no means wish to say that for a country like England the very rude and simple machinery, which has been in use in a small Colonial diocese, would be effective; but I think it well to point out the special features of it. With slight alterations it has become a Canon, and has been confirmed by the synods. In the first place, we have got that definition of clerical vice and offences, which the first reader who came before you wished. A clergyman may be tried for crime, or for false doctrine, or for breach of his ordination vows—or, in fact, anything that came under a breach of ordination vows, such as setting a bad example, teaching false doctrines. All this is included in a few simple words within the list of offences for which a man may be tried. As regards the evidence of his offences, more than one kind of machinery may be used. The bishop himself, if the rumour should reach him of an offence, may direct an enquiry by the archdeacon, and any three communicants of the parish offended by what they believed to be the false teaching, may make a representation to the bishop. We have not the same court for the trial of all offences. If an offence is against the doctrine of the Church, then the bishop himself must sit in person, assisted by a number of his own clergy; but if the offence, or alleged offence, is a charge of drunkenness or such, then the court would consist of a majority of laymen from the place where the crime was committed. Now this is a very simple and a very brief statement of the offences, but there is one other method upon which I greatly pride myself. In the British army a man may be accused of unofficer-like conduct, or he may be accused of conduct unworthy of a gentleman, and a court composed of his brother officers may try him, and if the sentence be not quashed, the man is absolutely cashiered. Now we have, in my diocese, something analogous to that, except that the penalty is not so severe. A man may be tried for conduct unworthy of a Christian minister, and his fellows, his peers, are the judges of his guilt or innocence. Lest this should press too hardly on anyone, the members of the court have, in the first instance, according to a certain rule, to attach the penalty which the offence

seems to deserve, but the bishop is entitled to remit that penalty or any part of it. If he remits or commutes it only in part we have then recourse to England, and I heartily wish that there were in this country a proper court for the trial of difficult cases coming up from small dioceses. But at present no such court exists, and we have done the best we could. We have requested the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London to form themselves into a committee of reference to which we may appeal, and if any person should think himself aggrieved in Jamaica, as the archbishops had consented to act, he may appeal to them for his remedy. Now I must say that I think this is a very efficient court for a small diocese. Of course, in England it would have to be elaborated more minutely, but it has worked so far very successfully in Jamaica. The very first effect of the passing of this law has been to cause one clergyman to quit the country, and since that time the instances in which it has been necessary to put that law in force have been so few that I can hardly say that it has any practical effects. With regard to the principle of the bill, I do not think that it is different to what the speakers before me desire. We have, as I have already told you, admitted laymen to be the judges in clerical offences in which doctrine is not immediately concerned, and I think, as far as I can see, that there is no reason why laymen should not sit as judges in cases where they are aggrieved parties. Are they not entitled to sit in a court to say if their interests had been neglected? Of course, if it should appear that that would be undesirable in England, it does not follow that the rest is so. I particularly would lay stress upon this, that the breach of the ordination vow should of itself cover every kind of clerical offence; and every charge of conduct unworthy of a Christian minister ought to be an offence according to the law of the land. The outline I have given may perhaps be of some service in the foundation of a future court in this country.

The Rev. Dr. WIRGMAN, Rector of St. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

I REGRET extremely that no one more worthy than myself, a simple parish priest, has been found to represent the Church of our Province before this assembly, but you must bear with me while I explain what is the constitution of our own Church courts in South Africa. We have a system of dealing with the class of offences referred to in the papers that have been read, which satisfactorily meets these cases. It is a great point that a Church court should be as fair, and as impartial, and as judicial as any tribunal in the world, and we have in our Province courts which possess these qualifications. The bishop sits as ordinary, with two priests of the diocese as his assessors. There are also lay-assessors appointed, who *must be communicants*, and, in very excess of fairness, the accused clergyman may avail himself of the services of any attorney or barrister he may please to appoint, whether Churchman or not. No one is allowed to plead against the accused person, unless he is a communicant of the Church. From the Diocesan court we have an appeal to the Provincial Tribunal of Appeal, at which two bishops must be present, and over which the Metropolitan presides. This system of Church courts of ours has been found to work fairly, impartially, and judicially. I do not wish to allude here to the recent trial before the Diocesan court of Grahamstown, except so far as its judicial fairness is concerned. It will be remembered that Dr. Williams was tried by the Diocesan Tribunal of the Diocese of Grahamstown, and I hold in my hand the judgment delivered by Sir H. de Villiers in the Supreme court at Cape Town, when those proceedings gave rise to a case before a secular tribunal. The only point I wish to notice in this judgment is that the Chief Justice, who is not a Churchman, *went out of his way* to commend the impartiality with which the trial was conducted. He said, "And here I may say that in reading the proceedings of that court (the Diocesan court of Grahamstown), it is impossible not to admire the ability and candour with which the prosecution was conducted, or the judicial impartiality displayed by the tribunal itself." Now I would venture to say that this lay opinion is valuable, as proving that Church tribunals can be impartial and judicial. I would state that, beyond this, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council endorsed the opinion of the Chief Justice of the Cape, and also went out of their way to commend the fairness and impartiality of the

Diocesan court of Grahamstown. I think that I have proved my two points. I venture to say first, that we have a workable system of Church courts in South Africa, and secondly, that Church courts can be impartial, judicial, thoroughly fair, and competent to deal with the offences of Criminous Clerks.

The Rev. Dr. BELCHER, Vicar of St. Faith's, Stoke Newington.

I WILL endeavour to deal with Mr. Dodd's paper. Mr. Dodd was counsel in the case before the Privy Council recently, where the object of Mr. Enraght's Churchwardens was to set aside the nominal and sole prosecutor, and counsel's contention was this—that it was one of those cases for which the Public Worship Act had made no express provision. He contended that it could not have been the intention of an Act, which professed to be Church law, to contravene the plain rule of Holy Scripture, and to allow one man to carry on proceedings against a clergyman, because St. Paul had laid down that three witnesses were necessary in order to accuse a presbyter. Here Mr. Dodd was interrupted by one of the learned legal lords, who said that the learned counsel was arguing in an illogical manner, and asked whether he was serious in quoting Holy Scripture in that court against the Public Worship Act, or in reading Holy Scripture in it? The contest now going on is a contest between the Word of God and the Privy Council. I admit, of course, that we owe to our respective bishops not only canonical, but, as far as possible, every kind of obedience, but not so to other men's bishops; especially to the country-stumping bishop, and to the *Times* newspaper leading article writing bishop we do not owe any respect whatever. A bishop has no jurisdiction outside his own diocese; and if a northern bishop frequently writes letters to a southern newspaper, along with leading articles on his own letters, we have no respect for him. We clergy are a body who are worthy of better treatment than we have been receiving for some time past. I now wish to come to the last paper discussed about the Privy Council. Eighteen years ago that eminent dignitary of the Church, the Archbishop of York, who it is greatly to be regretted is not here to-night, in a pastoral letter to his clergy, on the then recent "Essays and Reviews" Privy Council judgment, denounced that judgment as contrary to the Word of God, repudiated the position that the Privy Council Report, commonly called "the judgment," is a judgment at all; especially repudiated the grounds on which such a judgment was based, called some of them *defective*, asserted that all such decisions, and especially this particular one, were only as between the parties, and "may happen to be corrected in some future case." He calls on the clergy to preach down the Essays and Reviews judgment, and tells them that our Church "depends for her teaching not upon prosecutions and decisions of courts," but "upon the paramount authority of Holy Writ." I will ask his Grace to reconcile his pastoral of eighteen years ago with the recent Privy Council judgment in the Grahamstown case. Therein their lordships not only assert the almost exact contrary of all his Grace's positions of 1864; but assert that this very judgment on Essays and Reviews, together with the reasons given for deciding it, and all other Privy Council judgments past, present, and future, and their *rationes decidendi*, are part of the Constitution of the Church of England. We all repudiate such a monstrous claim, and as it affects the Colonial churches I do hope that the Church of South Africa will be true to the traditions of Bishop Gray. The eyes of everyone are at present fixed upon Archdeacon Badnall, and I hope that that venerable gentleman will not be instrumental in selling God's heritage for a mess of pottage. There have been a great many hard things said to-night about poor Lord Penzance. All I can say is this—I wish his lordship long life and health in the continuance of his office, because it would be a great disadvantage to the Church of England if he were removed from his post, and a better man put in his place.

The Rev. R. W. KENNION, Rector of Acle, Norfolk.

I WONDER whether any one in this room is aware that there was an Ecclesiastical Courts' question very hotly debated 150 years ago? As that which we have to consider is, in part at least, an historical question, I venture to think we may learn something from those old battles.

In 1713, Edmund Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London, published the first edition of his Codex, which contained a vast mass of canons, statutes, constitutions and articles, Popish and Protestant, with an introduction and notes of his own.

By some (as by the then Bishop of Lichfield in his Charge of 1734) the Codex was welcomed as the best work since the Reformation. By others, it was looked upon with alarm, as an attack on the rights and liberties of the laity, on the supremacy of the Crown, and the authority of Parliament.

This alarm was probably roused by an attempt which was made to put in force one of Gibson's notions, namely, that the canons of 1603, when confirmed by the king, were binding on the laity; which, however, was put an end to in 1736 by the decision of Lord Hardwicke and the judges of the King's Bench in the famous case of Middleton *v.* Croft.

In 1735 appeared a very severe criticism on Bishop Gibson's work, written, as it appears, at Lord Hardwicke's suggestion by Michael Foster, afterwards celebrated as one of our most learned, able, and upright judges. It was published under the title of "An Examination of the Scheme of Church Power laid down in the Codex."

To this "Examination," soon appeared an "Answer," written, as it was said, under Gibson's eye, by Dr. Andrews, an ecclesiastical lawyer, who was engaged in the suit of Middleton *v.* Croft.

Thus, we may consider Lord Hardwicke and Sir Michael Foster as representing the laity, and Bishop Gibson and Dr. Andrews, the high church clergy of that age. But now to apply this old controversy to that of the present day.

It is thought now, 1st, that the State ought to have no control over the Church, except what the Church, as a free and independent body, may consent to for its own advantage: 2nd, that the consent of the church is to be signified by Convocation: and 3rd, that as the State has lately made laws for Church Discipline, without consulting Convocation, the compact between them is broken; that the Ecclesiastical courts have now no authority; and that to such laws and such courts our duty is not *obedience* but *disobedience.*

Do these views find any support from the High Churchmen of the last century? I am not going to cite Lord Hardwicke or Sir Michael Foster. I want to know what Bishop Gibson and Dr. Andrews say.

I may notice first, in passing, a sermon of Gibson's preached at the Croydon Assizes in 1705, "*against speaking evil of princes, and those in authority under them.*" But to proceed to the Codex.

In the introduction, after arguing at some length that bishops have an authority under God, *as well as under the king*, Gibson proceeds thus:—"Having cleared the *Divine right* of the Church to the exercise of spiritual discipline, and acknowledged that the *external* administration of that and of all ecclesiastical matters in established courts and established forms is by authority from the crown, and in subordination to the royal supremacy, and so taken off the reproach on the one hand of the Church being a mere creation of the State, and, on the other hand, of her affecting an independency, we now proceed to consider the administration of ecclesiastical matters under the prince, . . . as distinguished by the law and constitution of England, from the administration of temporal matters under the same prince."

I find next an argument based on the recital of the Statute of Appeals (24 Hen. VIII.) in favour of spiritual causes being referred to spiritual persons; deprecating the jealousy of the Ecclesiastical courts, which was then shown by the Temporal ones. But the bishop is constrained to admit (p. 21)* that the last resort of all Ecclesistical courts is by the 25th Hen. VIII. c. 19, given to the king, and that under this 2nd statute the king might, if he pleased, appoint laymen as delegates, though this is not what the bishop likes. He divides the Church laws into 1, Common law; 2, Canon law; and 3, Statute law. Of the last he admits (p. 29) that it is "reckoned the first in authority." And though he complains of some of our State legislation in Church matters, he is careful to say, that the view with which he mentions this, is NOT UPON A QUESTION OF LAW, BUT OF EXPEDIENCE ONLY.

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* I quote from the 2nd edition.

In p. 42, the Bishop gives the statute 1 Eliz. c. 1 intituled "An Act to restore to the Queen the ancient jurisdiction over the estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual," etc.

Among the various sections of this Act which Gibson sets down, I may refer to the 17th, which unites to the Crown such jurisdiction as had been, or might lawfully be, exercised by any spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, "for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all errors, heresies, etc." Gibson notices that, though the Act "with regard to the general right of jurisdiction in the crown is declaratory of the old law, not introductory of a new one"—this section goes beyond the old law. But he does not here, or anywhere else, suggest the least objection to the supremacy, or the visitorial power which our law has given to the Sovereign, nor does he advise Churchmen to resist the additional power given by the Statute.

In page 65, I notice that the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical courts is said to be "according to the *King's Majesties* Ecclesiastical Laws, made and practised in this realm."

In page 65, Gibson sets down without objection the famous statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, *inter alia*, the Statute 25 Ed. III., which speaks of laws intended to preserve from the encroachment of the Popes the holy Church of England, which was founded in the estate of Prelacy within the realm of England by Edward I. and his progenitors, and the earls, barons, and other nobles of the realm, and their ancestors.

At page 104, in a note to the same statute, Gibson says that the Bishoprics of England being all of the king's foundation, he is in right thereof patron of them all, and being anciently donative, they were bestowed *per traditionem annuli et baculi*. He states that they so continued till the 9th of Henry the First, when they became elective.

To the Statute of 8th Eliz., under which the election of bishops has been carried on since the Reformation, Bishop Gibson appends a note (p. 120), in which he treats with the utmost contempt the slanders and scruples of those who questioned the validity of the election and consecration of our bishops.

So, likewise, the various Acts of Uniformity of Edward VI., Elizabeth, and Charles II. are given by the Bishop without any suggestion that the earlier editions of the Prayer Book were at all lacking in authority, because they do not appear to have had the sanction of Convocation.

The conclusion to be drawn from Bishop Gibson's work is clearly this: that though in some things he might wish a change to be made, and more power to be given to the bishops, to Convocation, and to the Ecclesiastical courts, he had no thought of disputing the authority of either kings or Parliaments, or of the judges appointed under them.

And now for Gibson's champion, Dr. Andrews. In answer to a charge of disloyalty which Sir Michael Foster had brought against Bishop Gibson, Dr. Andrews says (p. 61)—"His Lordship . . . has in the strongest terms asserted his Majesty's Prerogative and Supremacy, has claimed the exercise of no jurisdiction but in subordination to him only, and according to the known laws of the land, and not otherwise."

Again (pp. 64, 65). "There are *two legislatures* now subsisting among us, the *one which is supreme and general, called the temporal*, in distinction from the other which is called the spiritual, without any diminution of the former . . . and that the one has not ordinarily intermeddled in the proper business of the other . . . The interests of the Church and the good of religion are so interwoven with the State, and so essential a part of it, that the supreme Legislature must, and have at all times taken it under their care and consideration, and have made laws for the good of both . . . Their power the law has not, cannot restrain . . . Notwithstanding this general power, there is likewise a Legislature in matters spiritual, etc."

His answer to one of the charges made by the examiner is very important. He says (p. 74)—"The long passage which the examiner has quoted out of the preface to the Codex, does not at all impeach the power of the Legislature to make what laws they please, and to make use of what assistance they judge proper; but in a fair construction amounts to no more than this:

"1. That, ordinarily speaking, clergymen may be presumed to be the best judges of the regulations and improvements which are wanting in Church matters.

"2. That, therefore, calling in *their* assistance, when such laws are in making, is the most likely way to make *good* and *wise* laws.

"3. That thus, in fact, the practice since the Reformation has been.

"4. That inasmuch as the Convocation of the bishops and clergy, duly licensed by

the king, have a power of making canons, which being confirmed by royal authority, are properly the Ecclesiastical laws of the Church of England, and have always been considered as such; the most natural way of regulating abuses, and making improvements in the Constitution of the Church, is for the Convocation in the first place to go as far as they can, by their own proper authority, and when they can go no further, to pray the aid of the Temporal Legislature.

"5. That the mentioning Queen Elizabeth's message to the House of Commons to prevent their proceeding in Church matters, was of use to show, that in those days it was thought no absurd thing to say, that Ecclesiastical matters were most proper for the consideration of Ecclesiastical persons.

"6. That nothing is said (in the introduction to the Codex), that can be pretended to be a denial of the power of the Parliament to interpose in Ecclesiastical matters when and in what manner they think fit, to the end our laws in all cases, if erroneous, may be corrected, if defective, supplied, if neglected, inforced, and if abused, restrained."

In answer to an allegation that the great work of Reformation was chiefly conducted by lay councils, Dr. Andrews cites, among other instances, the first Act of Uniformity of Edward VI., where it is said that the king had appointed "the Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops and other learned men of this realm," to draw up an order of Common Prayer (p. 104). So he thinks it sufficient if the king consults some of the bishops and learned men, without the intervention of Convocation.

He adds that "it must be remembered that the thing pleaded for is only *advice and assistance* as proper to be received from Churchmen in Church matters."

There are two other works to which I may refer. The one entitled, "*Jura Ecclesiastica*," in 2 volumes, published in 1749, and described as by a barrister of the Middle Temple, advocates the views indicated by Sir Michael Foster in his "Examination," to which it makes frequent reference. The other and better known work I allude to, is Burn's "Ecclesiastical Law," first published in 1761. I quote one passage from the introduction (9th edition, by "Robert Phillimore," 1842): "The Ecclesiastical law of England is compounded of these four main ingredients—the civil law, the canon law, the common law, and the Statute law. . . . When these interfere and cross one another, the order of preference is this: the civil submitteth itself to the canon law; both these to the common law; AND ALL THREE TO THE STATUTE LAW."

But what is the conclusion of the whole matter, from the point of view of the High Churchmen of the last century?

Is it not this, that the pretensions set forth on behalf of the clergy now, and especially the repudiation of the authority of her Majesty, and the three estates of the realm, and the courts which they have established, have no support from the learned men whose writings I have quoted; in short, that if not new, they must look for precedents to the times of Clerical Domination and Papal Tyranny.

May I refer also to another authority, which used to be much respected by High Churchmen? In his "Pattern of Catechetical Doctrine," Bishop Andrews lays down the rule, that the kingly authority being the highest under God, all ought to obey him, unless when his commands clearly and undoubtedly contradict God's Word: adding that in cases of doubt, the king's command ought to resolve it (pp. 326—340).

The Rev. T. OUTRAM MARSHALL, Organising Secretary of the English Church Union.

THE last speaker did not venture to deny the charge that we bring that the State has encroached upon the Church, he simply attempted to justify the encroachment by saying that it had been going on for the last 150 years. I should like to ask what a magistrate would say, if a husband charged with gross cruelty to his wife were to defend himself by saying, like the last speaker: "Why, I have done it for years, I have often knocked her down and kicked her." Well, that I think will dispose of the observations of the last speaker. I wish now to follow the valuable suggestion made by the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Jamaica, that we should say what sort of court

we do want. Omitting details for which there is no time in seven minutes, and confining myself to broad principles, I will say at once that courts whether spiritual or temporal must possess three qualifications. First of all they require jurisdiction which can only come from the Sovereign of the kingdom. As State courts must have jurisdiction from Her Majesty the Queen, so the Church courts must have jurisdiction from the Church's King—from Christ the Lord. Secondly, they must declare the laws of the kingdom whose courts they are, and not the laws of some other kingdom. Temporal courts in England must declare the law of England, and not the law of Germany. Just so spiritual courts must declare the law of the Church, or Kingdom of Heaven, and not the law of the State. Thirdly, it is desirable that they should understand the law which they administer. It is because the Privy Council and Lord Penzance's court answer to none of these conditions, that Mr. Green has most properly refused to obey them. Why should we not have in the Established Church of England the same powers of self-government that they had in the Established Presbyterianism of Scotland? Within the last ten or twelve years a minister of the Scotch Establishment, who had been suspended *ab officio et a beneficio* by the Presbytery of Dunkeld, appealed to the State court, the Court of Sessions, and the judges in the Court of Sessions unanimously refused to hear the appeal on the ground that the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland was supreme in all ecclesiastical matters, *as* supreme, they said, in Church questions, as we are in State questions. And now a word as to canonical obedience. Of course the clergy owe canonical obedience to the bishops, but canonical obedience is not the same thing as absolute obedience. It is limited and defined by rule, just as obedience to the State is. If I am cited before the courts of the realm, certain things are required. It must first of all be stated clearly in the indictment what Statute or Common law I have violated; then I must be tried before the Court duly appointed by the Legislature for that purpose; and lastly the punishment inflicted must be that which the Legislature has provided. Just so before a bishop has any right to accuse me of refusing to render canonical obedience to him, he must show that I am offending against some rule or canon of the Church, of which he and I are servants and officers. And if I question his charge or his interpretation of the canon, he must proceed to try the matter in his proper spiritual court, and if I am found to have offended, he may then, and not till then, call me a lawbreaker, and punish me in the way prescribed by the Church. Otherwise he runs the risk of being a false accuser of the brethren.

The Rev. J. COWDEN COLE, Vicar of Upton, Somerset.

THE question before the meeting is one of enforcing what is called Canonical obedience, and as a parish priest I claim the right to say a few words upon the subject. What would be the result of passing into law such a measure as that advocated by Canon Gregory this evening? I believe it would have the result of throwing our parishes more or less into confusion and disorder, and would afford a constant opportunity to anyone with a grievance to bring it up before any Commission the bishop might choose to appoint. I for one, therefore, was glad to see the Bill of last Session, which proposed to incorporate Canon Gregory's scheme, meet with an untimely fate. But what is the obedience, you will say, we can offer? Well, I will define it as a voluntary obedience—the obedience, that is, which can be rightly and properly expected of us as parish priests. And that is an obedience which all right-minded clergymen would willingly offer. The obedience which is really and truly required of us, is not such as is capable of being brought before Judicial courts. The Church, surely, has had enough experience of courts; and recent experience shows that obedience is not to be carried out by means of courts. We hear almost *ad nauseam* that obedience is to be enforced by means of courts; but my experience as a parish priest is, that no courts would be able to enforce the due and successful performance of duties, which were not undertaken in the spirit of life and with a willing mind.

The Rev. CANON LEFROY, Liverpool.

I HAVE heard several statements made in the progress of this discussion with sorrow and with apprehension, and I am persuaded that if they went forth to the world without a word being said on the other side, we should lose the loyalty of a large portion of the laity of the Church of England; and as I heard these statements without manifesting my dissension, I ask you to extend to me the courtesy of English gentlemen, and to listen to the few words I now venture to say. For nearly twenty years I have lived on terms of friendship with my brother clergy, whether high, or low, or broad, and I can count amongst my friends some well-known Ritualists, and I may assure you I am not among those who hold that clergymen should be imprisoned, but I do hold that, as Bishop Courtenay said, clergymen should be cashiered for conduct unbecoming a Christian or a gentleman. So far as the discussion has gone, it has proceeded upon the principle that spiritual affairs should be dealt with by the spiritual powers. I entirely dissent from that doctrine. It is fallacious, and inconsistent with the peculiar position of a clergyman of the Established Church. Allow me to explain my reasons for so differing from all here. Christianity is part and parcel of the common law of England. The national expression of Christianity is the Church of England, and her official and authorised religious formulæ. The clergy of that Church are the commissioned expositors of the national expression of religion. They are, therefore, ministers of the Church, and, at the same time, the servants of the State. Hence they are responsible to both, and both are represented in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to which, in the nature of the case, the clergy are amenable. In that council the clergy are represented, and the laity are represented. Its decisions must be obeyed, and law must be interpreted by lawyers. Purely ecclesiastical courts will never command or receive the confidence of the laity. If the laity are excluded from them, the State will have no voice in the administration of justice when her servants fail to discharge their duty, and, considering that Romanism is being sedulously sown in the land, the laity, without redress, will have no alternative but that of Romanism or secession. It is all very well for those in this meeting to reject the authority and deny the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but I can recall the occasion when the jurisdiction was welcomed, and when the exercise of the authority was invoked. I refer now to the well-known appeals against the Bishop of Exeter's ruling. Who prosecuted Mr. Voysey? Why, you—the very class in the Church who ridicule the Judicial Committee. The laity of England will never allow you to blow hot and cold with regard to the tribunals of the nation. They will not suffer the clergy to regard law, so long as law serves their purpose, and to reject law when it does not.

DRILL HALL.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 4TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

THE CHURCH AND MODERN THOUGHT.

(*a*) THE LIMITS OF AUTHORITY AND FREE THOUGHT.
(*b*) THE HARMONY OF SCIENCE AND FAITH.
(*c*) THE DEPENDENCE OF MORALITY UPON REVELATION.

(*a*) THE LIMITS OF AUTHORITY AND FREE THOUGHT.

PAPER.

The REV. J. LL. ROBERTS, Vicar of Spratton, Northants.

IT will doubtless be within the memory of some present that it was at one time frequently brought as a charge against the Church of England that she was "founded upon compromise." It would have been more just to have described her as wisely recognising the important fact that there are certain great truths in doctrine, and certain great principles in practice, which though impossible it may be theoretically to reconcile, yet must be allowed to co-exist, and practically to blend in our systems of faith and morals.

As examples of such truths in doctrine, it is sufficient to quote those of the Divine fore-knowledge and human responsibility: as instance of such principles in practice, none can serve better than those which form the subject of our present discussion. The just claims of authority, and the right—I would rather say the duty—of Private Judgment. That these claims, necessarily restrictive of each other, should be brought before a Church Congress for consideration, is in itself a fact full of significance. It has not occurred very frequently in the history, either of the world or of the Church, that Authority has invited Free Thought fairly to state its claims: it is no light matter that Free Thought should be called upon to listen to the Voice of Authority, urging in no captious or intolerant spirit its own legitimate right in some measure to limit, and in some instances to regulate the spirit of enquiry. Still, at least within the Church of England, Authority itself not only respects the rights, but enforces the duty of Private Judgment: her appeal is to conscience and to Scripture, and though in her synodical Acts she define and interpret doctrines, yet she is careful to submit her definitions to the same appeal.

On the other hand, Scepticism itself is, on its better side, the enquiry for Truth. Whether Truth, pure and unalloyed, is really attainable by the human intellect, or if attained, could be held in its grasp for a moment, is not the question here. Whilst the desire and the attempt so to reach and so to possess it, is one with which we are bound to

sympathise, yet, in the cause of truth itself, we are equally bound to demand that the search shall be prosecuted under reasonable conditions, and with a due regard to those restrictions which the very nature of the case involves. It is upon these restrictions that I am, by the great courtesy of the President, permitted here to speak; but before doing so, I must be allowed to say one word as to the position from which Authority naturally makes her claim.

Authority is neither a novel nor an artificial principle in human life. It enters necessarily into every department of education. It exerts its influence wherever men resort to the guidance of the specially instructed. Not in religion alone, but in Law, in Medicine, in every Art, and in the schools of Science itself, the voice of Authority is heard. The present, though the heir of all the ages, is still to an important extent the pupil of the past, and must be content to receive its lessons.

It may, however, be said that in Religion the case is altogether different: that a man's faith is so strictly personal that herein he can obey no master. I willingly admit that in the matter of religion there is but one final and absolute Authority, and this is the Authority of God Himself. Were God to speak to anyone of us as He spake to Abraham and the Prophets by the clear sensible impression made upon the soul, distinct and unmistakable as the voice of man to man, that Divine Authority must control alike our will and our intelligence. I must obey its commands, how contrary soever to my will. I must accept its revelations, how superior soever to my intelligence.

Does this then startle you, that I must accept on the Divine Authority that which transcends—apparently contradicts my intellect? Yet as a student I was compelled to assent to the instruction of my teacher, as he taught me of the lines which in infinite space approach ever nearer to a curve with which yet they never coincide: shall I then refuse credit to the Voice of God, if He speak to me of the mysteries of His Being, or declare to me some of the secrets of His Creation? The question then remains, Does Almighty God still speak with Authority to man? I maintain that He does so, both directly and distinctly also.

Three methods of communication I propose to lay before you, and to claim for them Authority in the Free Thought of your intellect. God thus reveals Himself—

1. By conscience, which is His voice within.
2. By Holy Scripture, which is His voice externally to man; and
3. At least to us Christians, by His Church.

This assembly will understand, that in a paper limited as this, I can only state conclusions as clearly and as fairly as may be, without attempting to give the processes of argument by which they are arrived at, or by which in a more lengthy treatise they might be established. Yet it is not by argumentative processes, but by those "religious instincts," which the more thoughtful of sceptics themselves allow, that we arrive at the conviction that in conscience God speaks to man, that it is (to use Butler's words) the Voice of God within. Here, then, is at once a limit to speculation as regard the Atheist, the Pantheist, or the Positivist, under whichever guise the Philosopher presents himself who denies the existence of God. This is no open question for mere speculation to deal with upon simply intellectual grounds, with just so many probabilities for, and so many probabilities against. The Voice of

Conscience, and the Force of the Affections enter irresistibly into the enquiry here; and the Philosopher not only may, but ought to doubt those conclusions of his reason which contradict his moral instincts. Indeed, the Positivist who suppresses or denies as unsuited to human interest, the Being and Authority of God, and that whole spiritual world which is as the luminous shadow round His Throne, does violence to his own position; for denying the possibility of miracle, he ventures on that which is no less than miracle, as he stands on shore by the side of human affections and bids all their passionate motions "Peace, be still. Be content to register phenomena, and to forego God; to forego the soul; to surrender immortality."

I do not stay to prove the Divine Message in Holy Scripture. Speaking in perfect recollection of those qualifying considerations which will occur to minds approaching this subject from different points of view (and omitting to refer to them only because my limits imperatively forbid me), I do not hesitate to assume that Scripture speaks with such Divine Authority to man, that it most legitimately claims the respectful attention of the world outside, and the loyal obedience of Christian men within the Church. Surely that which confessedly has been the source from which mankind have derived their loftiest conception of the Divine Being, and of His relations to His creatures, may demand a hearing from the most sceptical of Philosophers; yet, it would seem as though nothing were so little worthy of their study; and it may, perhaps, explain, whilst it cannot excuse their attitude, that they are profoundly scornful precisely where they are profoundly ignorant.

With *Christian* writers can we hardly imagine this to be the case. Yet, otherwise, how are we to understand the timid and half-hearted shrinking with which some distinguished divines approach the miraculous, seeing that the miraculous is interwoven into the very fabric of Scripture? Christian writers must surely believe in the supernatural. And what is the miraculous but the natural and supernatural in contact? And what, let me ask, is Christianity itself but this? Surely, again, upon such points as the Person and office of Christ, the nature and efficacy of prayer, the reality of atonement, the future judgment and the future life, the statements of Scripture are both clear and binding. Yet one hears the demand that points like these shall be "open questions," treated, it is true, with a certain cold if decorous reserve, instead of being, as in truth they are, the very core and centre of the Church's teaching.

I have been careful to state the claims of Scripture in terms of studious moderation (far, indeed, within those of my own convictions), but I will venture to add one thing more, viz., that the most thoughtful and reflective minds of our age may learn with advantage from those pregnant suggestions of spiritual and metaphysical philosophy which underlie its pages. A high authority has bidden the Christian Church turn to the school of S. Thomas of Aquino. Of S. Thomas I know little, but I imagine that he would not have blushed to philosophize with S. Augustine, whilst S. Augustine certainly gloried to philosophize with St. John and with St. Paul.

It remains that we say a few words as to the claims of the Church of Christ, to influence, at the least, the Free Thought of the world without, and to regulate, and in some respects absolutely to control, the speculations of her own members. Her constitution and her history, that

which, even to the world outside, she *is*, and that which she *has done*, demand at the least a respectful hearing from mankind, whilst that which she declares herself to be, that which her faithful sons believe her to be, the pillar and ground of the Truth, claims for her a loyal and affectionate obedience from her children. With respect to such, her functions are two-fold. She is the witness to fixed and unalterable truths—the truths of that revelation of which she is the depository, and here her authority is absolute. It is her office also to define doctrine, to regulate worship, to guide opinion, and though, in this latter office, the Church of England does not claim infallibility for herself, and repudiates the claim in others, still I have yet to learn that the claim of infallibility is essential to that of authority.

There arises then at once a clear and intelligible distinction between such truths as are of primary rank, and absolutely essential to the Faith, and such as being chiefly of the nature of deductions from the former, are consequently of a secondary character, capable of variation in statement, and therefore admitting of variety of opinion. These last may be intrinsically of very great importance, and very necessary to a right understanding of the Faith. The Church may do wisely carefully to define them, and to invest her definitions with the weight of her synodical authority. But she is scarcely justified in elevating them into terms of Communion, or removing them peremptorily from the arena of discussion. But to the former class belong the fundamental verities distinctly implied in the terms of the Baptismal Covenant, and without which the membership of the Church is not so much as conceivable. They are contained in those creeds which our own Church has accepted from the universal Church, and which she has explicitly re-asserted and incorporated in her formularies. Surely, so far as these doctrines are concerned, every member of the Church, and, in a higher degree, every accredited teacher of the Church, has accepted his position, and surrendered his right of scepticism. What then are we to think of the proposition that the clergy are to be emancipated from all creeds, and discharged from every test and signature? How are we to reconcile with the obligations of their office the demand that the Church shall be satisfied with their consent to read a liturgy, to the terms of which they refuse to be bound? Is not this to substitute a school of philosophy for the Church of God, and to constitute its officers enquirers for theoretical truth rather than divinely commissioned messengers of the Revealed Word?

The verities of the Christian Faith are not sparks struck out from the concussions of human brains, but emanations of the fire of the Holy Spirit. They have their origin not on earth, but from heaven; and with all respect for many useful suggestions which the "Church Reformer" has put forward in minor matters, we utterly refuse to submit Christianity to the heterogeneous voice of so called National assemblies; nor are we enamoured of the harmonies of that delightful concert in which Mr. Voysey shall chant the treble, and Mr. Bradlaugh sound the bass.

The foundations of the Faith are immutable; many details of the superstructure are not so. The very change of language, the shifting of philosophical systems (altering in some cases the terms, in some the very ideas in controversy), the ever changing circumstances of succeeding

ages, point to the necessity of modification from time to time. But such changes of statement or of detail we commit not to the caprice of individual judgment, nor to the whim of so-called National assemblies; but to the synods of the Church, in dependence upon the guidance of that Holy Spirit which is promised to her.

It is to the reconstruction and legitimate action of these her ancient councils, rather than to the enforcement of obsolete laws, that we look for the peace of the Church, and the recovery of her legitimate authority; meanwhile in a condition of things which is evidently provisional only and temporary, this authority must rest largely in those rulers of the Church, whose influence under any circumstances would be so preponderant in her councils. Meanwhile, how great a thing is Thought truly free! The calm modest dignified investigation of Truth! sensible of the responsibility resting upon its labours, conscious of the limits of its powers. Its freedom is in fact but another word for its candour. It is, or it tries to be, free from prejudice, free from passion, free from self, but *not* free from love or duty, whether to God or man. But let it disregard these limits and cast off the modesty that befits all things human; brilliant as Sirius, yet is its ray as cruel and disastrous,

Λαμπρότατος μὲν ὁγ 'ϛστιν, κακὸν δε τό σῆμα τετέυκται.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. J. M. WILSON, Head-Master of Clifton College.

FROM the wording of this question it would seem as if the discussion were intended to be an attempt to determine the limits which bound Free Thought—and from the fact that it is a Church Congress at which it is proposed, the subject would seem to be limited to Religious Free Thought—in other words, that our object is to say to Free Thought, "Thus far shalt thou come, and no further." But I would venture to suggest that this phrase *limit* is based on a fundamentally wrong conception of the question really before us, and we are in much danger of being misled by it, and giving the discussion a wrong turn. It is, of course, a geographical metaphor; but it is an inappropriate metaphor. It conveys a wrong impression of the relation between Authority and Free Thought, and one which may quite vitiate our reasoning upon them. It brings up in our minds the idea of two territories, conterminous, but with disputed boundaries; and we picture the past and future histories of opinion as the records of one territory growing at the expense of another. The age of mediævalism, we say, witnessed the territory of Authority growing at the expense of Free Thought; that of the Reformation, the territory of Free Thought growing at the expense of Authority. The present, we hear on all hands, is an age of "encroachment of Free Thought" on the "time-honoured boundaries of Authority;" or, to use a kindred metaphor, "the advancing tide of scepticism" is swallowing up the fertile land of faith, and we know not where the final barrier will be placed. It is important that we should see how profoundly this metaphor has affected our thoughts on the subject. It is difficult now even to think of the relation of Authority and Free Thought under any other metaphor.

Now, I venture to say that no limits exist either to Free Thought or Authority; that the relation between them is not one of mutual exclusion and encroachment.

It is, perhaps, a commonplace, but it must be repeated, that it is a mistake even to

talk of Free Thought. Thought cannot be free. All thought is conditioned by the past, the product of antecedent thought, the result of influences. The question is not whether Free Thought shall exist, for it certainly cannot exist; but whether there shall be imposed on thought additional and artificial restraints, besides those imposed by the nature of things.

This is very far indeed from being a quibble about words. All thought grows or is evolved out of the past. The question is whether this growth and evolution of thought in certain directions ought to be artificially repressed by authority. At any rate the *onus probandi* lies on those who would repress it. For it is obvious to ask, why should such thought be always suspected of leading men wrong? We train men of acutest minds by the best propædia we can devise to make them truth-loving and courageous. Why then should we say that on certain subjects they must not think, or think with foregone conclusions?

And the question arises, who can repress the growth and evolution of thought? Let us never forget the illustration of Plato's cave. The limit there imposed on Free Thought was imposed by the men who remained in the cave with their backs to the light, contemplating the shadows of passing objects—imposed on the one man who had unfettered himself and had gone up to the upper air, and seen the realities themselves. In all our discussion let us remember that we may be "cave-men."

Nor can it be said that it is not we who impose a limit on human thought, and that the limit exists independently of our will. For where and what is the limit? It is not a man. The first so called Freethinkers, whose spiritual descendants we are, the Protestants, got rid of the Pope at any rate.

It is not the Church. The Church—any Church—has, of course, power to impose on itself, on its teachers and its members, a test and a creed. It "has Authority in matters of faith." But to suppose that this is the same thing as to define the limits of thought to the world, to embrace all truth, and exclude all errors, is to confuse eternal verities with that imperfect vision and expression of them which it is given to any one age or race to obtain. There must be many who accept such tests and authority, not as absolute and final, but as demanding all respect, as containing much truth, and as helping to the acquisition of more.

Nor is the limit to be assumed to be a book, still less a particular interpretation of a book, without the free and continual examination of the book. We all want to know the truth about the book; no ones desires anything else; but the world can never be persuaded that the truth can have been attained if examination is barred. There is an enormous gain in thus desiring, and not precluding, discussion and research. A man can then breathe freely. When we clergy can stand up like other men and say, "I believe this because it holds its ground in face of free investigation in which we have played a fair part; because it is historically true, or historically probable;" when we use words in the same sense that other people do, we shall be infinitely stronger. But to do this we must differentiate our evidence. We must venture to say out loud, and not with bated breath, I believe in the Resurrection of Christ, because it seems to rest on sufficient historical evidence to prove even so great a miracle, while there are articles in our current belief which are speculative and rest on less evidence, but which I do not necessarily think untrue.

There is, then, no artificial limit, no limit other than the limitation of our faculties and the law of continuity of human thought, that can be imposed on the mind of man;

whatever tests or creeds a Church may from time to time think best to impose on itself: tests and creeds which must be, as they have been, from time to time interpreted and revised by its supreme authority, and as we trust under God's guidance, so as to bring them into accordance with progressive knowledge. Nor again is there any limit to authority. Heredity, education, the weight given instinctively to established beliefs, the vast momentum of long standing habits and institutions, give to the past an influence on the present which secures continuity amid change, and make progress steady. In other words, there exists a natural authority, subtle, boundless, far stronger than any artificial authority, and resented by none. We are held by the past, not to our harm, but our good; nursed by it, trained by it, for growth and for the right use of freedom.

The relation then between Authority and Free Thought is not that of rival forces occupying conterminous territories; but may be compared to that of the forces in a living organism which determine growth, but limit the rate of growth; they are not antagonistic; they are essentially the same. One is the force regarded as securing growth; the other the same force as securing continuity. Individuals will incline to one or the other according to bias and early influences, and thus co-operate to the great end—continuity in growth.

Our true reply to free thinkers is, that according to our ability we are free thinkers too. If they point out prejudices, errors, one-sidedness in us, let us be thankful. Perhaps they, too, have something to learn. But their methods must be our methods, when we deal *in pari materiâ*, in history and criticism. Every assertion about objective facts must be capable of verification and proof.

Besides these facts of history and criticism, there are, as we must point out to them, other facts which cannot be traced to their ultimate origin; the result of the evolution of human nature under the influence, as we believe, of God's Holy Spirit; the facts of conscience and consciousness, of hope and aspirations and worship, spiritual facts, which have no verification but themselves. With these lies most of our concern. They contain the germ of the spiritual life and progress of every man, the inner life which Christian teaching fosters and trains till it is supreme. These facts lie in a region equally beyond Authority and Free Thought.

It may be further remarked, that when we once accept this relation between Free Thought and Authority, and regard them as the manifestation of one quasi-vital force, we shall see that the weight to be assigned to a great consensus of opinion in the past depends on the subject. In objective fact it is *nil*. All the world having thought that the earth was flat, is inadmissible, even as an argument that it is so. All the world having held a view on the antiquity of man, or on spontaneous generation, has no weight in deciding the question whether the fact is thus or thus. In criticism the weight is very small. The question of the antiquity of the Levitical legislation we all feel must be decided, not by quoting authorities, but by an examination of the evidence. In theology, as a speculative science, it is far higher, for the genius of the great theologians of the past seems to have deserted the present. In ethics, it is highest of all; because the axioms of ethics, honesty, justice, patriotism, filial obedience, monogamy, purity, rest on such an enormous mass of observed facts and experience in human nature. In these subjects it is so high that we are right in treating Free Thought, or rather its consequence, free action, as a crime.

Lastly, as the rate of growth of opinion and knowledge in a nation is dependent on the aggregate of human wills and judgments, it becomes an individual duty to exercise

that judgment and will. It may be in the highest interest of a nation at one time to do our best to repress growth and emphasise continuity with the past; at another to demand that repression shall be removed, and that growth shall be more rapid. At this point the discussion of principles passes into practical application; but the principles themselves cannot vary.

On the extremes on both sides, as is usual, are the ignorant and the bigoted. Between the two are those, who, claiming absolute freedom to think on all subjects, yet attach great weight to any belief, any custom, any institution, which has proved its value, as our Church has done, by its profound and lofty influence on man, has stood the test of time, is polished by the friction of ages, and fitted to man's use—a Church which we may say with all reverence and humility, seems to have God's blessing on it, and that in increasing measure. These are the men who endeavour humbly to carry out the Apostolic injunction to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." In these words lies the true relation of Free Thought and Authority.

WALTER R. BROWNE, Esq.

THE question before us is one of which all are bound to admit the importance and the interest. Nevertheless, I am not aware of any modern work which treats it in a formal and systematic manner. It would seem to be felt by all parties alike—the friends as well as the foes of religion—to be so delicate and so difficult, that it is safest to leave it on one side. As a natural consequence, the greatest confusion of thought prevails concerning it. Of this the very title here given to it is an example. In saying this, I do not wish for a moment to reflect upon those who selected that title. They were quite right in using for a popular question a popular designation. But in speaking of the Limits of Authority and Free Thought, must we not regard Authority and Free Thought as if they were two independent and presumably hostile realms, between which some "scientific frontier" was somehow to be drawn? Now, a moment's reflection shows that, so far from this being the case, the two do not even lie within the same category. Authority, which we may define as the recorded opinions of eminent men, is merely one branch of evidence, to be used in deciding a question. Free thought is the instrument by which, taking into account that and all other branches of evidence, the question is finally decided. To use such language, therefore, is about as correct as it would be for a jurist, in discussing criminal law, to speak of the limits between circumstantial evidence and the opinion of the jury. Further, the use of the epithet free, as applied to thought in this connection, is quite unwarranted. Nothing can be more groundless, at least in the present age, than the claim which sceptics are always setting forth to be the only freethinkers. The sole aim of believers and unbelievers alike is to discover and maintain the truth in matters of theology. If I concede this to my opponent, I demand of him that he shall concede it to me. The difference is that, in my opinion, the truth lies where the great weight of authority, in all ages of Christendom, has pronounced it to lie; in his opinion it lies elsewhere. But in ranging itself under the banners of authority, my thought is as absolutely free and unfettered as his when it passes to the opposite camp. Surely the soldier who draws his sword for his king is no less free than the rebel who fights to dethrone him.

I have dwelt on this matter of phraseology, first, because popular phrases are of no small moment in the settlement of popular questions; and secondly, because we have here, in a nutshell, the principle which, as it seems to me, will guide us aright through this thorny subject. The principle has two clauses or divisions, and may be expressed as follows:—

(1.) Authority, taken as a branch of evidence, is of the very highest importance and value.

(2.) Authority, being a branch of evidence, has no paramount right to override and nullify other branches.

If I succeed in bringing home to your minds this principle in its twofold aspect, I shall have done perhaps as much as I can expect within the limits of time allotted me.

On the first clause of the principle—that authority, as a branch of evidence, is of the highest value—I should not need to dwell for a moment, were it not that to a large and possibly an increasing number of minds the mere fact that authority lends its weight to one side of a question would seem enough to decide them on throwing their weight into the opposite scale. They are generally young, these gentlemen—young in culture and experience at least, if not in years; and it is intolerable to them that they, with their scientific education, should be expected to believe the same doctrines that satisfied their own fathers and grandfathers. It is, I suppose, our duty to speak charitably of such folly, as of all follies; but I cannot forbear saying—being not yet old enough to have my words set down to the mere prejudice of age—that I find it difficult to express, within the limits which the decencies of speech enjoin, the depth and the thoroughness of my contempt for this juvenile fashion of conceit. It is a well-known saying that a dwarf on the shoulders of a giant may see farther than the giant; and because we, dwarfs and children that we are, have had the luck to find broad shoulders of older giants whereon to climb, and have so brought our eyeglasses to bear on the distant horizon, therefore, forsooth, we are to call their sight dim, and their strength puny, and their brains of no account compared with ours. Because Newton, wielding the weapons which none of this degenerate day can lift, broke open the treasure house of nature, and gave its spoils to be rifled by succeeding generations at their ease, therefore we make bold to say that Newton after all knew but little, and that what he thought and believed may be dismissed with a shrug.

But from this theme I must perforce turn away. I will only ask these young friends of ours——but that is useless: I will ask *you* to perpend one or two simple questions, which contain all that seems needed on this branch of my subject.

1. On what ground do you hold any opinion, the evidence for which you have not been able fully to investigate for yourself, if not on the ground that the evidence has been investigated and pronounced decisive by some other competent person or persons—in other words, on the ground of authority?

2. What proportion do the opinions on general questions which you hold on the basis of your own personal investigation bear to those which you hold, and on which you would be prepared to act, merely because they have been investigated by others? Is the ratio 1 to 100? Is it 1 to 1,000? Is it 1 to 10,000?

3. Even taking one out of that small, that very small, number of opinions which you can conscientiously affirm yourself to hold on personal investigation, would you be prepared to maintain it if you found that all the other men in the world, who were also original investigators of the subject, had come to the opposite conclusion? I am

aware that this is not impossible. There are men always ready to argue that the earth is flat, or that the moon does not turn on her axis; but their reputation is not such as to make it probable that any of my hearers would wish to join their number. If, then, your answer to this last question is in the negative, and if you have failed to find any escape from the two former, what follows? Simply this. You have admitted two things—first, that by far the larger part of your general opinions you hold on the evidence of authority, and of authority alone; and secondly, that even the insignificant remainder you hold, as it were, by the leave of authority, inasmuch as a sufficient weight of testimony on the other side would cause you to abandon your conclusion.

I have perhaps said enough; but if any one present clings yet, with a sort of paternal fondness, to those few theses for which he can feel himself to be his own authority, I would ask him in all friendliness to consider whether he has made sufficient allowance for the infinite capacities of mistake which lie within him. In childhood we get some fair idea of our powers in this respect, when grappling with the first four rules of arithmetic, and confronted with the grim necessity of making our sums come right. But the young iconoclast I have alluded to is apt to think that he outgrew this, with all other childish imperfections, several years ago; and it may easily happen (especially with the more modern systems of education) that he may never afterwards have his conclusions and opinions tried by any so rude a test. For this purpose I would earnestly advise any intelligent youth, who designs setting up as a philosopher, to attempt at least one original research in some department of knowledge where his results may be brought to a practical test, by himself or by others. His experience in the jungle of tenfold-complicated error, through which he will make his way (if he ever does make it) to a true result, cannot but be of lasting value to him.

I must hurry on to the second clause of my thesis—that authority, being only a branch of evidence, has no paramount right to override other branches. Although this is a statement which some at least of those before me may be disinclined to accept, yet very few words will be needed, I trust, to make it clear. I may ask, in the first place, whether the utmost conceivable weight of authority would cause you to believe that you were not seeing or hearing or feeling something which your senses pronounced you did see, hear, or feel. Such a folly, like so many other follies, lies transfixed for ever by the keen shafts of Molière. We must all remember the immortal cordwainer, who bears down M. Jourdain by the weight of his authority, and who rebukes the worthy citizen's presumption for asserting that his shoe pinches him, when a deacon and master of the craft assures him that it does not. It may, perhaps, be objected that these are particular cases, and hitherto I have spoken of general opinions only. I will therefore take another class of judgments—those, namely, of morality—and will ask again whether any weight of authority could persuade you that it is right to be a coward, a liar, or a thief? Does not even the heathen poet—no rigid moralist either—rise to his greatest height and command our fullest sympathy, in praising the man, righteous and unswerving, whom neither the fury of a depraved mob, nor the frown of the despot, nor the tumult of the elements, nor the thunder-wielding power of great Jove himself, can stir from the fixed foundation of his will? Every such passage, every such feeling is an undeniable witness that there is an evidence beyond authority, and therefore that not merely the voice of the people, but even the voice of the wise and the prudent, may not everywhere and always be the voice of God.

Another argument, if such be needed, against the unconditional surrender to

authority, lies in the necessary use, in all but the simplest cases, of some other principle, to decide where the balance of authority really lies. It is true that as regards the form of the earth the amount of authority in favour of its flatness may, in mathematical language, be safely neglected. But, to take an instance of more moment, the Romanist who would crush opposition by the fundamental principle of the authority of an infallible Church, must admit that there have been able men, and even good men, to whom that fundamental principle seemed the grossest of errors. In other words, the authority for his authority is not perfect; great names are to be cited against his fundamental principle as well as on its behalf; and, will he, nill he, the convert must needs exercise some other faculty beyond that of deference to authority, in order to decide upon the particular authority to which he shall defer.

If authority, then, is but a branch of evidence, though a most important branch, how are we to adjust its claims with those of the original and personal investigation which is shadowed forth, or ought to be shadowed forth, under the illusive title of Free Thought? The question is a fair one, but its answer cannot be a matter of minutes. It is, in fact, a part, and a large part, of that great science of evidence which ought to exist, but, to the shame of mankind, does not exist as yet. I will only here suggest two very homely and practical rules, one on either side of the question. To the stickler for authority I would say, "Take care that your authority is sound;" to the disciple of progress and original research, "Take care that your investigation is correct." Each of them will find, if he will condescend to follow such simple advice, that, whatever be the subject in debate, he has enough to occupy him for a long time to come; and at the end of that time (if he have in him any spark of humility and any capacity for improvement) will be much less stiff in his own opinions than he was at the outset. Nay, it is even possible that a reaction may ensue in both cases. The admirer of the nineteenth century may get to doubt, not only the infallibility of himself and his favourite science teacher, but, saddened by multiplied mistakes, even the foundations of science itself; while the adherent of the past, seeing how bitterly good men have striven, and how widely and deeply wise men have differed, may begin to fear lest authority be after all a delusion and a snare. It is here, however, that to both alike, comfort and assurance may come from the study of the history of human thought. Thence we may learn on the one hand that truth is hidden, but not lost, in the mazes of error; on the other hand that, wide and deep as have been the differences among even the wise and true—the real authorities of mankind,—yet far more deeply founded, far more widely spread, have been the eternal principles on which they were agreed.

It is here that above all those who form an assembly such as this may find a sure refuge in time of need. For to us confessedly, as to all men really, the question of questions—the problem before which all other problems dwindle into pastimes—is the truth or the falsehood of Christianity. And we know, every one here must know, that the battle is being fought to-day, not over small points of doctrine, or smaller of ritual, but over the very bases and foundations of the faith. When such things as these are being dragged hither and thither in the heat of the conflict, it is no wonder if men's hearts are apt to fail them. I suppose that to all of us come moments—even to the young worshipper of the nineteenth century they may perhaps come at times—when we doubt our own powers to solve, whether with or without the aid of authority, all the problems of the universe; when those problems seem rather to press around us,

like a host of beautiful mocking sphinxes, whose riddles we despair of reading, though we know that to fail is death. At such times may it not help us, if we listen to the voices of the mighty dead? if we remember the great fact that of those whose names are the very highest and very brightest in the roll of genius, however widely they differed in their times, in their lives, in their thoughts, in their creeds, yet almost without exception they were at one in this, that they trusted, however dimly, in a living God, and looked, however vaguely, for a world to come? Will any man dare to think scorn of this cloud of witnesses? If the forest we travel in be full of tracks and mazes, that cross and recross each other at random, surely all the more is it likely that the straight path, worn hard by the feet of countless forerunners, is the path that will lead us aright. It may not be so: I at least am willing to face that possibility and to accept it. It may be that the hope within the veil is but a painted anchor; that the faith I shall die in is a dream. But at least, if I am therein deceived, I am deceived with David and Isaiah; with Æschylus, and Sophocles, and Socrates, and Plato; with Cicero, and Virgil, and Juvenal; with St. Paul and St. John; with Augustine, and Athanasius, and Boniface; with Dante, and Petrarch, and Michel Angelo, and Leonardo, and Raffaelle; with Shakespeare, and Bacon, and Raleigh, and Spenser, and Hooker, and Milton; with Copernicus, and Galileo, and Kepler, and Newton; with Descartes, and Bossuet, and Butler; with Pascal, and Kant; with Schiller, and Burns, and Wordsworth, and Scott; with Pitt, and Wilberforce, and Howard, and Clarkson, and Fry; with Herschel, and Brewster, and Whewell, and Faraday, and Kingsley, and Maxwell; and I am deceived, like them, in following too far the impulses of what is best and highest in my own being; in building too much on the beauty and beneficence of nature, and in thinking too nobly of God. In such company and in such fashion I might almost be content to err, even if, to such a cipher as I should then prove to be, truth, error, or anything else could retain a moment's interest.

(*b*) The Harmony of Science and Faith.

PAPER.

Professor G. G. Stokes, M.A., F.R.S.

To those who believe that the order of nature is in accordance with the will of a Supreme Being, it must be axiomatic that there can be no real opposition between what we learn from the study of nature and what we may be taught by a direct revelation from that Being. We cannot suppose otherwise without impugning the truthfulness of God. Any apparent opposition must, therefore, arise from some deficiency in the student of science, or in the student of revelation, or in both.

There are two ways in which it might be imagined that the pursuit of science might be injurious to religion, either by its leading, or being supposed to lead, to conclusions at variance with what is, or is supposed to be, the teaching of revelation, or by its fostering a tone of mind hostile to the cultivation of religious feeling.

The subject matters of revelation and of science are so different that the cases in which there could be any room for an apparent conflict of conclusions are comparatively rare, touching only the outer borders. They may arise from mistakes on either side respecting the evidence on

which the supposed conclusions are based. The man of science may over-estimate the evidence on which his supposed conclusion is founded, and may regard some ingenious working hypothesis with the confidence due only to a well-established theory. The student of revelation may forget how much the working of his own mind is involved in the deduction of conclusions from the materials before him, and may accordingly transfer to that which is human, and as such liable to error, the reverence which he feels to be due to all that comes from the Author of that revelation.

Let me refer to an example or two. The opposition to the Copernican System, on the ground of its supposed contradiction of a passage in the Book of Psalms, belongs to times long gone by. But it is well within the memory of the present generation how geologists were looked on as semi-infidels, because, resting on the clear evidence which their science afforded of the antiquity of the earth, and of the succession of animal life upon it, they ventured to call in question the correctness of an opinion that the earth was created and furnished, or at least brought into its present condition from a previous state of chaos, in six literal days of 24 hours, and that to disbelieve this was tantamount to rejecting revelation altogether. The progress of knowledge has pretty well dispelled this notion as well as the other, and I doubt if any theologians at the present day think that the cause of religion has suffered in consequence.

Let me turn now to the other side. A subject which is exciting a great deal of interest at the present day is what is called evolution. Some think that we must make our choice between evolution and revelation; others think that there is no inconsistency between the two.

Suppose that we are in a lead mine, and contemplate the crystals of galena, fluor spar, etc., with which the cavities in the mine are lined. The question may occur to our minds, How came they there? Were they created as they stand, or did they grow by natural laws out of a previous condition in which they were not there? A person who knew absolutely nothing of natural science might perhaps say that they were created. But one who was better informed would know that crystallization is a process going on constantly in the chemical laboratory, and in some cases observed to be taking place in nature, even at the present day, without any intervention on the part of man; that several of the natural crystallized minerals have now been formed artificially; and that there is good reason for thinking that the earth was in former ages in a very different condition, a condition in which the presence of water combined with a high temperature was eminently favourable to crystallizations which can hardly now take place. A person such as I have now supposed would naturally attribute the presence of the crystals in the cavities of the mine to the ordinary processes of crystallization; he would look on the present state of things as something *evolved*, under the operation of the ordinary physical laws, out of a prior state that was different.

Let us turn now to another example, in part imaginary. Suppose that we knew nothing of the earth and planets, except their motions in accordance with the law of gravitation, and nothing of the nebulæ, and did not know that the solar radiation involves an expenditure of energy which has in some way to be accounted for. The motions of the bodies of the solar system can be calculated years beforehand, as is done in the Nautical Almanac Office, and in the same way their places years ago can

be inferred from their present known orbits. In the supposed state of our knowledge, there would be nothing to indicate that they might not continue their motions for ever in the same way, or that the present state grew out of a previous state which was different. If the question were asked, How came they to be as they are? one man might answer, They were always so; another, They were created as they stand. Of course it would remain possible that the present state *might* have grown out of a previous different state merely in accordance with existing physical laws, but there would be nothing (under the supposed limitation of our knowledge) to justify us in assuming that it *did*. And if a further accession to our knowledge precluded, as it does preclude, the supposition that the planets have been always just as they are, the other two alternatives remain, that they were created as they stand, or that they grew into their present condition by the operation of physical laws out of a previous different state. If there were no indications of growth out of a different state we should not be justified in assuming that it was thus that they came into their present condition, though of course neither could we assume the contrary. On the supposition that they grew, the question, What was that previous state? and, How grew they out of it? is one belonging to the province of science, whether science can or cannot find a satisfactory answer; on the other supposition, the question is one with which science has nothing to do, as it lies wholly outside its domain. The point I want to insist on is, that *unless* we see indications of growth from a previous different state, we have no right to assume that the question belongs to the domain of science at all, or to reject the alternative supposition.

These examples, taken from the physical division of natural science, were intended to lead on to the consideration of certain questions arising in the other, the biological, branch which have of late years excited a great deal of attention, and with which from a theological point of view we are more nearly concerned.

Naturalists recognise an enormous number of so-called species of plants and animals. It is true that the distinction between a species and a mere variety is often doubtful; for though species admits of a theoretical definition, the working out of that definition experimentally involves so much time and patience that practically we are left to reason by analogy of what we do happen to know in similar cases. Where some general resemblance is combined with differences greater than such as our experience warrants us in attributing to mere breed, we are obliged to regard the individuals as belonging to different species; but inasmuch as this is a conclusion depending on lack of evidence to the contrary, and the evidence we have is far short of that which it is conceivably possible to obtain, it is clear that the tendency must be towards the multiplication of species. But with every allowance for such multiplication, it is evident that the number of species will still be enormously great. And large as is this number already, it is very greatly increased when we include the plants and animals of past ages which, or more probably only a portion of which, are preserved to us in a fossilized state.

The question then naturally arises, How came this great number of species to be as they are? Are we obliged to suppose that each member of this vast array originated in an isolated and independent creative

act; or may we regard the observed condition as naturally evolved under the operation of laws either known, or conceivably open to scientific investigation, from some preceding condition of a simpler character?

There is nothing at all atheistic in proposing the latter question, or in answering it in the affirmative in case we should find reasonable scientific evidence in favour of an affirmative answer. It is a different thing altogether to assume *a priori*, independently of any evidence, that such *must* have been the case. For if this were allowable, had we a right to assume that the present condition A *must* have grown naturally out of a different preceding condition B, then by parity of reasoning we should have a right to assume that the condition B grew naturally out of a different preceding condition C, and so on indefinitely. This comes to removing God to an infinite distance, and that again comes practically to much the same thing as denying His existence altogether. At least it comes to this, *unless* we regard those laws, such as the law of gravitation and so forth, as by themselves alone evidence of a presiding mind, of whose will they are the expression; but this is a point of view hardly, I think, attainable by the uneducated, and even as regards the educated, calculated to strike different persons differently, according to their various mental complexions.

To him who believes in a God, it is conceivable that the end He designs to accomplish might be brought about by an immediate *fiat* of His will, in a manner wholly beyond our conception, or that contrivances might be employed adapting means to an end, and ordered in accordance with laws open to our investigation. It needs but little acquaintance with the phenomena of nature to perceive that beneficent ends are constantly brought about through the operation of simple laws open to our investigation. To take a single example, regard the structure of the eye. The wonderful sense of sight in its integrity involves mysteries which we cannot fathom; but this much is clear, that it depends in some way on the formation of distinct images on the retina. Now, how is this effected? Why, there is an elaborate organ provided which refracts the rays of light so as to form images according to the very same principles as operate in the formation of images in the focus of a telescope constructed by the practical optician. Seeing then that useful ends are brought about by means, we should expect *a priori* that as the wisdom of the designing Mind must be immeasurably above our own, so contrivance should, as a rule, extend far beyond what we can trace. We should expect, therefore, *on purely theistic grounds*, that the doctrine of evolution, assumed for trial, would be a useful and ordinarily trustworthy guide in our scientific researches; that it might often enable us to go back one step, and explain how such or such a result was brought about by natural laws from such or such an anterior condition, and so might lead us to extend our knowledge of the operation of natural causes. But this is a very different thing from assuming it as an axiom, the application of which may be extended step by step indefinitely backwards.

The only theory, so far as I am aware, in which an attempt is made to refer the phenomenon to known natural causes is that famous one with which the name of the eminent naturalist who has but recently departed from among us is inseparably connected. The theory of ancestral derivation and the survival of the fittest is one which from its nature can hardly, if at all, be made a subject of experimental investigation, or even

of observation in the records of the past. So far as it may be accepted, it must rest mainly on the estimate which may be formed of its own inherent probability; though, doubtless, an underlying feeling that the phenomenon must in some way be explicable by natural causes has contributed not a little towards its propagation.

The theory, I need hardly say, is highly ingenious; but any variation which we can actually observe goes but an infinitesimal way towards the bridging over of the interval which separates extreme forms, such, for example, as an elephant and a mollusc. Indeed, Darwin himself, as I am informed, was of opinion at first, that we required at least four or five distinct centres to start with. The theory has been accepted by many eminent biologists with a readiness that is puzzling to an outsider, especially one accustomed to the severe demands for evidence that are required in the physical sciences. I think a large number of scientific men would admit that it is very far indeed from being admissible to the rank of a well established theory, however ingenious as a hypothesis; true possibly as accounting for permanent or sub-permanent differences between allied forms, but not conceivably bridging over the great gulph which separates remote forms of life.

As to the origin of life itself, it was not intended on this theory to account for it, and the experimental researches of our foremost scientific men are adverse to the supposition of its production by spontaneous generation. Granting the origin of life by a creative act, we are not very closely concerned, theologically speaking, with the mode of creation. The Scriptural account of the creation seems, indeed, to imply successive creative acts; and the supposition that there were such relieves us of certain scientific difficulties, by placing those difficulties outside the domain of science, and falls in with what we are taught to expect in the future. But there is one point in which I think theology is more deeply involved, and respecting which it becomes a serious question whether there is any real scientific evidence in opposition to what seems at least to be the teaching of revelation; I allude to the creation of man. In the account of the creation it is distinctly stated that man was separately created, "in the image of God," whatever that may imply. Nor is this a point in which by a wide licence of interpretation we might say the language was merely figurative; that we can afford to understand it so, for that Scripture was not given to teach us science. Our whole ideas respecting the nature of sin and the character of God, are, as it seems to me, profoundly affected according as we take the statement of Scripture straightforwardly, which implies that man was created with special powers and privileges, and in a state of innocence, from which he fell, or, as we suppose, that man came to be what he is by degrees, by a vast number of infinitesimal variations from some lower order of animal, accompanied by a correspondingly continuous variation in his mental and moral condition. On this latter supposition, God is made to be responsible for his present moral condition, which is but the natural outgrowth of the mode of his creation. As regards the lower animals, little change would apparently be made, from a theological point of view, if we were to interpret as figurative the language which seems to assert a succession of creative acts. But the creation of man and his condition at creation are not confined to the account given in Genesis; they are dwelt on at length, in connexion with the scheme of

redemption, by St. Paul, and are more briefly referred to by our Lord Himself, in connexion with the institution of marriage.

Now against these statements so express, so closely bound up with man's highest aspirations, what evidence have we to adduce on the side of Science? Why, nothing more than a hypothesis of continuous transmutation, incapable of experimental investigation, and making such demands upon our imagination as to stagger at least the uninitiated.

If an undue literalism of interpretation on the theological side created apparent opposition between science and faith, in respect to the Copernican System, and to the antiquity of the earth and of life upon it, I cannot help thinking that here apparent opposition arises from the erection, on the other side, of a scientific hypothesis into the rank of an established theory.

Some have endeavoured to combine the statements of Scripture with a modified hypothesis of continuous transmutation, by supposing that at a certain epoch in the world's history, mental and moral powers were conferred by divine interposition on some animal that had been gradually modified in its bodily structure by natural causes till it took the form of man. As special interposition and special creation are here recognised, I do not see that religion has anything to lose by the adoption of this hypothesis; but neither do I see that science has anything to gain. Once admit special divine interposition, and science has come to the end of her tether. Those who find the idea helpful can adopt it; but for my own part this combination of the natural and the supernatural seems somewhat grotesque, * and I prefer resting in the statement of a special creation, without prying into its method.

But some may be apprehensive that though the claims of revealed religion and of science upon our acceptance hardly touch one another at all, and if ever they do, are when properly understood in no wise in conflict, yet the habit of mind which the pursuit of science fosters may be hostile to the acceptance of revealed religion.

Now it is perfectly true that a too exclusive devotion of the mind to one subject has a tendency to dwarf such of its powers as are not called into exercise. But to object to the study of science on that ground would be like objecting to honest industry on the ground that the inordinate pursuit of riches absorbs the mind to the exclusion of better things.

But is there nothing in the study of science which may have a not merely innocuous but even beneficial influence in religious matters? I think there is, in more ways than one, but time would not permit of my referring to more than one. In the study of the phenomena of nature, there is one quality which is pre-eminently called into exercise, and that is truthfulness. The investigator who wishes to be successful must be on his guard against prejudice, and hold his mind ready to receive fresh indications of truths hitherto unperceived. And is not this what should be our attitude as regards Divine truth? New light will break in upon us from to time if we seek after truth, and keep our minds honestly

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* Of course it is not to the combination in itself that this is meant to apply, but to the combination in our attempted reasoning; in other words, to the endeavour to infer from merely natural laws what was the condition anterior to the stage at which a supernatural power is supposed to have intervened.

open to its reception. This requires patience and effort; and there is sometimes a temptation to take a short cut to truth by throwing one's self into the arms of some party or school of thought, instead of borrowing from all alike that which to the honest seeker after truth appears to be good and sound, and rejecting that which appears to be false, thus proving all things, and holding fast that which is good. This honesty of mind, which leads to the recognition of that which is good in all parties, and to the avoidance of party spirit, is, I believe, fostered by scientific study.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

MANY of you are aware that we had hoped to have had present with us to-day the distinguished and well-known physician, Dr. Andrew Clark. He writes to me that nothing but the absolute impossibility of escaping from professional engagements would have prevented his coming at my request to take part in this discussion. But in communicating this, he adds—and I think you will excuse me if I read the few sentences of his letter :—"I take advantage of this hurried note to express the hope that in dealing with the relations of science and religion some one will point out what I have not myself seen pointed out—(1) that there is nothing absolute in the whole objective world; no absolute standard of mass, quality, or duration; that the knowledge of an absolute primitive weight of atoms is impossible, and that what we call the ordinary weight of a body is not a thing of itself alone, but a product of the body by which it is attracted, the distance between them, and the disturbances occasioned by other invisible but active forces; (2) that the assumption constituting the fundamental axiom of modern physics, that all true explanations of natural phenomena are mechanical, is incompatible with demonstrable facts; (3) that the progress of chemistry is becoming more and more irreconcileable with the theory of the atomatic constitution of matter; (4) that there is no law of physics, not even the law of gravitation, without great and growing exceptions, and no theory of physical phenomena, not even the undulating theory of light, which is not now becoming more and more inadequate to explain the facts discovered within its area of comprehension; (5) and that, therefore, the boasted accuracy and permanency of so-called physical laws and theories is unfounded; that very probably the greater part of the so-called axioms of modern physics will be swept away as untenable; that theories of natural phenomena, apparently the most comprehensive and conclusive, are merely provisional; that at present finality in this region is neither visible, attainable, nor clearly conceivable, and that after all there may be methods of spiritual verification which, within their condition, scope, and use may compare not unfavourably with the methods so confidently depended upon in physical research." Whether or not you may agree with these conclusions, I am sure you will at least be glad to have heard them, suggesting as they do topics for some of the speakers who follow, and that they may be dealt with according to the views entertained by those speakers. I can only add my expression of great regret that Dr. Clark is not here to elaborate those matters which he has so briefly sketched out in the words I have read to you. I had almost forgotten to notice the alterations in the arrangements, which I hope you will ratify. In the absence of Dr. Clark I found that our good friend, the Bishop of Bedford, was willing, at a very short notice, to supply his place. He is ready now, and with your permission will read his paper.

ADDRESS.

The Lord BISHOP of BEDFORD.

LET me say at the outset that I address myself to those who believe in a personal God, and whose idea of a God is of a Being of boundless wisdom and power, who created all things. I want to try to answer those who say, "The more we know of

the universe, the more we become convinced that God has established a vast system of laws governing all things, which laws we find to be so absolutely unvarying and certain in their operation that we cannot conceive of their violation; and since prayer—or, at least, some prayer—asks for things which imply a violation of these laws, therefore we think it foolish to ask such things, or to expect God to grant them."

Now, as to the fact about laws. It is true that the more we know of the universe the more we are amazed at the vastness and unchangeableness of the great natural laws which unfold themselves to us. I suppose the great advance of science in modern times is chiefly to be registered by the discovery of such laws, and of the wonderful way in which they are linked together. I am not at all afraid of magnifying the grandeur of this system of law. To my mind the doing so is only the magnifying of the grandeur of the Creator's conception. Let me give an example. When the true notion of the solar system, as a band of globes revolving round the sun, was once established by the Polish astronomer, Copernicus, there still remained a number of strange irregularities and diversities in the system, which could be explained on no principle, and appeared to own no law. The orbits of the planets were out of the circle they were supposed to follow; their motion was unequal in different parts of their orbits; their distances from each other and from the sun seemed to be ordered by no rule; their periods of revolution differed in a manner that seemed quite arbitrary. It was a wonderful work of God, but for a large number of its phenomena no reason could be given but that so God made it. But there arose at the beginning of the seventeenth century, one, the loftiness and grasp and force of whose genius has rarely been equalled, perhaps never excelled. The great Kepler, convinced that the solar system was no result of arbitrary arrangement, but one perfectly harmonious whole, obeying great general laws, if only these could be ascertained, bent his whole energies upon the working out of these great laws, and, after infinite labour and patience guided by the rarest genius, succeeded in discovering the hidden and complex, but absolutely complete and harmonious, laws which govern the movements, distances, and periods of the heavenly bodies. Here was one of the triumphs of law, and, as I hold, a new display of the Creator's wisdom and power. There is nothing uncertain, nothing irregular, in this marvellous solar system. It is all one exquisitely adjusted and perfectly regulated machine. And Kepler's three great laws have been the basis of all astronomical science since his time. In the same way a vast stride in the triumphal march of law was made when Sir Isaac Newton thought out and demonstrated the great law of gravitation, thus gathering at once under the control of one great law a multitude of scattered phenomena. Let it suffice to say that the task of science is continually to extend the domain of law, continually to lessen the region of phenomena which are as as yet unclassed and unclaimed by this advancing conqueror. I might point out that even in branches of scientific study in which it is less easy to trace the links binding together cause and effect, and in which there appears to be far more of freedom and diversity, as in what is popularly called natural history, or in geology, law is continually asserting itself, continually extending its sway and multiplying its subjects.

This being so, it is plain that students of nature would be tempted to believe in the universal supremacy of law. No one can see the phenomena of nature constantly submitting to be arranged and classified under general laws without being persuaded that this process cannot stop, and that numberless other phenomena will, as time goes

on, be proved to be no less governed by such general laws. And then, going a step farther, it is not unnatural for those who, in their study of nature, have conceived a deep veneration for the grandeur and sovereignty of law, to suspect that *all things* will in the end be found to own this sovereignty, no class or region of facts escaping from its masterful sway. And so we find the champions of law invading even the sphere of morals, and endeavouring to enslave even the phenomena of human motive and action to the same relentless tyranny. Of course, if this is true, and law is to reign supreme in *all things*, we are landed in sheer fatalism and necessity, and not only is there no room for prayer and answers to prayer, but there is absolutely no room for religion, for moral responsibility, for right or wrong. Against such a result we all of us instinctively rebel. And permit me to say that this instinctive rebellion is no bad argument. We may not be able to explain why or how we arrive at the conclusion; but if we feel absolutely sure in ourselves that we are free agents and responsible beings, this conviction may be an ultimate fact of enormous weight in the opposite scale. Tell me all my thoughts, motives, resolutions, actions could be reduced to results of complex laws, if only such laws could be brought to light, and I still answer, "I am free, and I am responsible; and to deny this is so contrary to my elementary sense of my own being that it is absurd and incredible."

But I have been magnifying the power and range of law. Its power is evermore unfolding itself; its range is evermore extending itself. And now I would approach the question which is perplexing many minds. It is this—Does not the unswerving regularity of the action of law in all the instances in which it is possible to observe it—does not the progressive unfolding of the vastness of the sweep of law—does not the certainty that many more things yet will be classed under law—does not the very argument of analogy itself, which would lead us to reason from the changelessness of God in what we can observe to His changelessness in all things—does not all this cast at least great doubt upon the probability of God interfering with the order of His great laws at the request of His creatures?

But stay: we must look round us once again. Are we sure that in our survey of this marvellous domain of law we are not overlooking any class of phenomena? I have already hinted that there are some things that rebel against this mighty tyrant's supremacy, and refuse to own his iron rule. The phenomena of *will* are no less real than those of chemistry or mechanics, and we are no less bound to take them into account when we are discussing such a question as the present. But, whatever some may say, few things are more certain than that the phenomena of will—especially the moral acts which depend for their character upon the responsible exercise of will—are strangely at variance with the idea of changeless law. Here, in the midst of a universe in which so much seems to tell of the resistless march of triumphant law, is a whole region of facts, the very first idea of which is the idea of *freedom from law.* No amount of argument will persuade a sane man that he is talking nonsense when he says, "I can take the right hand road or the left, as I please; I can give this money to this man, or I can refuse; I can speak or I can be silent." Therefore at once we find at least one class of facts over which law exercises at most a very limited control.

I wish next to point out the importance of remembering that this group of facts—I mean the voluntary and moral—is constantly touching and affecting the other—namely, the physical. It is not only that while one great class of facts or phenomena is obedient

to general laws, another great class is not. But the facts which we think of as governed by general laws are constantly being modified and regulated by the action of that one force in nature which most refuses obedience to law—namely, the will. Of course I am at present speaking only of what we can observe and take account of among the daily phenomena of our existence. But, within this range, it is absolutely certain that *will* is constantly acting upon, moderating, combining, making use of, those very laws which we see to be in themselves so changeless. Let me be clear. We cannot *alter* a law of nature. But we can alter its operation. It is a law of nature that a stone must lie still upon the ground by the force of gravitation. By my will I take up the stone, I throw it up, bringing to bear on it other forces sufficient to overcome for the time the law of gravitation. I catch it as it descends, by another force, applied by my will, arresting the force of gravitation. You can all think of a thousand examples. Why all our wonderful inventions—the steam-engine, the hydraulic press, the electric telegraph—are nothing else but the will of man restraining, directing, combining, and utilising, the laws and forces of nature. So you see we have not only a vast group of facts ungoverned by general laws, but a constant interference with general laws by that force which originates this group of facts—namely, the will.

And now another step. Look once more around. Can you point in all that you behold to a real origin or starting-point? In the field of natural science you trace link behind link, cause behind effect, the cause itself being the effect of some prior cause, in endless succession. Can you get back to a real origin or starting-point—I mean by observation? Nay, the first link in the wonderful chain is held somewhere behind the veil. I cannot see it. But stay: it surely is not so in all things. I pass into another region of facts. I take up a nation's history. I read the stirring details of one of its great wars. Again I find myself contemplating a great chain of events, all linked together as causes and effects. But I patiently follow the chain backwards. I come at last to a great deed of wrong. I see a point where all seems to hang on the issue of one man's action. If I place myself in thought at the moment of this crisis, I see the question to be, "Will he do this wrong, or will he forbear?" A nation's history, a people's welfare, hangs on the choice. The deed is done, and the first link of the chain is in my hand. I cannot get farther back. When I come to the point where a free will makes the choice, and where I know that choice can be made either way, I feel I have reached a real origin or starting-point. *Will* has set the series of causes and effects in motion, and it is itself a first cause, so far as my observation goes. So now we seem to arrive at this truth—that the only true origin or starting-point of events, which is within the area of our observation, is the action of free will.

Now, you will note the stages of my argument so far. I have shown, first, how vast is the power and range of law; secondly, that there is a large class of facts which refuse to be governed by law, and are the result of freedom of will; thirdly, that the laws which govern the former class are continually interfered with by this same strange power—the will; and, fourthly, that we are not able to discern by observation any power which can set in motion a train of causes and effects except the will.

And now to apply these thoughts to the question we are seeking to solve. We have assumed the existence of a personal God, the Creator of all things, of infinite wisdom and power. The laws of nature are *His* laws. But in the midst of these laws this Creator has placed a strange power which we see to be of a different nature from law. In a word, *the God who made law also made freedom.* And this freedom

He made to dwell in the will of His creature man. As regards the world of moral action, this is a conviction we cannot escape from. We are free to choose. But are we to imagine that in this sphere of action the will of the creature is to be free for constant exercise, while the will of the Creator is to be sublimely passive? Was the will which created exhausted by that supreme effort? Has it laid by *its* freedom, while granting *man's?* "But," say some, "we will go thus far with you; we will grant that *in the sphere of morals* God may interfere by direct exercise of will, and thus may perchance answer prayer. But this touches not the great inscrutable mystery of the laws of nature." Nay; then we farther answer thus: I, by the exercise of my will, divert, suspend, direct, combine, these laws of nature. But I am made in the image of God. Even if my Bible did not tell me so, I could not conceive of God except as the perfection of that which in me is imperfect. I can know no God except One whose likeness I may trace, however dimly, in myself. And this free will of mine—must not this, too, reflect something of the Divine Nature? Am I able to moderate and apply the laws of nature, and is the God of nature *unable?* Is *my* will to be a real force in the universe, and *God's* will none? And so, once more, when I see whole chains of events, changing the whole world's history, taking their origin from an an act of human will; when I trace in that human will a real cause and starting-point of a new chain of facts; am I to doubt that God's will, in like manner, though unseen and unobserved by man, is the true source and origin—not alone of the first launch of the embryo universe into space, but of numberless groups and chains of facts affecting His creatures' welfare, and moderating the destinies of mankind? This analogy appears to me a very cogent argument; and if the student of the physical world would argue by analogy from the grandeur of the laws which he beholds to the majesty and power of *law*, so let the student of the moral world argue by analogy from the largeness of the freedom which he recognises to the force and breadth of *freedom* as an agent in God's universe.

I do not know that I need say much more. If there be a God omnipresent and omnipotent, of whose nature and modes of acting we are compelled to form our conceptions from that which we know of the dim reflection of these in ourselves; whose will, like the will of His highest creatures on earth, is free—originating when it so pleases, moderating and applying when it so desires, only working with a power and wisdom and perfection of method far beyond our finite grasp; plainly it only needs to add one other attribute—that of love—to make it certain that that Divine Will must order and adapt external things to His creature's good. And since dependence upon Him is a needful part of His rational creature's training, and His love would bind the creature to Himself, and establish a link of intercommunion between the creature and Himself, we find the scheme whereby the creature asks, and the Creator grants, a natural and reasonable outflow from the reasoning we have pursued.

> And "so the whole round earth is every way
> Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I HOPE you do not think I acted unwisely in asking the Bishop of Bedford to speak.

PAPER.

The Rev. Stanley Leathes, D.D., Cliffe Rectory, Rochester.

The question whether, if there were no authentic expression of the will of God towards man, and no written record of Divine revelation, we should still know what was right, and be able to do it, is one that differs essentially from the question whether, having ceased to believe in, and therefore rejected, a supposed revelation of God which had taught us the principles of morality, we should still be able to maintain those principles, and have the courage to act upon them, independently of any Divine sanction. For, to the first question, a conclusive answer is given both by nature and experience. The power of discerning between right and wrong, in some form or other, is inherent in the lowest examples of human nature; and the nations of antiquity, who laid no claim to a revelation, properly so called, have, nevertheless, supplied us with some of the noblest maxims of morality, and with some of the brightest examples of the influence of them upon their conduct. But it is altogether a different matter if we come, upon professedly scientific principles, to the conclusion that there is no God, or what, in this case, is practically the same thing, that there is no authorised expression of His will; because then whatever faculty of discrimination there may be between right and wrong must be explained upon other principles than those of morality, and must be made to account for itself without any reference to sanction. And this is not a mere assertion, but a matter of fact; because the attempt is earnestly made in the present day to account for morality upon what are called scientific principles; to explain the goodness of an action as we explain the goodness of anything else, with mere reference to the purpose or object to which it has relation, without regard to any higher standard, or to any ulterior object. The question, then, we have to grapple with is this: Is there any such higher standard, is there any such ulterior object, to which all actions may be referred, irrespective of their relation to some more direct and immediate purpose in the present? In other words, what is the basis of morality, and why is right right? And perhaps it is as well in all such questions to examine the evidence of language: Why, then, is morality called morality? Obviously, because it has reference to manners or *mores*. We speak of a man having good manners, or of his having no manners; but this is not what we mean by his morals being good or his morals being bad. When we speak of morals we enter at once into a totally different sphere, with which manners have nothing whatever to do. The best manners may be compatible with bad morals, and the reverse. So far, then, the witness of language points in morality to the existence of principles of action quite other than those of mere manners, however naturally and rightly manners may have supplied us with a name for them as the principles which ought ultimately to rule manners.

But, again, why is morality called morality? Because it gives the law to morals, and defines the limits of morals on the right hand and on the left. Morals, as commonly understood, concern a man's actions with reference to right and wrong. A moral action is not one which is good merely with reference to its purpose or object, but one that fulfils

certain conditions, and not merely answers certain ends. Still more, an immoral action is not one that fails of certain ends, but much rather fails to fulfil certain conditions and to come within prescribed limits. When we speak of an action as immoral, we do not merely mean that it is useless for certain purposes, and that its uselessness for those purposes is its condemnation, but we set a brand on it of an altogether different kind; we say that it is—not socially, or practically, or experimentally—but morally, bad. And everyone will at once understand this as condemning it upon moral grounds—upon the principles of right and wrong.

And here, again, we make use of words of the highest significance. "Right" is that which is straight, upright, perpendicular; "wrong" is that which is wrung aside from and is out of the perpendicular, or straight line. But when we speak of a right action, there is no physical or material standard to which we refer it, but a moral standard which must be common to the race, or otherwise the word to express it would have no place in the languages of the race; but when we speak of a right action, we do not speak of its fitness, but of its rectitude. It is very difficult, then, to get rid of the witness which is thus borne by the word right to the existence of rightness as a quality of actions, and seeing that when we say an action is either right or not right, we refer it to one sphere exclusively, namely, the sphere of morals, and only do violence to ourselves when we try to exclude it from that sphere, we may find here some very strong evidence of the existence and reality of that sphere. It is nothing in us which makes an action right or wrong, but it is so before we come to the contemplation of it, and our verdict is only a recognition of the fact which is prior to the judgment we oftentimes, involuntarily, pass upon it.

What is it that makes right right if it is not our judgment? It is the correspondence between it and certain anterior principles which we are obliged to assume on the evidence of fact, just as much as we are obliged, on the same evidence, to assume that our nature is constituted on certain definite principles that cannot be violated with impunity. The discovery of these principles, in either case, is of the nature of a *revelation*. It was a revelation to the Psalmist when, on the contemplation of his own physical structure, he was constrained to confess, "I am fearfully and wonderfully made." Laws and principles before unknown suddenly burst upon his view and revealed themselves to him. So is it when we wake to the majesty that is half concealed, but more than half revealed, in the word right. For one thing is perfectly certain, that *we* have not made right to be right.

As soon, however, as we recognise the rightness of what is right, we discover traces of conformity to an antecedent standard, which is a *revelation*, inasmuch as we had no conception of it before. But, then, what about this standard? In what way does it differ from every other standard which equally proves the accuracy or inaccuracy of knowledge, the conformity of statement with fact or the reverse, and the like? The standard of moral rectitude is found not only to convict and condemn actions after they are done, but likewise to anticipate this condemnation and prohibit them to the conscience. If I mis-translate a passage from Plato, or make a mistake in history, my mistake reveals itself to me, it may not be for long afterwards; but if I do a base, mean,

unworthy, false, or unkind action, I not only reap the effects of it possibly for long afterwards, but I find I cannot do it without an antecedent sense of inward prohibition. There is something which stands in the way and interferes with my doing it, and the after-reproach in many cases is greater in proportion as the antecedent prohibition was the less felt. Is this self-reproach, which is justly called self-reproach, exhaustively explained by that name? Have I the power thus to interpose barriers to my own action, and if so, why are they only interposed in the direction of what is morally evil? It is impossible to explain this inward phenomenon on the ground of experience. It is found to operate independently of and antecedently to experience in any particular case. It is an inadequate explanation to refer it to experience. This does not explain the violence done to or the shock felt in the moral sense. If the existence of this moral sense is denied, it becomes not only impossible to argue, but the whole universe relapses into chaos. If, however, the standard of moral right is found to be no mere quiescent principle—to be not content with mere passive existence, but to be continually struggling towards self-assertion, and especially to speak with a voice of prohibition, as if it said, "Thou shalt not," what is this but the revelation in the self of a primæval law which thus speaks? And it is at least worthy of remark that the earliest record or trace of any such revelation involves a prohibition, and the earliest manifestation of evil a doubt as to its origin. "Yea, hath *God* said? Thou shalt not." On the other hand, according to the Scripture record the primæval revelation of God to man was embodied in the prohibition "Thou shalt not." That the prohibition in that case had reference to the eating of fruit matters not, because we are not told what the fruit was, and, at all events, it had distinct reference to good and evil; and with regard to this we are told that God made Himself known to man in the very first instance by a prohibition. What, then, if this sense of prohibition with regard to evil is that very fundamental witness in man to the person and law of God which has survived the Fall, and which it is impossible to get rid of, because it is part of the essential constitution of our nature?

This sense of prohibition then, when followed up, becomes a revelation. It speaks with a voice of warning and restraint to the person, and thereby shows itself personal, for if it seeks to restrain, it thereby gives evidence of will, and will is an exclusively personal attribute. That there is evidence of the presence of such a will asserting itself in human nature, in man as man, I take to be a fundamental truth confirmed by innumerable facts; that we disdain to recognise this will, and go counter to it, and explain it away, no more disproves its existence than any other mere denial can disprove a fact. There is in man the witness to the voice of God seeking to control his actions, and excusing or accusing him on account of them. The unwritten law felt in the conscience *is* the revelation, its evidence, its means, its method, its result. To resolve this unwritten law into something else, is not only to perplex and confound the nature of things, essentially distinct and different, but it is also to extenuate, weaken, and, finally, to abolish the law altogether. Explain the law as the present personal and abiding revelation of God, and you honour and magnify it indefinitely. Explain it as an end in itself, which points to nothing else beyond itself

and as a phenomenon largely dependent on the imagination, and varying so extensively as in certain cases to vanish altogether, and you cannot fail to depreciate and diminish the law so much as to destroy its influence altogether as a ruling factor in conduct. Mere natural morality is enhanced indefinitely if it is recognised as God's own revelation of His will written in the conscience; it is dissipated and destroyed when explained as not this but something else.

If, however, over and beyond this a definite revelation is expressed in words, "I am the Lord thy God—Thou shalt not"—then the prohibition which was felt before is not only enforced with additional stringency, but the ultimate reason of the prohibition is revealed in the revelation of the person making it. Before, the prohibition was the only revelation—a revelation which was largely dependent on the moral condition of the individual. Now the natural revelation in the conscience takes a distinct and personal form in the manifestation and assertion of the person whose will is involved and expressed in the prohibition. It is this personal revelation which becomes the basis of, and reveals the reason for every single injunction which follows on from it, and likewise supplies the motive for obeying it, for it is the revelation of a person who identifies himself with the will that he so expresses. It would be possible to set at nought this will in one or other of its aspects, and yet acknowledge the person declaring it; but it would be wholly impossible to deny the revelation of the person, and yet pay any deference to the will as his will. There might be cases in which, for *other reasons*, the will so expressed would be expedient or even needful, but these would be dependent wholly upon circumstance; and however large the number of cases in which the need or expediency would hold, everything of the nature of moral sanction would be destroyed in the refusal to recognise the moral power sanctioning.

All that has been said so far is hypothetical. Suppose there had been a distinct and definite revelation of this kind, these consequences, I apprehend, would follow; but has there been? and what right have we to infer that the revelation of the moral law involves the revelation of a person? We have the right to do so; that is supplied by fact. As a matter of fact, the direct form in which the moral law has reached us, is a form in which it cannot be separated from this personal revelation, and one in which the personal revelation is made the foundation, basis and motive of the law. Everything runs up into and is based upon "I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have no other God before Me." Now if this is the expression of a fact, everything else follows naturally and necessarily; if it is not, the law so given so far becomes worthless; it may on other grounds have a value of its own, but the strong sanction of its personal origin and motive is withdrawn. There may be reasons why the law of life, the law of marriage, and the law of property should be observed and respected; these doubtless will, because these laws have their foundation and origin in the constitution of society; the very existence of society, that is to say the preservation of man as man, depends upon them; and this is no slight correlative indication of their origin as an expression of the will of Him who so constituted society, but the most powerful motive for observing them will be destroyed in proportion as He is lost sight of whose will they do express if they are the expression

of any will at all. That men who, on professedly scientific principles, reject any revelation at all, will nevertheless discover reasons and motives for enforcing the laws of life, property, and marriage, will undoubtedly be the case; because, as I have said, these laws are essential to the existence of society, but then they will cease to be moral laws in the highest sense, and become merely civil enactments. They can be referred only to the will of society—an abstraction—not to an ultimate moral principle, an original moral authority, an ultimate moral judge. Take away this conception and the whole conception of morals is clouded. Take away this fact and the foundation of morals is destroyed, and in the place of personal will making provision for the welfare of society, and continually watchful over and jealous of its interests, you have nothing but an impersonal and indifferent expediency, a varying and uncertain necessity, an arbitrary and despotic law, imposed by the caprice of a tyrannical majority upon the desires, interests, and impulses, essentially lawless and unmanageable, of a weak and helpless minority, and an unresisting but imperfectly restrained individual who may legitimately claim the same right to be free that others may claim to limit his freedom. For to say that the rights of other individuals demand his recognition and respect, is only to fall back upon that original and fundamental constitution of society, which has all the force of a revelation, which is fully confirmed and vindicated by the existing personal revelation, and upon the recognition of which, in its full significance, the very existence of morality depends.

ADDRESS.

J. E. C. WELLDON, Esq., King's College, Cambridge.

I DO not doubt I shall be forgiven, if in the few remarks that I address to the Congress upon this deeply important subject I treat it from an academical point of view. Of the practical influence of unbelief upon morality amongst masses of population in large commercial centres I know nothing, or so much only as is known to all readers of the newspapers and general literature of the day. But of its influence upon a University society, both resident and undergraduate, I have intimate daily knowledge, and therefore I prefer to speak of this. Will you let me tell you at the outset how this question comes before me as a Cambridge tutor? It happens now and then—not often, thank God—but it does happen, that one of my pupils comes and tells me, or I hear from another quarter, that he has given up hi faith in the religion of Jesus Christ, and will not attend the chapel services any more. The society with which I am familiar—I speak of the intellectual part of it—is partly believing, partly unbelieving, although I think it tends to be more believing and less infidel than it was; and the tone of the intellectual part gradually affects the whole. And as I look upon it, and have a strong personal interest in many members of it, I cannot but feel, and the feeling has grown upon me with the years and has never been stronger than at times when I have felt most acutely the intellectual difficulties of the Christian faith, that the cause of moral conduct is intimately, and I may almost say, indissolubly bound up with the cause of religious belief. I am anxious not to be misunderstood when I so speak. To say that there is a connection between morality and

belief is not to say that unbelievers are necessarily immoral men. It is possible—no one knows it better than I do—to lead a pure, temperate, virtuous life without the professed acceptance of the Christian revelation, or, indeed, of any religious system whatever. It is possible; but the men who so live, as I know them, are not common men. They are men of high tone and temper, leading, for the most part, quiet student lives, wholly possessed perhaps by intellectual occupations, shielded from not a few of the temptations which beset ordinary flesh and blood. It is not these men who are injured by unbelief, although I think one need only ask one's heart to feel that it must be dangerous even for the best of men to be living without God in the world. It is upon the mass of the men that the harm is done, men who have no high aspirations, no disinterested love of goodness, who have hard work perhaps to keep themselves even from gross, sensual sin, who need all, and more than all, the help that religion affords, if they are to walk in the difficult ways of virtue. And the evil seems to me to be twofold. These men lose the restraining sanction. So long as they retained what Mr. Darwin himself has called the ennobling belief in a God hating sin and loving righteousness they were conscious of a check upon their actions, and even if they did wrong, they knew it was wrong and meant some day to do better. But take away the belief, tell them that this world is everything; and their conscience stings them less, they draw from sceptical premises conclusions which may be logical, but which are repudiated by noble-minded sceptics, they make excuses to their own hearts, and are impatient of reproof if it rests upon a belief in God and Christ. I do not think that any one, whose fortune it has been, as it has been mine, to speak to young men at critical moments of their moral and spiritual history, will doubt the truth of this remark. They lose the restraining sanction. They lose also the elevating motive. For if I may trust my own brief experience, the way in which such an one as I have described is oftenest reclaimed to higher things is that at some supreme moment of his history—perhaps in the presence of a great bereavement—the truths which have been dormant hitherto are quickened to a new vitality, the tears that fall are as the fertilizing rain upon the hard barren soil, and the man resolves by God's grace to lead a new life. But if the belief is dead, the recuperative power, so to say, is deadened also. That is why, taking a practical view of the question, I should look upon the prevalence of infidelity as fraught with so much of moral danger to the world. And when I ask myself speculatively whether there is any just reason for alarm, I think it is not difficult to discern certain defects inherent in any system which takes no account of God and the world beyond the grave. I mention first that it impairs the sense of sin. Sin is a Christian, or at least a religious conception. Humanity apart from God knows nothing of it. And yet there seems to be all the difference between regarding the same evil action as a folly, or even a crime, and as a sin. The measure of the difference is the difference in the objects offended; poor, weak, fallible men in the one case, and in the other the great and holy God. And my fear is that, if the thought of God is put out of sight, sin will come in men's eyes to look less sinful, there will be a general lowering of the moral scale, and with the sense of sin will disappear also the desire and capacity of repentance. That is one point; and then I think that the absoluteness of the distinction between right and wrong seems to depend, in most men's minds, upon the habit of referring actions to a higher than any human standard. Virtue and vice are incommensurable to the Christian. But if God is nothing, and a man finds his standard of duty in himself, and his view is limited to

this present world, is there not a danger that his morality will be reduced to an affair of calculation, to a balance of self-interest against the interests of others, and so he will have less scruple in following his lower impulses? For indeed I doubt whether human nature is strong enough to be a law to itself in Ethics, whether it does not need an absolute standard imposed upon it from without; and sure I am that if you preach that self-interest is the standard of duty, and add that that self-interest should be enlightened, you will find nine men who will accept your standard of duty for one who will comprehend the enlightenment. And then there are certain departments of morality, so to say, which seem to be especially connected with a belief in God and His revelation through Christ; so that, even if the moral sanctions were equally strong upon secular principles, the morality itself would not be quite the same. I refer, for instance, to extreme cases of self-sacrifice, as in the lives of the missionary and the martyr, which are hardly justifiable or even intelligible, if this world is everything, and we are to make the best of it for ourselves. For it is the signal blessedness of Christ's revelation that He promises that those rare cases in which virtue seems to fail of its reward shall prove not to be exceptions at all, but only the brightest exemplifications of the rule. And again there are immoral actions which derive their horror not so much from the actual harm done to society, as from their antagonism to our conception of the Divine nature, such as offences against the law of purity; and I am much afraid that these acts will appear to men in a very different light if the thought of God be banished from their minds. And lastly—for the time is short—the tenderness to all that is weak and afflicted on the earth, the "reverence for what is beneath us," if I may use Goethe's famous phrase, is a part of the Christian revelation, and finds little or no support in that hard evolutional morality which expresses itself in the well-known law of the survival of the fittest. An eminent writer, Mr. Goldwin Smith, who has no especial affection for the doctrines of the Christian faith, sums up his biography of the poet Cowper in the words that, if the shield which Christ, by His life and teaching, has for eighteen centuries cast around the weak things of earth be done away, and *might* again become the title to existence, Cowper, and all such as he, will be treated as outcasts, or trampled under foot by the strong. Different, widely different from this, is the spirit of Christ which finds its public expression in every hospital and infirmary and asylum, and is still more beautifully illustrated in the reverence and tenderness shown to the weak and suffering in every Christian home. These, my lord bishop, are facts of the moral life, and I trust that they are not unworthy of consideration. I would but add that there is one especial loss necessarily entailed in any system which takes no thought of God and His revelation—I mean the loss of prayer. It is not a loss to be weighed in the balance. But not to enter into any subtle discussion as to the exact nature and efficacy of prayer, this at least I may say—for the experience of all the ages bears me out—that it is a potent instrument, nay of all instruments the most potent, for strengthening and elevating the moral nature of man. But a merely human secular system of religion seems to leave no room for prayer. For Humanity, the modern Comtist substitute for God Almighty, is not an object of worship or indeed of admiration, unless we leave out of sight more than half of human nature, and prayer addressed to Humanity rings in my ears as a solemn absurdity—or worse, as a sadly bitter jest. And when I think of Man's mortal weakness, how greatly he needs help from above, how much of strength he finds in prayer, I do not know what sadder or deeper wound could be inflicted upon

human nature than this—to make prayer impossible. So that in view of these things, when I hear men dallying with infidelity, as though in truth it had no bearing upon moral action, I can only feel that they know not what they do; and it is one chief object of my life, in the work I have at Cambridge, to resist by all fair means of argument, and, if so be, of personal influence, the spread of opinions which tend—I do not say they are intended, but they tend—to throw back the moral history of mankind over a period of eighteen centuries, and to blight the noblest impulses and aspirations of that human nature which the Lord Himself condescended to assume.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. Canon BARRY, D.D., Principal of King's College, London.

MY LORD,—I rise (as you are aware) solely in deference to your command, to make a brief contribution to this important discussion. I do so with much diffidence; as it is hard to speak on this great subject without such careful preparation as has been evidently bestowed upon the singularly able papers and speeches to which we have listened. But I may, perhaps, venture to make two remarks upon the subject now before the Congress. The first is general, glancing at the subject as a whole; the second has special reference to that division of the subject which treats of the harmony of Science and Faith. First, in regard to this subject as a whole, I think I shall not be mistaken in supposing that, in the minds of many who have listened to the debate to-day, there may be a certain uneasiness in this respect—that there appears everywhere to be an antithesis of distinct, although not antagonistic, forces; and yet it has been most truly remarked that the spheres of the right action of these two forces cannot possibly be distinguished by any hard and fast lines. The human mind is impatient of what may be called "duality" of idea. It desires always to have one power, and one only, to which to yield an unqualified obedience. History is full of examples of men who, in their passion for unity, are content, or even eager, to obliterate unmanageable truth: who are so enamoured of freedom that they rejoice to defy authority; or have such absolute deference to authority that they treat freedom as a delusion and a sin. Can we be unaware that there are men so devoted to science that they can find no room in the soul for faith, and votaries of faith who are ever engaged in the ineffectual attempt to limit and turn back the advance of science? Therefore, I conceive that in your minds there may be some uneasiness—perhaps a kind of impatience—of this state of things—eager to cut the Gordian knot of difficulties by some sharp and one-sided decision. To meet this feeling, I venture to remind you that this condition of balance, or (as some men call it) compromise, is inherent in the very nature of man; by which he is, on the one hand, individual and free, and, on the other, only a part of a great system of humanity, and under those dispensations of God which deal with humanity as a whole. So far as he is individual, he must have freedom; so far as he belongs to the great life of humanity and God's general dispensation, he must recognise an authority which is universal and permanent. So far as he is an individual, he must use his freedom in the single-minded and single-eyed search after truth; so far as he is only a weak member of a great system, he must necessarily depend largely upon faith in others. So far, again, as he is individual, he must trust to his own intuitions of moral truth and moral sanction; so far as he belongs to the race, he must find the ultimate moral basis in the revelation which God has given to mankind as a whole. When, therefore, you can draw a hard and fast line between man's individual and social nature—when you can determine how far he belongs to himself, and how far he belongs to the great universe of God—then, and not till then, can you draw the same definite line of demarcation between the rights of freedom and rights of authority; between the free search after truth which belongs to science, and the leaning on a higher Personality which is the essence of faith; between the intuitional moral sense, which is the voice of God in the soul, and, according to our Lord's teaching, the witness of the Holy Spirit in each individual heart, and that revelation of God in the Lord

Jesus Christ Himself, to the whole race of man. Therefore the attempt to escape from this condition of the balance of interpenetrating forces, is simply to rebel against the fundamental laws of our human nature; it is endeavouring to be what God did not intend us to be, and to aspire to attain a condition which, on this side of the grave at least, is impossible. In relation to the second and more special remark, I would confine myself to that most interesting paper, on the connection of Science and Faith, to which we have all listened with such breathless attention, from Professor Stokes. He said that the supposed hostility of science to faith might arise from one of two causes, either from there being a hopeless antagonism between their conclusions, or from the cultivation through the sole pursuit of science of a temper utterly uncongenial to the exercise of faith. While he dealt at some length with the former of these causes, he touched very briefly on the latter; and it is upon the latter that I would venture to speak. I believe that far the more powerful cause of opposition between Science and Faith, is the cultivation on either side of a temper so exclusively devoted to the one as to refuse to recognise the right function of the other. Therefore, what we Christians have to do, is to establish independently, and to maintain the function of faith, as a great and necessary factor of human life, and as a power, perhaps the most influential of all powers upon human nature. That work has been done to some extent in our discussion to-day, but with one notable omission. The question, after all, for us Christians is this—Are we, or are we not, to place an implicit faith in the revelation of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ. It may be true (as has been said lately by Mr. Darwin), that "Science and Christ have nothing to do with each other, except so far as science may make us somewhat more jealous in accepting proofs of authority." Bé it so. Let science—historical and moral, rather than physical science—do its work, in testing His claim to authority. But when this has been done, if the authority stand the test, then let us boldly claim, on the other side, the logical consequence of admission of that authority. Faith in Christ claims to teach us to "know that which passes knowledge," to be "filled with that fulness of God," which to man unaided, it is impossible to grasp. Is this claim just? The question is whether we have, or have not a right to place absolute faith in the revelations of God, and in the Lord Jesus Christ. This crucial point has perhaps hardly been brought out. I listened with deep attention to the remarkable catalogue of intellectual authorities with which one of the most interesting papers concluded. But I confess I missed there the highest and holiest of all names. The omission seemed to me fatal. For it is not enough to establish that within limits the law of faith is every where a condition of human life and progress. Who can question this? But we have to contend that to this natural law there is a supernatural culmination in that faith in the revelation of God, in Christ, which, with all other faith, is not provisional but final, not limited but absolute.

The Rev. H. Bickersteth Ottley, Vicar of St. Margaret's, Ilkley.

I wish in the five minutes which, by the President's indulgence are given to me, to address myself to the *practical* aspect of the question before us. It is a question of the grave importance of which this great assembly is doubtless fully conscious. In its theoretical and abstract bearings it has been amply discussed in the papers we have already heard. The greatest thinkers have long ago settled for us that between the Christian faith and science there is not only no inherent antagonism, but the most vital harmony; and I do not propose to enter further upon that question. I will address myself to the more practical question—as to the duty of the Church of England, and more especially of us, her clergy, in our day, in view of the progress of modern science. There are two ideals, either of which may be adopted by the Church of England in dealing with what science teaches us to-day—the one is *apostolic*, the other, *monastic*. The apostolic ideal is that by which the Apostles and the primitive Christians were guided in dealing with the facts which they had to preach. They were not apologists, they were not *dilettanti* critics; not Utopian reformers or legislators, but plain men and women, who had dealt with and touched historical facts; those facts they preached, and for those facts they were not afraid to die. Throughout the Apostolic Church you cannot fail to recognise the spirit of that injunction which has already been quoted, "Prove all things," and "Be ready always to give a *reason* for the hope that

is in you." That, I conceive, is one ideal. The other is alas! only too plainly pointed out by the facts of ecclesiastical history. From the days of Cyril, when the monks of Alexandria tore the fair flesh of Hypatia from her limbs by way of *argument* against the truth of the mathematics she taught; or when, later, Galileo, the Florentine, aged 70 years, kneeling on the floor of the Vatican before the bench of Cardinals, was forced to deny the motion of the earth around the sun; from the day when Brune, the astronomer, was burnt alive; or when, little more than 100 years ago, the Fellows of the Royal Society were pursued as Atheists through the streets of London by an infuriated mob: all through Church history, I say, down to the present day, men have felt that, as for science, her "doctrines" are true for evermore; and it rests with the Church of England to decide which of these two ideals she will adopt to-day. Either, in the spirit of the apostles, she must base her message on the *facts* of history and of science; or she may throw dust in our eyes and leave us to grope our way in the darkness of superstition, and to solve the mysteries of life as best we may. Mr. Welldon has spoken of Cambridge; I could confirm his words from my experience of the sister University. I could confirm them from my knowledge of the North of England, for I have to do continually with the business men of Leeds and Bradford, who insist, and rightly insist, upon a basis of *knowledge* as the true groundwork of their faith. So that, in conclusion, I will merely venture, in all humility, to submit to my brother clergy, that we have no excuse whatever, in days like these, for inadequate and slipshod scientific information. Our book-stalls abound with cheap scientific primers and manuals which will keep us abreast of conclusions which have been won by the life-long industry and induction of such men as Darwin, Tyndall, and Huxley. We shall surely lose nothing by thus keeping ourselves to the level of modern thought; but shall find that the facts of science are rooted deep in what we call the "supernatural;" and that they will lead us, one and all, to a deeper faith in the work and the Person of Him who said, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall never pass away."

The Rev. Canon LEFROY, Liverpool.

I VENTURE to preface my few remarks with the expression of the hope that the letter of Dr. Andrew Clark may be embodied in the authorised report of our proceedings. As the discussion proceeded, I was reminded of a very important and popular phrase from St. Augustine—we all remember that wonderful and pithy aphorism of his "In the Old Testament the New is concealed, and in the New Testament the Old is revealed." I venture to say that we may translate that aphorism a little widely, believing that there can be no real contradiction between the Bible and Science. We may venture to say that "in the Bible science is concealed, and in science the Bible is revealed." That is only another way of saying that in God's blessed Word there are anticipations of modern science, and with your lordship's permission, I venture, very hastily, to refer to one or two of these of the most commonplace and simple character. First. In the first chapter of Genesis we have these well-known words: "Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together unto one place." Now the simple doctrine taught by this statement is the original as well as the final unity of all the oceans, and this statement was made before men were able to use them for locomotive purposes; before men had mastered the stormy elements; centuries before we had learnt to give a name to any of the great bodies of water now known as the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian, German, or Antarctic oceans. It remained for Magellan, in 1519, to undertake the boldest enterprise that was ever undertaken by man, I mean the circumnavigation of the globe. But having accomplished this, he was enabled to give practical demonstration to the Mosaic anticipation. He demonstrated the unity of all the oceans, and his discovery as well as the Mosaic anticipation of it, have a very important bearing upon another scientific fact, I mean the sphericity of our globe. We were told to-day the universal belief of the ancients was that the earth was a plane. The Hindu idea—that it was borne upon the heads of elephants—is mentioned now only to provoke a smile. Lucretius before Christ, Pliny and Plutarch after Christ, believed this planet to be flat; and, unless I am mistaken, I think the great Augustine held the same view. This view has been, as we all know, discarded. Scientific investigations have placed the sphericity of our globe beyond debate. True, the physical doctrine, now accepted, was anticipated by Pythagoras and by Thales of Miletum. But these were anticipated by Isaiah, when

he declared that "Jehovah sat upon the circle of the earth," and in that glorious Psalm which prefaced our sermons yesterday, we remember the words of David: "He made the round world." Take another Biblical anticipation of modern science. Time was when man tabulated the number of the stars as a little over a thousand; and even the sharpest vision, favoured by an oriental or an alpine atmosphere, cannot count more than 6,000; but Roger Bacon gave to the world the principle upon which the telescope was constructed later on by Galileo, and ever since science has been enabled to apply what M. Ampere calls "the eye of a giant" to the fields of immensity, and sweep these fields from end to end. She declares that there are suns and systems and galaxies, and that there are other suns and systems and galaxies beyond these. She tells the wondering world that the stars of heaven are innumerable. That is a discovery, comparatively speaking, of recent times, but the anticipation of that discovery dates from that glorious era in the spiritual history of mankind, when Jehovah summoned the father of the faithful on that calm eastern night to "Look now toward heaven and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them." Here is an anticipation of modern science, and with one more I will conclude. In the 104th Psalm we all remember the glorious panorama the poet brings before the believer when he speaks of the light as a garment of God, as well as of the clouds, the winds, and the mountains, and as I venture to believe he speaks of the glacial epoch. Hear his words,—"They go up as high as the hills, and down to the valleys beneath, even into the place which Thou hast appointed for them. Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over; that they turn not again to cover the earth." I venture to think these words refer to the great ice world. The words indicate the glacier. These are the "waters" which "stand in the hills." These are arrested by a Divinely-appointed bound. That bound I see in the power of frost, expressed by Fahrenheit in thirty-two degrees. But the discovery of thirty-two degrees as the frost limit, dates from the middle of the 18th century. Its anticipation dates from the days of the poetry of David. If time allowed, I could show that the circulation of the blood is anticipated by inspiration, as is also the great law of circularity, or advance through retrogression, and I would close with mentioning that the great and learned Bishop of Durham, in his exposition of the epistle to the Colossians, has given abundant evidence that the nervous system in its relation to the head underlies the realities which St. Paul was commissioned to reveal in establishing the unity and the dependence of every member of the mystical body of Christ upon Christ as its head.

TEMPERANCE HALL.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 4TH.

The Ven. ARCHDEACON ILES in the Chair.

THE CLERGY.

(*a*) BENEFICED CLERGY:—THE VOICE OF THE CHURCH IN THE APPOINTMENT OF BISHOPS AND PARISH PRIESTS.

PAPER.

The REV. G. GREENWOOD.

IT may be hoped that the time is within measurable distance when bishops in diocesan synods, comprising representatives of the laity as well as the clergy, will make rules for the management of their dioceses, which all Churchmen will feel bound in conscience to obey; and when, sitting in diocesan courts, having true spiritual authority, and so constituted as to possess the confidence of the clergy and laity of the dioceses,

they will visit violation of the Church's laws with spiritual penalties which all good Churchmen will gladly take their part in enforcing. But if the day is coming when the bishops will thus resume the exercise of spiritual powers which have been too long in abeyance, it is obvious that the question of the method by which men are to be chosen to hold the Episcopal office is one of ever-growing interest. The present system, whatever be its practical success, can hardly be considered satisfactory as applied to a state of things in which the bishop is regarded, not merely as an authority recognised and supported by the State, but also, and chiefly as Christ's representative in the government of His Church, deriving from Him powers which no State can give, and which, although it may hinder or hamper the exercise of them by persecution, no State can take away. I propose, then, in this paper, to inquire whether a method can be found, not necessitating the separation of the Church from the State, and not requiring changes too great or too sudden, by which primitive principles in regard to the appointment of bishops may be adapted to the actual condition of the English Church, and a matter so vital as the selection of the Church's spiritual rulers may no longer be left to the discretion of one man, and that man not necessarily himself a Churchman.

And, first, it must, I think, be allowed, that there is no divinely appointed method of choosing men for the Episcopal office. Before, however, the middle of the third century—the Church being already divided into provinces, each with its own Metropolitan—the rule had become established which was sanctioned by the great Council of Nicæa,* that the nomination should be made by the clergy and laity of the vacant diocese, and be confirmed by the Metropolitan, with his provincial synod, who, under normal circumstances, as being the consecrators of the new bishop, must always have had a veto on the appointment. This method, if any, has a claim to be regarded as the Church's accepted mode of selection; yet it lasted in its integrity but for a comparatively short period. From the time when Christianity became the established religion of the Roman Empire, and the bishops of the Church were recognised—unfortunately, as we may now perhaps be disposed to think—as authorities in the State, the Emperor and the great State officers in the provinces under him began naturally to desire to have a voice in the selection of bishops, and could hardly fail, when so minded, to make their influence felt. But it was the joint action of the Papacy, and the strong, rude, yet often highly gifted Teutonic leaders, who partitioned the Western Empire, and became after a while converts to Christianity, that finally overthrew the Church's earlier system. Choice by the head of the State, and ratification by the Pope, became the recognised method of appointing bishops in the West. Apparently as long as the union between Church and State subsists, it would not be either possible or desirable to do away with the action of the latter in the appointment of bishops which thus became established in the middle ages, and was not essentially affected by the Reformation. Yet it is interesting to observe how, in the process which at the latter date was arranged here in England, traces of the Church's earlier method were preserved,

* See Conc. Nic. Can. 4, compared with the Epistle of the Council to the Churches in Egypt, given in *Socrates*, Book I. c. 9.

affording suggestions, and, as it were, starting-points, for the modifications which have now become desirable. The form of choice by the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral of an occupant for the vacant see, unreal though it be, represents by a survival, the voice of the diocese in the appointment of its spiritual ruler; while the confirmation by the archbishop may be regarded as a remnant of the ratification by the provincial synod of the selection made by the diocese.

But what was the natural—one might almost say the inevitable—principle that underlay the primitive method of appointment? Surely it was this—that each of the parties chiefly interested in the character and conduct of the bishop to be elected should concur in his election. Originally those parties were twofold—viz., the clergy and laity whom he was to govern, and the Metropolitan and comprovincial bishops of the province, who were the local representatives of the universal Episcopate, by some of whom he would be consecrated, and in whose synod he would have a seat: therefore by their concurrent action the election was effected. But when the bishops of the Church became judges, armed with authority by the State, and subsequently peers of the realm, the Christian Emperor, King, or feudal head of the State, had a great interest in their views and administration, and by the foregoing principle, might fairly claim a share in their appointment. The evil was that his position enabled him gradually to reduce the share of the other parties to a nullity, and virtually to keep the nomination in his own hands, and that alas! the worldly interests of the Church bribed her rulers to offer no effectual opposition to this encroachment. But if this is a true account of the situation, a remedy for present difficulties must be sought in a re-arrangment which would keep in view the principle of allowing a share in the appointment of bishops to all those who were mainly interested in their administration. Who then are they who at the present time should, according to this rule, have a voice in the selection of a bishop? They may, I think, be thus enumerated—the clergy and laity of the diocese over which he is to preside; the Dean and Chapter of his cathedral, who should be his council and his most effective coadjutors; the Metropolitan and comprovincial bishops, in whose synod he will have a seat; and lastly, the Sovereign of the realm of which he will be a peer. There seems to be no difficulty in settling the form in which two of these parties should take action; the Sovereign would act, as at present, through the Prime Minister; the Metropolitan and the comprovincial bishops, in the Convocation of the province—an arrangement which, as our Convocations are constituted, would have the advantage of giving the representatives of the clergy of the province some voice in the selection. The mode in which the other parties concerned—viz., the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral, and the clergy and laity of the diocese, might take part in the election, requires a little further consideration. If the present nugatory action of the Dean and Chapter is, as has been suggested, a last relic of the part which the diocese originally played in the choice of its spiritual ruler, it seems to follow that, while on the one hand—both from the fact of its present important, though anomalous position in regard to this matter, and from the close relations which should subsist between it and the bishop—the claim of the cathedral Chapter to have a share in selecting an occupant for the vacant See, can hardly be disregarded; on the other hand, it should act

no longer separately, but as an integral part of the diocese. How then should the diocese as a whole be represented for the purpose of choosing its new spiritual ruler? Surely in the way in which it should be represented for all Church purposes which require for their carrying out the concurrence of all the Churchmen of the diocese—viz., by a diocesan synod or conference. In a paper which I had the privilege of reading to the Church Congress at Swansea, I urged the advantage, and almost the necessity, of establishing in every diocese, a synod with whose advice and concurrence the bishop should regulate the more important matters affecting the spiritual interests of his people. And in order to avoid the complexity, the waste of time, and the possibility of collision, which must result from the co-existence of two separate bodies—a synod consisting of the bishop and the representatives of the clergy, and a conference consisting of the bishop, the representatives of the clergy, and the representatives of the communicant laity, I advocated the admission of the latter into the synod itself; not as a matter of right—for that I felt sure, if Scripture and primitive custom were to decide the question, could not be admitted—but as a concession which the bishop and clergy might, I believed, rightfully, safely, and wisely, make in the present condition of the Church. I endeavoured to show that, for the purpose of keeping the three parties in their legitimate spiritual relations, the synod should be arranged in three houses, of which the bishop himself should be the first, the representatives of the clergy the second, and those of the laity the third; and that no synodical act should be promulgated without the concurrence of all three—of the bishop as ordaining, the clergy as confirming, and the laity as assenting. Supposing such a synod as this to be constituted in any diocese, it would be through it that the diocese would naturally act in the selection of its chief pastor; but if such an arrangement as that for which I pleaded be considered inadmissible, then it cannot, I think, be doubted that, in accordance with primitive principles, the voice of the diocese in the choice of its bishop must be allowed to make itself heard by means of a conference, in which the communicant laity of the Church shall be duly represented; for there can be no question of the original right of the laity to take part in the election. In either case—whether the diocese act through a diocesan synod containing lay representatives, or through a conference—it becomes easy to assign a proper position to the Dean and Chapter in its councils. Under ordinary circumstances they would, I presume, be *ex officio* members of the second house of the synod—of which, indeed, the Dean might very well be the chairman when it desired to deliberate separately—or *ex officio* members of the conference. But in the vacancy of a See the Dean and Chapter for certain purposes of administration discharge the functions of the bishop; and they would naturally take his place as forming the first house of the synod, or as presiding over the conference. Thus, while ceasing to act as now, apart from the diocese, they would occupy a position of real influence in the selection of its spiritual ruler, which would more than compensate for the loss of their present elusive privilege.

So far there has been a natural evolution of the application of the principle with which we started—that of giving all the parties chiefly interested a share in the appointment of a bishop. But now, having got

the different factors of the problem—the diocesan synod or conference with the Dean and Chapter at its head, the Convocation of the province presided over by the Metropolitan, and the Sovereign represented by the Prime Minister—in what precise manner shall we set them to co-operate in bringing out the required result? One step further towards the solution may be taken without much question: as long as the union between Church and State continues, the final choice of a successor to the vacant See will, I think, remain with the Crown; and from this it follows that the action of the other parties concerned can only take the form of a nomination of several persons from among whom the final choice shall be made, or of some right of challenge as regards the names selected by the Sovereign. Probably there is an almost endless variety of ways in which one or both of these powers might be conferred upon the Convocation of the province and the representatives of the diocese; and in suggesting a particular plan I must be understood as offering it rather as an illustration than as a proposal likely to win at once any general acceptance. Upon the death or resignation of a bishop, a modified form of *congé d' élire* might be sent to the Metropolitan and to the Dean, authorising them to assemble respectively the Convocation of the province and the synod or conference of the diocese, for the purpose of selecting and submitting to the Crown the names of not more than six persons well-qualified to fill the vacant office. The actual mode of selection might be as follows—the synod or conference might agree upon not more than three names, which should then be sent to the Metropolitan. The Convocation might add to these, if it saw fit, not more than three other names, and the whole list should then be submitted to the Crown. Supposing that the names thus sent up did not exceed three, the Crown might, if it chose, proceed at once to make from these the final selection; but in any other case, and in this case also, if it saw fit, the Crown might add three names to the list, and then refer it back to the Metropolitan and the Dean, with a permission to the Convocation and the diocese to challenge the names, for the purpose of reducing the number. The synod or conference might then strike out not more names than it had originally selected—*e.g.*, three, if it had exercised its full right of choice, and chose to exercise its full right of challenge—and send the remainder to the Metropolitan. The Convocation, in like manner, might, if it saw fit, strike out not more names than it had originally added, and the archbishop would then submit the residue—consisting, if the right of challenge had been fully used, of three names—to the Crown for the exercise of its prerogative of final selection. This process seems complicated in description, but in practice I believe it would prove to be very simple, and one which might be got through in the course of a week. It seems almost theoretically perfect; but possibly on this very account it may not commend itself to practical men. I would, however, point out that the value of the general principle which I have advocated is not affected by the rejection of this particular scheme, and I trust that no objections which may be raised against the latter will be allowed to prejudice the consideration of the former. Let me repeat that the main point is that the Churchmen of the vacant diocese and the bishops of the province should have an effective voice in the appointment of the new bishop; with the subsidiary suggestion that apparently their action must take the form either of recommendation

or of challenge, or of some combination of both. It only remains to point out the advantages which may be expected to arise from the adoption of this principle, whether in the form I have proposed or in any other suitable manner.

And here let me guard against the idea that we are likely by any alteration in the method of appointment to get better or abler men for bishops than we have at present. I venture to affirm that those who have been chosen to occupy that position here in England during the last thirty years will, on the average, compare favourably with any average set of bishops in Christendom, of whatever time or country, and that more than one of them would have stood out pre-eminent either for holiness or for administrative power in any era or region of the Church. But it is none the less true that the course of a man when appointed to an office may be greatly influenced by the circumstances under which the appointment has been obtained; and I trust that I shall not appear to be saying anything offensive or disrespectful if I suggest that not only the conduct of our bishops, but still more the conduct of others towards them, has sometimes been unfavourably affected by a sense that they have been selected solely by the favour of the Crown. The benefits, then, which may fairly be looked for from the adoption of the principles which I have advocated are briefly these :—

1. From the variety of the parties who would be concerned in the election there would be a better chance than now of every sort of man who had any real fitness for the office being proposed for it.

2. From the same cause, there could hardly arise a suspicion of any one laying himself out for a bishopric. The suffrages to be gained would be too diverse and the chances too incalculable to make it worth any body's while to seek to turn them in his own favour by any other method than that of simply doing his duty to the best of his ability.

3. There could be no suspicion of any one having been chosen mainly on political grounds.

4. There could be no such claim, and no such sense, of obligation to a particular person or set of persons as may conceivably hamper or trouble one who is appointed to a bishropric by the present system.

5. And lastly, the Churchmen of a diocese would feel an interest, and, as it were, a property in their bishop, and therefore a readiness to listen to him and co-operate with him, in a way which is hardly possible at present. For even if he were not one of their nominees, he would be one whom, by not desiring to challenge his name, they had virtually accepted; so that the ancient rule would be observed that no bishop should be assigned to an orthodox diocese whom the people were unwilling to receive.

I have left myself scant time for speaking of the second topic allotted to me—the question of the appointment of parish priests. This subject is so delicate and complicated that it could only be rightly treated in a paper entirely devoted to it; I will, however, state very briefly the principles which, it seems to me, should regulate the matter.

In the first place, a remedy for abuses is not to be sought in the abolition of those rights of patronage which were secured to founders, donors, and benefactors, by canons of early councils of the Church;*

* See Conc. Orleans, A.D. 543, Can. 33, and 9th Conc. Toledo, A.D. 655, Can. 2. I am indebted for these references to my friend Mr. John Walter Lea.

the placing of restrictions upon the sale of those rights is all that can be wisely done in this direction. On the other hand, I trust that the idea of allowing the parishioners, or even the communicants, to choose their own priest will never be entertained; experience proves that this is perhaps the most demoralising system, both to priest and people, that can possibly be devised. The true theory of the position of a parish priest is that he is the representative of the bishop, deriving his mission or jurisdiction from him, and exercising it in subordination to him, although not removable by him except for good cause and by a formal process. It follows from this, that where the bishop is not the patron, he should have greater power than at present of refusing to institute a priest whom he deems to be unfit for a benefice to which he has been presented. Yet such a power as this would have to be carefully guarded, lest it should be used to destroy the rights of the patron, or to limit unduly the range of permissible doctrine or ritual in the diocese. Probably it would be necessary to lay down certain definite grounds of refusal—such as heresy, immorality, insufficient learning, or insufficient or unsuccessful experience; and the patron should have the right of appeal to a properly constituted provincial court, should the bishop fail to convince him that his objections to his nominee were sound and forcible.

It is more difficult to define the mode of action which might be allowed to the Churchmen of a parish or district, when an appointment was made against which they felt bound to remonstrate. This much may perhaps be safely determined—that such action should be confined to the male communicants of above a certain age, and should take the form of their selecting two of their number to confer with the bishop and explain to him their difficulties. It might be made incumbent upon him to consider carefully their allegations, and in case he was not himself the patron, either to disallow and try to remove their objections, or, if satisfied of their validity, to refuse to institute the priest presented, leaving the patron to appeal, if he thought fit, to the provincial court. In cases where the bishop was the patron, it might be made his duty—if he failed to satisfy the complainants—to refer the matter, should they request him to do so, to the provincial court, the decisions of which should in all cases be final. All this seems to point to an amicable conference between the bishop, the representatives of the communicants, and the patron—if the benefice was not in the gift of the bishop—before a formal appointment was made; and it may be hoped that in all but a very few cases such a conference would lead to an arrangement that could be accepted by all parties.

ADDRESS.

WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE, Esq., D.C.L.

I DESIRE to confine myself to the question of the appointment of Bishops. It must, I think, be agreed that the present mode is faulty. In an age when self-government prevails, it is anomalous that the Church should have no appreciable voice in the election of her governors and chief pastors. Still more strange is it that the representative system should have originated in the representation of dioceses by their bishops at

Synods and Councils, and that the Church to which this system is due should now have her representatives forced on her from without, as if dioceses were "nomination Boroughs."

The early rule of the Church was plain. The ordination and commission were given to each bishop by his brother bishops of the province assembled under the Metropolitan. But these bishops had no power to force a bishop upon an "unwilling clergy and people." The maxim was *Nemo detur invitis.*

Hence the original nomination or election was in the clergy and laity of the diocese, nominating, recommending, or "postulating" a particular man to be their ruler. The Metropolitan and bishops of the province had a veto, as the final appointment, consecration and confirmation was in them.

I would just refer among other authorities to Canon 4 of the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325), Canon 6 of the Council of Sardica (A.D. 347), St. Cyprian's Epistles, 44 and 68, and to the Decrees of Pope Cœlestine (A.D. 427) No. 18, and of Pope Leo (A.D. 444) No. 35.

No doubt it happened that, as the Christian Church became established, and bishops became important public officers in the State, the Emperors wished to have a voice in their appointment; and this voice was conceded to them in many cases, especially in the case of bishops of important cities or of Sees near the Imperial residences. The concession was an act of natural deference to a great Christian layman. The Emperors usurped upon this concession, and got to claim it as a right. They claimed to have a power of directing the laity, by virtue of their despotic authority, how to vote. It was an easy step from this to give the vote in their stead. Dioceses got so large, and communication was so difficult and uncertain, that it was difficult to gather either clergy or laity together; and the Dean and Chapter took the place of the clergy of the diocese, and were more easily controlled by the Emperor. The petty kings and chiefs of the nations which overran the Roman Empire claimed, when they became Christian, the same prerogatives as the Emperors had; and so the right of the Sovereign became universally recognised. The legal forms, however, still in use preserve many traces of the old rights. The thing is to give those forms life and completion.

The working of the system is bad. I do not altogether agree with my friend Mr. Greenwood that the best men are appointed under it. But, however that may be, the clergy and people of a diocese feel, and justly, that a bishop appointed as he is at the present day is not one of themselves, is not their chosen one; and for a long time he is a stranger to them. The bishops themselves do not feel that they are *representatives* of their dioceses. On the contrary, they often consider that, far from keeping up the traditions of the diocese, it is their mission to alter and correct, that they are sent from some centre to rule and shape the dioceses they are put over. Worst of all, the taint of their origin clings to them. The State has appointed them. They feel the claims of the State, sometimes even more than the claims of the Church. Erastianism and the worst forms of Prelacy are thereby encouraged.

But even if the best men are appointed now, it is clear that the best men have not been always appointed. It is unnecessary to go into present instances, but who would defend as a class the nominations of the Georgian era or of Lord John Russell? So far as the present appointments are good, do we not owe it in a great part to the control of public opinion? And in Ireland, where there was little public opinion, we

know what the appointments came to. They are best described by the sarcasm of Swift. He said that the English Government in its parental care took the greatest pains to appoint good bishops to Ireland. That was well known. How was it then that the actual bishops proved so deplorable? Why the evil was that all these excellently appointed bishops had to start from London, and on their road to Ireland they passed over Hounslow Heath, at that time unfortunately invested by highwaymen, and the highwaymen robbed the new bishops of their clothes, arrayed their own selves in them, and proceeded to Ireland as the new bishops in their stead!

I think the late Bishop Wilberforce repeated this saying of Swift in the debate on the Irish Church Disestablishment Act. So much for the past. We have no reason to expect better bishops in future. We have no security for the times when the Prime Minister may be a Nonconformist or even an unbeliever, besides being the nominee of a godless Parliament. The position was considerably different when the appointments of bishops were made by the Sovereign, who was bound to be a member of the Church, upon his own responsibility and conscience, and after consulting the existing heads of the Church, as George III. used often to do.

For a remedy, it is not necessary to make any enormous change. It is not necessary to deprive the State of all voice. I would not do so while there is an Establishment. It is only required to give the Church some voice.

I give you an instance from the Church of Sweden, not as citing her as a model, but because she is Protestant enough, and by some thought too Erastian. She is an Established Episcopalian Church, and the following system is considered safe with her:—It provides for the voice of the clergy by assembling them in their Ruridecanal Chapters and the Cathedral Chapter, letting each Chapter elect three clergymen, then having the three clergymen who obtain the votes of most Chapters returned to the Crown, for the Crown to choose one out of them, who will be consecrated by the Archbishop.

Why should we not adopt some such scheme, only extending it by giving a voice in a similar manner to the faithful laity?

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. C. J. THOMPSON, Vicar of St. John's, Cardiff.

I AM afraid that the few words I have to say on this subject will appear very simple, and, perhaps, scarcely up to the level of such a debate as this; but such as they are, they will, very fairly I think, represent the views of many a parish priest among us in connection with this momentous question. First of all, I venture to think that, if the voice of the Church were heard in the appointment of bishops, we should have a great many more bishops than we have at the present time, and that is the very thing which we parish priests, burdened with large responsibilities and enormous populations, specially need. I have myself no manner of sympathy with the idea that a bishop must, as a matter of necessity, have a very large stipend; and I think those of my brethren who may be similarly placed with myself, with a growing population of 20,000 people, a staff of six or seven clergy, besides no end of lay workers of one kind and another, and who have to work all this upon an endowment of some £200 a year, will sympathise very much with what I say. I do not think that the payment of a stipend of £4000 a year, or a minimum of £3000, is at all necessary to render conspicuous that spiritual lordship which we all recognise as inherent in the Divine office of a bishop. I recognise in the noble, many-sided, self-devoted worker for

God, who, but the other day, laid down his life in Central Africa, a lordship quite equal to that which is so worthily sustained, shall I say, for example, in the recently created diocese of Liverpool. I agree with my friend, Mr. Greenwood, that we could not have, "on the average"—I lay stress on the "average"—a more excellent, able, and pious body of bishops than adorn the episcopal thrones of this kingdom, at the present moment; but it seems to me—and this is the second point to which I wish to call attention, though I speak with some diffidence—that there is one all-important thing which the ordinary bishop, appointed in the ordinary way, rather lacks. To use a term with which we are all familiar, but which is very expressive, it appears to me that the ordinary bishop loses "touch" with his clergy and with his people. If parish priests, who are gentlemen—men of high education and devoted workmen, whose praise is in many a church and parish in the land, whose name is known in every Anglo-Saxon diocese throughout the world—if these men are content to dwell among their own people for 20, 30, 40 years, and to live in a humble apostolic way among them, I see no reason why a bishop should not be found to do the same thing; and I believe that nothing would be more conducive than such a line of conduct, to the gathering in of the people to the bosom of the Church. In the next place, we want our bishops to take their stand on the old lines of apostolic order. They may well be able to give as cordial a grasp as anyone else to the hard horny hand of the toiling workman; but there is no need to be always affecting sympathy with their fellows in such cheap phrases as "the old story," "the old gospel," "the Protestant faith," and "our glorious reformation." Those things belong to all of us. Let no man say he has a monopoly of such beliefs, any more than a monopoly of the excellent virtues of manliness and humanity. I leave it to Mr. Greenwood and Dr. Phillimore to define exactly what is meant by "The Voice of the Church in the Appointment of Bishops;" but I believe that if we had a more popular basis for the selection and appointment of our chief pastors, we should be more likely to have men true to Church order, loyal to the Church which has given them their office, and especially loyal to the great body of the clergy, out of whom they are taken, and whom they are chosen to lead and to rule. Assuredly, a bishop should have the indirect sympathy for all who are without the pale of the Church—he is not worthy of the name of churchman if he has it not—but it seems to me that the very first thing he ought to set before himself is to seek to win the confidence of his clergy, and to do nothing to cast that confidence from him. Let him show that he is in all things true to the Church to which he belongs. I know of nothing that has happened of late years more painful to the feelings of loyal churchmen, than the fact—if accounts be true—that, on an Ember Sunday, when a bishop of the Catholic Church should have been ordaining priests and deacons in his own cathedral, a certain prelate should have taken the opportunity to officiate in the chapel of another body which repudiates our orders, committing, as I venture to think, the betrayal of a high trust; to say the least, an irregularity of the very grossest kind.

The Rev. T. Outram Marshall, Organising Secretary of the English Church Union.

The first thing I want to insist on is that those who charge the present mode o appointing bishops with being most corrupt, are not finding any fault with the Reformation. The corruption was due to Papal interference, centuries ago; and the only fault I have to find with the Reformation, in this respect, is that it failed to reform this great abuse. The second thing I want to insist on is that we are not bringing any charge against the existing bishops as unfit for their posts. But I do say that the very same bishops that we have to day, would be much better bishops than they are if we had chosen them ourselves, instead of having them set over us by the State; because, then, they would feel that they were chosen by us to be our leaders against Erastianism, instead of feeling that they were set over us as magistrates, to repress the dangerous classes among the clergy, and to snub those who are too enthusiastic amongst the laity. Certainly, if we had a voice in their appointment, the relations between the bishops and the clergy would be greatly improved. No one who remembers the solemn words warning us that unless one shall come "to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers,"

God will "smite the earth with a curse," can look at the relations, at present existing, between the bishops and their clergy, and many of their most earnest laity, without feeling that almost any change is worth making which will bring the bishops and clergy, and through them the whole Church, more in harmony with each other. When, however, we say that the bishops should be chosen by the clergy and laity, it must be clearly understood that we mean communicant laity and no others. Somebody is sure to get up presently and say that if the system I advocate were adopted, there would be so much party feeling shown in the election. We do not find that in the Colonial Churches. Many truly grand and apostolic bishops have thus been chosen there, and although there is often great diversity of opinion among the Churchmen in the Colonies, we find that the bishops who are chosen are always accepted without question by the whole diocese. In Jamaica, for instance, the other day, when Bishop Tozer was obliged by illness to resign, there was great diversity of opinion as to who should be chosen as his successor, and though a very strong minority of the clergy and a majority of the influential laity had voted against the man who was appointed, yet they met the day after the appointment and said they accepted it as God's decree, and would loyally work with the new bishop. So much for the over-ruling of God's providence when we work in God's way. We must, however, not only labour and pray for a better mode of appointing bishops in England, but also pray with firm faith for the over-ruling of the present mode, corrupt as it is. Under such conditions as the present, or even worse, we got our great champion and martyr, St. Thomas a'Becket, and we may pray that even now the state-craft of a Prime Minister, and the prejudices of a Sovereign, may be overruled so as to give us another Becket and another Laud. With regard to the Church of Wales, which was referred to by the last speaker, the way to stave off disestablishment there would, in my opinion, be for the four Welsh bishops to meet together, without waiting for an Act of Parliament, and make arrangements for the division of their Sees, and *Incomes*, and for the appointment of four other bishops, who should *all* be Welshmen. These eight bishops might well choose one of their own number as Archbishop of Caerleon, under whom they might meet in a Provincial Synod of their own. Now one word as to the appointment of parish priests. I maintain that the laity have the sacred right, not of electing, nor even of vetoing, but certainly of having an opportunity of objecting to (and having their objections fairly considered) those who may be nominated as their pastors. The communicants should be required to take the trouble to organise themselves as "the body of the faithful" in the parish, and the bishops should then be required to give them a month or six weeks' notice of any appointment that the patron proposes to make. If the communicants, or their representatives, make any objection, the bishop should be bound to consider it, and give his judgment thereon; and if the objection be really weighty, he should take steps to try to save the parish from the appointment. It is not fair or right that a very high Churchman should come and upset a low church parish, or that a very low Churchman, as is far more often the case, should be sent into and upset a high church parish. Is a clergyman to change the hours of service, the music, the hymnal, the altar ornaments, the whole mode of working the parish, according to his own fancy? Surely, the question to be considered is what the communicants like, and not what the parson himself likes. The communicants, therefore, ought to have an opportunity of objecting to, though *not* of vetoing, or electing their parish priest. But in regard to bishops I claim more—I claim the right of free election for the clergy and laity of the diocese. There is this difference between the parish priest and the bishop: the bishop rules, the parish priest only *feeds* and *teaches*. A clergyman, for instance, is called now-a-days a bad and disloyal clergyman, if he ventures to disagree with his bishop, and to say so openly, and to act accordingly; but no layman is said to act disloyally if he ventures to disagree with the parish priest, and says so, and acts accordingly. It is hard, and it seems unreasonable, that we should be freely allowed for ten or twenty years, to disagree as much as we like with a certain well-known clergyman of a very opposite school indeed, and then, because he happens to be sent by the Queen to Liverpool as a bishop, we should all at once be called disloyal Churchmen for continuing to disagree with him, and declining to follow his lead, and all the more so when he himself commits schism in the Church by forsaking the Divine worship offered in the Church of Scotland, and joining instead thereof in the Will-worship of the Presbyterian Establishment.

The Rev. Dr. WIRGMAN, Rector of S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

I SHOULD not have thought it necessary to intrude myself on the Church Congress, were it not for the fact that I can add a little practical experience to what previous speakers have said with regard to a Diocese electing its own bishop. In the Church of South Africa we have for some time elected our own bishops, the communicant laity having a distinct voice in the election. When a vacancy occurs in a See, it is notified to the Metropolitan, who issues his mandate to the senior priest to summon a synod for the election of a successor. Every priest who holds the bishop's license, whether he be beneficed or not, can vote, and each congregation calls a meeting of the communicant laity, and they elect a communicant as their representative. The bishop has to be chosen by a two-thirds majority of each order. The laity cannot carry their man against the clergy, and the clergy cannot elect, as in opposition to the laity, so that the new bishop feels that, when enthroned in his Cathedral Church, he is the bishop chosen freely by their united suffrages. I can only tell you of the working of this system in the Diocese of Grahamstown, in the case of my late Diocesan, Bishop Merriman. The fact of that great, holy, and wise prelate being unanimously elected by the suffrages of his clergy and laity, was for him the one great comfort amidst all his difficulties—and *they were not light*. Our bishop always found when he met his clergy and laity in Synod, that he was really their bishop, and the loyal support he received from both clergy and laity throughout the late troubles, when one recalcitrant priest stood alone in his disloyalty (so far as the clergy were concerned), was, I feel sure, in great measure due to the mode of his election. Having elected our bishop, our clergy and laity determined to stand by him as one man. And now our diocese is about to elect a successor, and I am sure the prayers of this great and sympathetic Church of England will be with us, that a wise man be chosen to take up the heavy burden which has fallen from the shoulders of him whose loss we all so deeply deplore. I may say that I do not feel any undue anxiety as to the result. We do not feel as you feel in England; we do not wonder whom the Prime Minister will please to appoint. We feel that whoever may be appointed, will be appointed by God's Providence according to the catholic lines of God's primitive church. The new bishop, whatever his religious opinions may be, will be elected by the majority of the clergy and laity, and the appointment will be confirmed by the bench of the South African bishops. The appointment being made in this constitutional way, we shall put aside all heart-burnings, and we shall work together under our new Diocesan, looking to him as our *legitimately-elected* Father in God. I must thank you for the patience with which you have listened to a stranger from the Colonies, and if my words can be of any service in urging the clergy and the laity of England to obtain their just rights, I shall feel that I have not spoken in vain.

(*b*) UNBENEFICED CLERGY:—POSITION AND PROSPECTS.

PAPERS.

The Rev. E. G. O'DONOGHUE.

"AT the present time," so writes the Rev. W. L. Blackley, who has been selected to follow me in this discussion, "the services of a great number of otherwise most suitable men are lost to the Church of England, both by unwillingness to enter the profession at all, in view of its many disavantages, and by its abandonment after entrance, from the following causes, too well known to persons familiar with the subject to require any enlarging upon:—

1. "The progressive diminution of income obtainable by an unbeneficed man, however active, as he grows older, caused by the natural unwillingness of incumbents to employ gentlemen senior to themselves in

subordinate positions. 2. The uncertainty of an elderly or aged clergyman, if unbeneficed, being able to obtain the means of existence. 3. The stagnation of promotion to independent posts, caused by the inability of aged and infirm incumbents to afford the resignation of their benefices. 4. The uncertainty of a curate obtaining an independent post at all. 5. The long average time (twelve years) before the promotion of each curate who obtains such a post. 6. The exceptional length of time, as compared with all other professions, during which a young man must remain a burden and expense to his friends before being able to earn his own living.

"These six principal reasons keep numbers of excellent men out of the ministry, while necessarily causing, among those who do enter it and fail of obtaining promotion, discontent, heartburnings, and disappointments, all the greater because, hitherto at least, beyond all reach of practical remedy."

The Position and Prospects of the Unbeneficed Clergy are in this terse statement sufficiently set forth for the practical purpose of the writer, but as comparatively few persons are familiar with the facts and figures of the subject, it will not be out of place to treat it in fuller detail, and to exhibit the conditions of the problem under more than one aspect, as it will certainly be desirable to emphasise the real bearing of the facts submitted, to the exclusion of merely personal considerations. In other words, I believe that the grievances of curates should only be accorded prominence if they can be proved to be actually affecting the welfare of the Church at large, and I must, for my own part, refuse to allow this question to be narrowed down to a petty controversy between the Beneficed and the Unbeneficed Clergy. It will best suit my purpose and be most calculated to secure the interest of my hearers, if I contrast at some length the position and prospects of the younger and older curates respectively, and if I take occasion from time to time to accentuate those evils which are corroding the usefulness of the Church, sharply differentiating them from purely personal grievances.

It must at the outset be frankly admitted, that the position of a curate in the apprentice stage of his career is fatally attractive; for the stipends of assistant curates have within recent years risen so much, that the newly ordained Priest can generally command as much as £150 per annum.

If he has interest—(and a Swiss newspaper informs us that "the Church of England is very largely regarded as a sort of asylum or charitable institution for the maintenance of the younger sons of the upper classes")—if, I say, he has interest, he is not unfrequently "jobbed" into valuable preferment with a haste bordering on indecency. Or, his father-in-law may have money. In this case he is able—nay, he is encouraged—to invest it in the purchase of a spiritual office, assured and reassured by the clerical agent that such an investment is a favourite one with, "ex-colonial bishops, deans, and other dignitaries," while he is filled with a sense of sweet satisfaction, when he reflects that his investment is "calculated to return from 7 to 10 per cent interest."

But even the ordinary average curate, without influence, or with a conscience, finds that his lot (I am speaking of unmarried men) has fallen in places that are pleasant enough during the earlier years of his ministry.

But it may be doubted whether his ministry is of proportionate usefulness to the Church, if it has been correctly computed that the average curate changes, or is forced to change, his post every two years, whereby the continuity and effectiveness of parochial work cannot but suffer.

More than this, a vicar relating his experiences recently stated that three out of four curates, in negotiating about an engagement, stipulated for the proximity of "lawn-tennis and good society."

Now the decisive battles of the Church for pre-eminence, if not for existence, are even now being fought out, and that far away from lawn-tennis grounds and good society, in the busy hives of industry and the reeking haunts of crime. This is where the Church should plant her men, and yet at any rate it is disastrously certain that it is difficult to attract good workers to such places, and that those who do go, are not always better known to their Diocesan or the ideal private patron.

What other religious organisations have learnt, we must learn. The ministry of the Church is a public *service* rather than a speculative *profession*; let the commanders in chief of the Church militant order our youth, our energy, and our enthusiasm to the front, instead of allowing them to skulk behind with the commissariat waggons;—or may we dream of a day when the younger clergy (no longer forsaken by their commanding officers and unknown to their bishops) shall themselves be emulous to bear the brunt of battle?

It is, I repeat, nothing short of disastrous, that our endowments and the flower of the ecclesiastical militia should be concentrated on country parishes or on Church-and-State suburbs, while our weakest positions in the large towns are often manned by the weakest men, and are always the worst provided with proper machinery for parochial organisation.

Instead of enlisting additional curates, for whom there is no means of eventually providing, it would be far more expedient to accept fewer recruits, but better men; it would be far more expedient to economise clerical labour, and to despatch for a fixed period of service carefully selected curates, who should be sent to positions where it was essential that the Church should be represented by her best men.

Absolute fixity of tenure is impracticable and perhaps undesirable; but the continuity and consolidation of religious work would immensely gain if the religious workers were secured in the tenure of their curacies for (say) three or five years.

We may now turn from the younger curate to the position and prospects of his older brother. It is upon the curates of fifteen years' standing and upwards that hardships begin to press with so much severity, that, when they are once sufficiently realised by parents and others, they are likely still further to diminish the quantity and quality of such candidates for ordination, as the prevailing agnosticism may be pleased to spare us. Surely it is a reasonable grievance that, after fifteen or twenty years of—it may be—hard and effective work, a curate should, in spite of a matured experience, not only be further than ever from obtaining a post of permanence and independence, but should actually find it more and more difficult to get continuous and fairly remunerated work.

And yet this must be the consequence of our present system. For, on the one hand, it is the younger curates who come in for the strictly-preserved preferments of interest and purchase. And thus each year a recurring cycle of men, recently ordained and too early promoted, ousts

their no less deserving brethren, thrusting them thereby further and further from hope.

While, on the other hand, in the case of a vacant curacy, as in the case of those livings where there is any pretence of promotion by merit (most of the starvation livings are, however, distributed on this excellent principle), the arguments used against those of the unbeneficed, whose age and experience should in themselves be recommendations, are—"He's a married man with a family" (surely this is a sufficiently Protestant ideal!); "He's not 'safe'" (were the Prophets "safe"?); "He's no private means" (why should it be so hard to succeed in the Christian ministry without great possessions?); or, "He must be a clerical failure, else he would have been beneficed long ago." I have, indeed, been told that there have been incumbents for whose mediocrity a "clerical failure" was no unwelcome foil, yet it is natural enough, in a sense, that incumbents should be unwilling to engage for subordinate, but not very clearly defined positions, gentlemen, in the prime of life—it may be—but yet of equal or senior standing to themselves.

This seems the place to shatter the fallacy, that all who do not get permanent posts or adequate maintenance in the Church of England, are "clerical failures." Now there are failures in every profession and service, and it would not be expedient in the service of the Church (it is a service rather than a profession) to deal too tenderly with the many failures that are, we are sometimes told, put into it as the only service "fit for failures," nor, it is certain, ought we, as we do, by artificial means to prevent their finding their proper level.

If there were any approximation to promotion by merit, if there were a fair field and no favour, if the number of permanent posts bore any fair relation to the number of men each year ordained, even the older and unsuccessful curates would have no reasonable ground of complaint, for the conditions of the competition would have been fair, and so would have tended to secure the survival of the fittest rather than of the unfittest.

But under the present order of things, to the great detriment of the Church, the unfittest are, by purchase, for example, artificially preserved; while much ability and some rare capacities for parochial organisation are under the present unfair pressure transferred to literary and scholastic spheres.

This is a startling statement, but it is still more startling to learn on the authority of some calculations published by the Curates' Augmentation Fund, that "every 100 men ordained eventually compels a similar number to seek other means of maintenance outside the Church, and hence the number of unattached clergy, who, however, take occasional duty, nearly equals the number of curates in active service."

Now, if all bodies of emigrants contain a large proportion of the more energetic and industrious members of the community, we are justified in conjecturing, that a large proportion of those obliged to migrate elsewhere in search of more remunerative employment are men whose desertion represents an incalculable loss to the Church. And it is a matter of especial regret, that such abilities are unnecessarily lost to us, and that the result is to retain less serviceable material, which would have long ago disappeared in the absence of artificial preservation.

There may well, therefore, be "clerical failures" among the ranks of

the unbeneficed as well as among the beneficed; but it can never be just thus to stigmatise the great mass of older curates, so long as (1) promotion by private interest and by purchase is so frequent; and so long as (2) many *must* remain curates for long periods of time, and some *must* be curates all their lives, owing to the continuous enlistment of curates without regard to the number of available benefices. And as for those—be they "failures" or not—who, in spite of many temptations, have determined to remain faithful to the Church for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, I cannot bring myself to view with complacency the fortunes of their declining years, nor can I pretend to congratulate the Church on her liberality, or even fairness towards them. The time comes when, unless they are fortunate enough to be put on the clerical agent's staff to serve as a "warming-pan" in some desirable living, they find it difficult to get permanent engagements; the time comes, when their enforced changes are more frequent, with increasing expenses, and when their stipend begins to decrease £1 a year till £140 per annum has melted away to £100 a year. More frequent changes, greater expenses, more terrible anxieties. Are these the only prospects that we can offer our tried and true servants?

With one last glimpse, let us glance at the position and prospects of the unbeneficed, although these remarks apply, alas! equally to the beneficed clergy. What pauperism is to rich England, our pauper clergy are to our rich Church. We have actually a pauper clergy, in life obliged to be thankful for cast-off clothes, demanding help in sickness and old age, together with a free education for their children, and on their death-bed bequeathing wives and children as a legacy to be devided amongst 247 clerical charities. There is a ghastly skeleton hidden under the pomp and circumstance of the Establishment, and yet how few but the silent sufferers know it. Remedies there may be: nay, remedies there are; but who has the heart to discuss them? For embarked as we have been for so many years on an ocean of endless palaver, shall we ever sight the possibility of putting them into action?

The Rev. W. L. Blackley, Rector of North Waltham.

A paper on the "Position and Prospects of Unbeneficed Clergy," may be stated in different but equivalent terms as treating of "Curates' disadvantages and their possible removal."

I speak of curates' *disadvantages*, for I object to the word *grievance* in this connection at all. No man has any *grievance*, properly so-called, against a profession, unless it have either compelled him to enter it or broken some preliminary engagement it may have made with him to induce his entering upon it. This the Church of England cannot be shown to have done with her curates. Therefore they have no *grievance*. But they certainly labour under great disadvantages. The object of the Curates' Alliance is to remedy these disadvantages. Their aim at least ought to command the sympathy of all Churchmen of all classes, and I sympathise myself most cordially with that aim. But, since (as I have had occasion to show in an article in the April *Church Quarterly Review*), I find among the remedies they suggest for their

disadvantages not one that seems to me a practical proposal, I am bound, though sympathising with their aims, to dissent from their methods.

They have, however, done good service—firstly, in drawing attention to certain difficulties as indicating directions in which remedies may be sought which no one blames them for not yet finding; and secondly, in showing to the more thoughtful men among their own number, how much more difficult it is to complain than to cure, and thus prevent their feeling too sanguine of immediate advantages from the present agitation. However sympathising with the aim of the Alliance, there is one part of their action with which I should not be dealing frankly to pass over here without an honest expression of opinion. Whether all sales of all advowsons can be abolished or no by obstructing sales by auction only; whether the good cause be advanced or no by the systematic public chaffing of unfortunate auctioneers; whether the grave character of that Christian ministry, whose members "must not strive," suffer or no by the violent evictions from sales rooms of clergy whose last idea in entering was to become purchasers; these are matters of taste and opinion which I will not presume either to discuss or to decide. But if, as I quite readily believe, it be a feeling of conscientious duty which prompts generous-minded young men to such courses, I must point out, as a matter of simple logic, a consequence which this conduct involves. Its justification is based on the assumption that every sale of an advowson must be, and must have been, a corrupt and sinful thing in itself. If the root be corrupt, the branches must be corrupt; and, as every advowson in private hands has been, or must be, at one time or another, sold and bought, every holder of this opinion is logically bound to refuse partaking of other men's sins by accepting any living offered by a private patron. The general carrying out of this logical duty would absolutely abolish the sale of advowsons, and is in the power of the curates to accomplish. That they should agree to use this power is perhaps too much to ask of poor human nature.

Though I will not further allude to the controversy which the Curates' Alliance has aroused, or criticise one by one its proposals, I must still, in the interest of brotherly Christian feeling, enter a word of quiet protest against the common, but really fallacious assumption, that the supposed grievances of the unbeneficed clergy, as a class, are due to any jealousy or hostility, as a class, of the beneficed. That there may be tyrannical or disagreeable individuals among the incumbents will be as frankly admitted as that there may be useless or impracticable individuals among the curates. But the two classes are the same men in everything but circumstance, while their being the same, even in this, is for the most part a question of time. All have been curates, all are quite willing to become incumbents. A vast number of the beneficed men can show at least as hard experience as the great majority of the unbeneficed who now lift up their voices; and I may be pardoned for stating, in proof of my claim to cordially sympathise with any proven grievance of the curates, that before receiving my present benefice I laboured myself thirteen years as a curate, in one post, on a clerical income of less than £100 a-year, without a house. My particular business, however, to-day, is to take up several of the points shown (not

only by the promoters of the Curates' Alliance, but by those of the Curates' Augmentation Fund), to operate to the great disadvantage, both of the unbeneficed clergy, and of the true Church interests of our people, and to propound a suggestion of my own, by which I am led to believe a considerable amelioration may, in course of time, be effected as regards these special points.

At the present time the services of a great number of otherwise most suitable men are lost to the Church of England, both by unwillingness to enter the profession at all, in view of its many disadvantages, and by its abandonment, after entrance, from the following causes :—

1. The progressive diminution of income obtainable by an unbeneficed man, however active, as he grows older, caused by the natural unwillingness of incumbents to employ gentlemen senior to themselves in subordinate positions. 2. The uncertainty of an elderly or aged clergyman, if unbeneficed, being able to obtain the means of existence. 3. The stagnation of promotion to independent posts, caused by the inability of aged and infirm incumbents to afford the resignation of their benefices. 4. The uncertainty of a curate obtaining any independent post at all. 5. The long average time (twelve years) before the promotion of each curate who obtains such a post. 6. The exceptional length of time, as compared with all other professions, during which a young man must remain a burden and expense to his friends before being able to earn his own living.

These six principal reasons keep numbers of excellent men out of the ministry, while necessarily causing, among those who do enter it, and fail of obtaining promotion, discontent, heartburnings, and disappointments, all the greater because, hitherto at least, beyond all reach of practical remedy.

The present proposal aims at correcting all these distressing conditions, and is based on the following hypothesis :—If every clergyman hereafter to be ordained could, at sixty years of age, claim a pension of £100 a year, on the one condition of his not holding a benefice, difficulties No. 1 and No. 2 would at once disappear. On reaching the pension age the unbeneficed man's income would be largely increased, instead of diminishing, and means of existence would never be in doubt.

Difficulty 3 — the rarity of resignations — would be largely and sufficiently diminished, for it would become the interest of all vigorous incumbents of livings up to £100 a year, and of all infirm ones (now obliged to employ curates) of livings up to £350 a year, to resign their benefices at sixty years of age. Each of the latter must pay a curate on the average £130 out of his £350, leaving him only £220 for himself; while, by retiring, he might have the third part of his living—say £116—with his pension of £100, together £216 ; practically as much as he could obtain by clinging to his living, and keeping another man for years in a subordinate post. Now, as far more than two-thirds of all the livings in England are below £350 a year in value (there being 8,752 under £300, as against 4,548 above £300), it is plain that, not reckoning the effect of the pension on stimulating retirement from the larger livings, the resignation at a much earlier age than now of more than two livings in every three, would largely multiply the independent posts available for curates, and fairly extinguish difficulty No. 3.

Difficulty No. 4 would also be very largely corrected, the uncertainty of promotion to an independent post being diminished by the great increase in the number of such posts available; and difficulty No. 5 would be equally corrected, since the average length of probation would be greatly shortened, possibly indeed from twelve years, as at present, down to six or five. The remedy for No. 6 will appear further on.

The next question is, how to realise the hypothesis.

The only conceivable certain way is by insurance—by an insurance effected on safe terms by the clergy themselves henceforth to be ordained. I should scorn to propose any other scheme than an absolutely independent one. Anything in any way depending on doles, donations, contributions, collections, charity, must be both demoralising and precarious. It is pauperization in the beginning, degradation in the course, and probable bankruptcy at the close, of working life. Such an insurance as I propose must trust to no alms, or gifts, or subscriptions, and it must, instead of being contributed periodically, and therefore precariously, be paid up in one sum at the commencement of professional life. A very small sum indeed will secure this insurance of £100 pension under the conditions named.

The cost, at a 4 per cent. investment (and I may mention that the whole funds of the Clergy Mutual Society are invested at £4 4s. 0d. per cent.) of an insurance effected at ordination for £100 a year pension, claimable at 60, without any conditions, is, by the Carlisle table, £132. If all the clergy made such a payment, with the condition that only unbeneficed men should receive pension, it is plain that if there be, roughly speaking, twice as many beneficed as there are unbeneficed clergy, only one-third could be at one time in receipt of pension, and that a general contribution of a third of the £132—that is of £44—would secure the desired object. For absolute security let the sum be placed at £50. This small payment made by each man at ordination would work all the important remedies for want of which the Church is languishing.

But how is it to be got from every man in future to be ordained?

To make the payment compulsory would be to check the supply of candidates for Orders. It cannot be compelled, and I do not propose it. *But it may be induced.* It may be made the plain interest of every candidate for Holy Orders to secure the pension before ordination. How? By the Bishops of the Church, for the Church's own good, taking measures for admitting candidates by faculty into the diaconate (not into the priesthood) a year earlier than at present, on the one condition of their being provided with the suggested policy of insurance. This would correct difficulty 6, the late age for ordination, to the great advantage of all parties concerned.

But how would such a measure provide the £50 for each candidate? In the simplest way. At the present time the candidate must live without professional earnings during his twenty-third year; but if ordained deacon at twenty-two, instead of being, as at present, a burden to his friends during that year, he will be well able to support himself. If his friends provided the £50 for the insurance, they would be no worse off than now; and he would be certain of a secure pension for old age, if unsuccessful in procuring preferment in the Church. But even did his friends not provide the £50, he might do it himself out of

his first year's, or first two years' earnings. And therefore the best form of carrying out the proposal would be to make the faculty for earlier ordination depend on the incumbent who gives the nomination binding himself to deduct the amount required for the insurance by instalments from the stipend earned in the two years' diaconate; the passing on of the deacon to priest's orders at the end of that time being dependent on the due fulfilment of the condition undertaken. His average earnings during his first two years will be about £250; which, deducting the cost of insurance, would leave him £200 to live on during his twenty-third and twenty-fourth years, instead of £125, as at present. This direct advantage, working with the other advantage of giving a year's additional clerical standing, would almost infallibly induce all candidates for orders to make the suggested provision.

The possibility of passing an Act for this purpose may be disputed. But, if really and plainly for the Church's good, its chance would be hopeful. No thoughtful man has any right at the present time to check any movement whatever by the assumption that this or that exceptional thing can never be supposed likely to pass into law.

Lastly, a word as to the machinery to be used. It is ready to our hand in the Curates' Augmentation Fund. If only a law could be passed to sanction, for this one beneficent purpose, the giving of faculties for ordination to deacon's orders at twenty-two, there being only an average of 600 curates annually ordained, the work of securing the policies would average only twelve transactions a week, or two a day, by a society already provided with an office and a staff. A few pounds a year for correspondence would practically be all the expense involved for the first thirty-eight years while the pension fund accumulated; and not only would that society never be called on to give a farthing to any clergyman over sixty years of age, but the immense reduction in the number of old curates caused by the multiplication of resignations and the shortening of stipendiary service, would fully enable it to carry out its first beneficent intention, and to give to every unbeneficed man of fifteen years' work and standing its full sum of £100 a year, say from thirty-eight years of age to sixty, when he would become entitled to draw the pension provided by himself.

This proposal is only put forth in the briefest form for general consideration, and the few figures given, though sound, are of course only approximate. I do not enter now and here on objections to the scheme, which, however, so far as I have heard them, are capable of easy answer; I only beg to commend the earnest study of the matter to all incumbents and curates, all bishops and all Churchmen, who desire to see the removal of difficulties, discouragements, and disadvantages, which, from the fault of neither classes nor individuals, are now besetting the progress of the best Church work, and disheartening many of the best Church workers.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. C. A. LANE, Curate of St. Thomas's, Huddersfield.

MOST of what I was going to say has been alluded to by Mr. O'Donoghue, therefore, in the six minutes allowed me, I do not hope to do more than allude to a remark of Mr. Blackley's, which is open to some question, viz., that the prospect of the clergy obtaining preferment is merely a "*question of time.*" I do not think that is quite the fact. The Organising Secretary of the Curates' Augmentation Fund, I see is here, and he will be able to correct me if my figures are wrong, but I believe there are only 14,000 benefices at the present time, and over 24,000 clergy. How these 10,000 additional clergy are all to obtain benefices, I should like Mr. Blackley to explain? The possibilities of preferment are less than ever before, because 80 years ago there were more benefices than clergy, and they will grow still less as time goes on, because, as the population increases, there will be a still greater number of clergy unable to fulfil the parochial duties required by their growing parishes, and therefore compelled to seek the aid of an assistant curate, thus increasing the numbers of the already too-numerous unbeneficed clergy. Before these assistant curates can all obtain preferment there must be a larger proportion of churches, and because it is not likely there will ever be so many churches as clergy, the unbeneficed among them must look more closely after their present position, and try to remedy its difficulties and disadvantages; foremost among which is the question of their stipend. Take an example. A beneficed clergyman, who finds the work of his parish too much for him, advertises for and obtains an assistant curate, and, very often, he has no *sure* means of providing that curate with a stipend, but only the conditional promises of his people, or the help he may obtain from societies, offertories, sewing meetings for the "curates' fund," and the like. I have seen many instances of such a state of things, which puts the curate in the position of a mendicant in the eyes of those he ministers to. The proposition I have to suggest is simply this, that before a bishop allows an incumbent to nominate an assistant curate he shall, first of all, be sure that the incumbent is able not only to provide the curate with a probable stipend, but that he is able also to guarantee its continuance. I am acquainted with a case in which a man has not had his stipend *assured* to him. He took what appeared to be a very good curacy, as curacies go, but his stipend was to come from two sources, partly from the subscriptions of the congregation—a large portion of which was given by one rich man, who died soon after the curate came into residence—and partly from the Curates' Augmentation Society. After a time that society wrote to say that, having provided that parish with a grant for over twenty years, after the expiration of six months they could not continue the grant. The poor curate, who was a married man with a family, had thereupon to take the usual six months' notice to leave, with no possibility of redress—an appeal to the bishop would have profited him nothing. This is what, I suppose, even Mr. Blackley would call a grievance, because it was really a breach of the covenant made with the curate by the vicar. If some sort of guarantee fund, something like the Bishop of Bedford's fund, could be provided in every diocese, from which all the unbeneficed or assistant clergy should be paid, such unfortunate examples would not occur.

Mr. THOMAS LAYMAN, London.

I TAKE it for granted that the distinction drawn between a disadvantage and a grievance by Mr. Blackley is more apparent than real. However true it may be that a man may have no real grievance before he enters the ministry and becomes an unbeneficed priest, he has certain grievances of which he may justly complain after then. I take it also for granted, that the admirable remedy which Mr. Blackley has so skilfully propounded, and which is one I only wish could be initiated to-morrow, would, if introduced, improve very greatly the position of the curates as time runs on; but I think that it would not do so to the extent that is desirable, nor would it be the remedy which all spiritually-minded clergy would wish to see adopted. If Mr. Blackley's remedy is introduced at all, it will be of some advantage to the circumstances of unbeneficed priests, be those circumstances what they may. In the two or

three minutes allotted to me I can only point out what, in my opinion, is the real remedy not only for this grievance, but for many other grievances of the present time. The only difficulties connected with the position of unbeneficed priests mainly arise from the financial position—others can be obviated or removed—but the one remedy, without which none whatever can be of any real abiding use, is a change of trustees for the property of the Church. There are persons no doubt in this large assembly who may identify such a proposition with the idea of disendowment. Let me at once say that it conveys no such notion whatever. One of the grossest fallacies that deludes public opinion is the fallacy that the Church of England is established by law—this is more than a fallacy, it is a falsehood—and springing from that falsehood is the idea that the Church of England is an endowed Church. It is no such thing. What endowments there are, are endowments of individuals and not the endowments of the Church. The security that those individuals have for these endowments is simply that the State—the body corporate of the whole kingdom—is the trustee. The remedy for the evil which unbeneficed priests suffer, is simply to change the trusteeship—to have in every diocese a Church Trust for the management of the Church property within that diocese. Is it not as clear as daylight that if you had such a trust, common honesty, common sense, not to say Christianity, would give to every worker within the diocese sufficient to provide for his daily wants, whatever they might be. In the case of fixed occupations, such as parish priests, the income would be provided by their congregations; for heads of colleges and corporations of that character, the incomes would of course remain fixed and provided by the Diocesan Trust. In the case of curates, they would become members of one grand missionary body, working under the headship of the bishop himself, their support guaranteed by the Trust, and obtained through the hearts and the pockets of the faithful laity—a support which has never yet been drawn upon to one-tenth the extent to which it is willing heartily to respond. Let the remedy be sought in this direction, and the disadvantages and evils which now afflict the Church will immediately disappear, through the exercise of her own power of self-government, without which they will never be done away with, but will remain to cripple her usefulness and degrade her position.

The Rev. J. W. HORSLEY, Hon. Sec. of the London Junior Clerical Society.

ONE of my reasons for taking part in this discussion is that I am not a beneficed clergyman, nor an unbeneficed clergyman—indeed, I am "neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, nor good red-herring"—I belong to that harmless but necessary class—gaol chaplains. I speak now, however, as having been for the last seven years Hon. Sec. of the London Junior Clerical Society, and as, therefore, being obliged to know what is passing in the minds of my brethren. When I came down to this Congress, while walking through the streets, my companion heard one workman say to another, "Bill, what are all these parsons about?" He apparently could not understand the black fever which is afflicting the town. The other said, "Well, I suppose they are out on strike." I said to myself, "Right you are, old pal, we are out on strike; we have an end to gain, and we mean to gain it." A previous speaker said that we have no grievance. I say we have. Not with regard to pay, although the pay of the elementary schoolmaster is much in advance of that of the English assistant clergy. What we stand up for is the recognition of the essential equality of the priesthood. I did not like to hear Mr. Greenwood say that the Synod of the future was to be attended by representatives of the clergy. That at once strikes at the root of the position. When I had only been ordained priest six months, I was summoned by the Bishop of Oxford to a Synod, because the bishop could do nothing else than summon me, as I was as much a priest as any Venerable Archdeacon there. There still lingers in some places the old idea that the three orders of the ministry are bishops, vicars, and curates, and this we mean to protest against. A friend of mine, a curate, was a year and a half before he was allowed to celebrate in his own church or to preach, except to the school children and the maid-servants in the afternoon. We have been told that it is our bounden duty to protest against that iniquitous thing prelacy, but there is another thing quite as bad, and that is vicary. I am sure that the speediest way for the assistant clergy to obtain what they want, whether in the matter of pay, position, or anything else, is to strike at once against the injustice of not being recognised as equal in

the franchise. I will conclude by reading to you the resolutions passed at and by a meeting of the unbeneficed clergy of the Archdeaconry of London on March 12 :— 1. That whereas the summons to vote for the election of Proctors is addressed to the clergy at large *(totus clerus)*; and whereas Convocation has on several occasions recommended that "the Proctors for each diocese be elected by the clergy in priests' orders in the diocese, beneficed or licensed"; and whereas, high legal authority (the Vicar-General of Canterbury) has declared that "with the licence and approbation of the Crown it would be competent to Convocation to make this suggested alteration, which seems desirable and reasonable"; this meeting of unbeneficed clergy of the Archdeaconry of London respectfully protests against the long-continued neglect of their claims. 2. That this meeting is of opinion that the recent proposals of Convocation with regard to the enfranchisement of the unbeneficed are inadequate, inasmuch as (*a*) they do not recognise the essential equality of the priesthood, (*b*) they offer less than has been already recommended by Convocation, and (*c*) while excluding assistant-curates of less than five years' standing, they would admit incumbents who have not completed that term from their ordination to the right and privilege of voting. 3. That this meeting is of opinion that Convocation requires immediate reform in the direction of a largely increased representation of the parochial clergy.

The Rev. H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, Minor Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral.

IT is as well to remember, when speaking of the unbeneficed clergy, that they are not all curates. I am a minor canon and unbeneficed, and I think our position *may* involve disadvantages as great as those of other assistant clergy. Mr. Horsley reminded us that curates have sometimes much to bear from their vicars. But curates at most have but one master, and, possibly, a mistress, while minor canons are under the orders of a dean and of several residentiaries besides. That this may sometimes be no imaginary grievance is shown by the fact that not long since a minor canon was censured by Dean and Chapter for declining to receive Holy Communion twice in one day! Further, if he should chance to be a man of some independence of thought, and take a line of his own, he is sure to be taken to task for it by one or another. What may suit one will displease another, and, in any case, the position is surely one in which a man should not be allowed to grow old. For myself, if all cathedral Chapters were like that of St. Paul's, there would be little reason for complaint on grounds like these. I look upon it as the great privilege of my life to be allowed to serve such a Chapter. Still, I have no position in the diocese; I am not recognised as a curate is, and I have no vote for the Diocesan Conference. I might have got one as secretary of the Young Men's Friendly Society (not as a minor canon), but to claim my vote on that ground I must have the bishop's license, which in my peculiar position I do not hold. This, if not a grievance, is certainly a disadvantage. Mr. Blackley will be glad to learn that a regular system of pensions exists for us at St. Paul's; and I may add that in St. Paul's curates are frequently asked to preach on Sunday evenings, chiefly by appointment of members of the Chapter. Mr. Blackley disapproves of the action taken by some members of the Curates' Alliance with respect to the sale of advowsons by auction. I dislike it as much as he can do, and I am far from pledging myself to agreement with all that is said and done by that body; but is it not the fact that the English people will never move to redress a grievance until some strong action is taken by the aggrieved? Look at the emancipation of the Jews. People were all agreed that it was just; but while Rothschild sat quietly under the gallery of the House of Commons nothing was done to admit him. When Salomons forced his way to his seat, and created a scandal, justice was done at once. So with the Irish question. So with the eastward position—forbidden by one judgment, allowed by another. Why? Because there had been a great agitation and disturbance in the meanwhile. Therefore, I can quite understand members of the Alliance arguing thus:—"People may agree with us in disapproving the sale of livings; but history shows that nothing will be done to stop it until some sensational protest is made. We will make it, then, at Tokenhouse Yard." And say what we may, such action has accomplished something. It is almost impossible to sell a living by public auction now.

The Rev. J. W. GEDGE, M.A., Diocesan Inspector.

I BELONG to another class of the unbeneficed clergy, being a Diocesan Inspector of Schools and Secretary of St. John's Foundation School for the Sons of the Poor Clergy. As such, I am daily brought into contact with all classes of the unbeneficed clergy, and therefore, in making any remarks on this subject, I am speaking of what I know. I cannot help thinking that the position of the unbeneficed clergy is better than it was twenty years ago, when I was ordained. Curates, in those days, never preached except in the afternoon, and never were allowed to celebrate Holy Communion. The improvement which has taken place in their position since then is owing specially to the multiplication of services, more particularly of celebrations. Yet since I entered this hall to-day, a grey-headed curate said to me, "I wish you would mention, as a fact, that I am never allowed to preach in my church except in the afternoon." I knew a curate, twenty years ago, in the neighbourhood of Derby, who used to be called "the Vicar's man." "You have not been to see me, Sir," said a poor man to the Vicar, "but you have sent your man." I do not think that is the way in which a hard-working priest visiting the poor is treated now. Besides his position as a priest, his social position as a gentleman is always now recognised. Who are those who make the best lawn-tennis players? The curates of the parish. I wish they would exert their powers more to teach the lads of the village the game. Again, the curate, if he be a gentleman, may marry whom he likes. Most of us have heard of the man who began life as a shoe-black in Birmingham, went through the grades of scripture-reader and curate in a provincial town, then went to a great church in London, and ended by marrying a lady of title while yet a curate. We are told that curates have sometimes to wait twelve years for a living. Well, one of the bishops (it was not my own bishop) whispered to me the other day that, when he had to fill up a vacant living, he looked among the curates of his diocese and found considerable difficulty in finding a really active hard-working man to fill it. I would remind those who complain of the old fable of the carter who asked Jove to help him to get his cart out of the mud, and in reply received the suggestion that he should help himself. What does the briefless barrister do? He takes other work. I think that when a curate has done six hours' work a day in his parish, he is justified in occupying himself with other work. Bishops write books, and curates are perfectly justified, if they can get it, in obtaining literary work. There is any amount of such to be obtained in the way of magazine-writing and the compilation of school books. There is hardly a clergyman with a head on his shoulders who could not earn, at least, £50 a year by such work. There is also a great deal to be done in the way of education. I do not mean by taking boarders into your house and destroying the peace of your household. I mean such work as lecturing in private schools. Again, let some of the active unbeneficed clergy offer themselves to our Colonial bishops. There is any amount of work to be obtained in the colonies, and there are any number of livings. I have been twice asked by Colonial bishops since I entered Derby this week, to recommend a clergyman for the Colonies. Such a man has every prospect of honourable and remunerative employment, and he will be following in the honoured track of such men as Bishop Merriman and George Augustus Selwyn.

The Rev. R. H. HADDEN, Curate of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, and President of the Curates' Alliance.

IF the preceding speakers have stood here in an anomalous position, I claim to occupy the almost unique position of being a curate of the Church of England absolutely without a grievance. My lot is cast in that ecclesiastical elysium known as the city of London. I am remunerated at a rate which would make the mouths of most curates water, and cause many a beneficed clergyman to grin with envy. I have neither a sickly wife nor an increasing family of hungry children. I have abundance of work and plenty of play, and I have been happy in serving for the last four years under my intimate friends—for so I may venture to call them—the Rev. Harry Jones, of St. George's-in-the-East, and the Rev. William Rogers, of Bishopsgate. To come to one more personal particular, I do not know that I have any cause to be anxious about my worldly prospects. Now it was my fortune to be elected President of the Curates' Alliance, and for the past year I have been father confessor

to a good many curates in different parts of the country. If I may take the essence of the many letters which I have received, it comes to this, that what the curates want is not more pay chiefly, but to be allowed to do their own work in their own way—in other words, to be allowed to feel their responsibility as priests of the Church of England. For instance, amongst other things, curates claim their right to celebrate the Holy Communion, even when the vicar is in residence; and they do so because they are priests of the Church of England, and because they have been licensed by the bishops to celebrate the sacraments and to preach the Word of God. I do protest against curates being always compelled, especially in the West End of London, to preach only to the maid-servants in the afternoon. It is not fair, and you do not get the best out of a man if you relegate him to such exclusively subordinate positions; and, as a matter of fact, the best parishes in the country are those in which the curates are allowed to feel their responsibility. I will name three of them. The first is St. Peter's, London Docks, on the borders of which I lived for two years. I suppose I differ as profoundly as anyone from the ritual and teachings of my friends there, but I am bound to admire the grand, sympathetic spirit in which all the clergy work together. I would also mention the parish of Canon Erskine Clarke, at Battersea, and the parish of St. Peter's, Eaton Square. I really think something might be done to raise the position of the unbeneficed clergy. I should like to hear, for example, that between this Congress and the next a few curates had been invited to preach in our great cathedrals. Let me conclude. Looking down the list of the General Committee of the Congress, I find that it consists of about eighty members, but I only see the name of one curate besides the clerical secretary. I do hope, for the credit of the diocese of Lichfield, that the unbeneficed clergy here are not such a set of muffs that they could not be trusted to take their share in the management of this great gathering. I object to this policy of exclusion. Of one thing I am certain, we would not stand it in London.

The Rev. J. J. COWDEN COLE, Vicar of Upton, Somerset.

I SUPPOSE that Mr. Blackley's proposal for remedying the grievances of the unbeneficed by compulsory insurance is meant for some future day—at any rate it could not come into operation just at present. Curates' disadvantages—for we are told we must not speak of their grievances—will have to be borne some considerable time under any circumstances. With regard to Mr Layman's proposal, "Change your trust-deeds," Parliament will perhaps do that for us without the advocacy of the Curates' Alliance. The Curates' Alliance themselves propose to solve the question by the way of the reform of Church Patronage; and is it, I would ask, so very unreasonable of them to propose to do so? There are many other Church Reformers who would solve all our ecclesiastical questions by means of the reform of Church Patronage. Now, I have my own panacea for the removal of the difficulties and disadvantages under which curates labour, and I will venture to say that it is the key of the position. I affirm that the true solution of the question is to be found in the congregations. If we could get the congregations to take the subject up, the question would at once be in a fair way of solution. A remedy would be provided with regard to pay, because the congregations, instead of relying on the vicars and rectors to find stipends for the assistant clergy, would themselves come forward to do so. The congregations might also appoint a curate for a certain number of years, say three or five, and at the end of that time the curate would go away again to another congregation. They would also be ready to receive their assistant-minister when he came to their church or parish, and when he left they would take proper and formal leave of him. If we thus could get the congregations to take up the question of the reforms which the Curates' Alliance urge, a great deal would be accomplished. And I would say that whatever may be the future of the Curates' Alliance, this great meeting here to-day will at any rate give to it some degree of stability. The present attempt is not the first which has been made to carry out Church Reforms through the agency of the assistant-clergy. Previous attempts have proved unsuccessful; but I will make bold to prophecy that the interest that has been displayed in this morning's meeting will help the curates of the Church of England, and the Curates' Alliance in particular, to obtain that footing with regard to Church questions which it is so necessary for them to have. And I will say further that, if as a Church we want to keep our own Trusts intact, and on the footing on which they at present rest, we must all—vicars, rectors, and dignitaries

of the Church, and the congregations as well—try to put on a more satisfactory basis that increasing body within the Church—a body which it is likely will still more increase with the population of the country—viz., the Church's Assistant-Ministers.

The Rev. THEOPHILUS BENNETT, M.A., Bepton Rectory, Sussex.

IT is said that that building will stand longest which has the widest possible basis and the narrowest possible top. We stand here to-day to advocate the claims of the Curates' Alliance. The curates have the widest possible basis in our Church, and, therefore, they ought to obtain from us the most attentive consideration and regard. I look upon the curates as A 1. We have heard of the Curates' Augmentation, of the Curates' Alliance, and of the Assistant Curates—three A's—and I therefore say the curates are A 1. We ought all to rally to the assistance of the curates. As every speaker hitherto has introduced himself, I will do so also. I am at a lower depth than all the previous speakers—I have the pleasure of being at present simply a *locum tenens*, or L. C. ! I was ordained in 1847. I knew then that I was putting my hand in a lottery-bag, and I have not drawn a prize. Still, I am not going to sit down and cry on that account. As a previous speaker has said, the speeches have all been so good that hardly anything is left for me to say ; but I may state that I agree with all the speakers who have preceded me, with the exception of Mr. Blackley, whom I regard as having been rather a wet blanket. One of Mr. Blackley's suggestions sounded very much like putting a sort of premium on orders, and if that is not simony I do not know what is. I may say that when I was a poor beneficed clergyman in Leinster, and paid a curate the usual stipend, I always endeavoured to treat him like a gentleman ; and I am sure that if every vicar treats his curates as gentlemen and as brother clergymen—if he put them in a position of responsibility, show them that they must fulfil their duties, and *trust* them—he will find that the curates will work well for them, and be better satisfied. I would like to urge the establishment of Friendly Societies. Such a society is now in existence, and I trust it will be largely supported. I would also recommend the establishment of a curates' *agency*, so that a supply of clergy may be obtained without any great expense to the clergy themselves. I think, at all events, that the cost ought to be divided between the curates and the incumbents. A gentleman asked me yesterday how it was possible to get promoted. I could only reply that I had been all these years in the Church, and I was unable to tell him. But of all rats, as O'Connell said, the poorest rat was the cu-rat.

The Rev. J. F. MCCALLAN, M.A., Vicar of New Basford, Nottingham.

I FEEL much grieved to hear that Mr. Blackley and other gentlemen, whose authority is very high indeed with those who know them, should only attempt a palliation instead of a reform of the grievances and wrongs of the curates. What we want is not merely clerical aids, or augmentations, or insurances—we want to get to the root of the abuses that are patent to all who take the subject into consideration. As for the sarcasms that are sometimes launched against the gentlemen who go to the auction sales, I regard them as at least unkind. When the sales of livings are made illegal, those who now sneer at these leaders of a forlorn hope will, I think, be inclined to applaud rather than condemn their proceedings. What is wanted is that the sale of livings should be altogether forbidden. The whole thing is an abomination, and if at the time of the coming democracy the Church has not washed its hands of it, the Church will assuredly be disestablished and disendowed. There is no man who dare stand up in public and support the sale of livings. It is wrong from base to summit ; the whole country is against it ; it ought to be opposed by every earnest churchman ; it is a vile scandal, and is keeping thousands of working men out of the Church. It ought to be assailed on all sides. I do not want to put an end to the system by revolutionary means, I want to do it by reform, and I see no difficulty whatever, at any rate, in regard to private patronage. Surely it would be better to give compensation

instead of maintaining this continued wrong. There is no reason why the livings should not be scheduled, and why those private patrons who have gained their rights by purchase during the last 50 years should not be compensated out of the livings themselves. Such a course would lead to the adjustment of a large number of the grievances and wrongs of which curates now have a right to complain. With regard to the livings in public patronage, there is no reason why the incomes should not be re-adjusted, so that the incomes would bear some relation to the duties and responsibilities of the posts. In that case curates would have something to look forward to. As far as I am concerned, I receive little more than half what I did when I was deacon, and I am vicar of a very large and populous parish, and I am sure that a readjustment of the incomes of livings would do a great deal to rectify the wrongs from which curates suffer. There ought also to be some sort of authority to consider the appointments made by patrons to the livings within their patronage, and the parishioners ought to have the right to challenge appointments. If a man sells his patronage, the incumbent to whom he sells it ought to be subject, at the instance of the parishioners, to be brought before some court, which should decide whether he is qualified for the post he has bought. A congregation ought not to have thrust upon it a man who has bought himself into a living by simony. If there be intellectual, or moral, or physical incapacity, a court of review should judge of the matter. If this were so, a great many incapable men would be rejected, and I feel confident that the value of church livings in the market would go down very considerably. If we cannot altogether stop the sales of livings, it would be well to give the parishioners such rights of reviewing the appointments of their pastors as would give them a power and interest in the matter.

The Rev. E. ARTHUR SALMON, Vicar of Martock, Somerset, and Prebendary of Wells Cathedral.

We have heard a great deal this morning as to the grievances of the unbeneficed clergy, and a great many remedies have been proposed—some of them, I venture to say, very impracticable; very well in theory, but difficult in detail, and some of them which would be far worse than the disease. There is one remedy, however, which has not been touched upon. A great deal has been said as to the difficulty which aged incumbents have in resigning their benefices, owing to the poverty of those benefices. I would call attention to the fact of how little has been done of late years to increase the endowments of benefices throughout the country. If these endowments could be increased, it would be easier for the aged incumbent to resign, and promotion would be more rapid than it is at present. The wealth of the country has much increased, but the endowments remain very much what they were many years ago. I want to see some real effort made throughout the length and breadth of the land to enlist the sympathy of the laity in favour of the increase of endowments. I have not time to go much into statistics, but I say it is a very fearful thing that, of the 2,597 incumbencies in England, the incomes of nearly one-fifth are between £100 and £200 a year. How is it possible for an aged incumbent to retire upon one-third of that, or for the incumbent who takes his place to work the parish with the small sum that remains? In my own diocese 117, or more than one-fifth of the livings, are under £200 a year. Something has been done, though very little, by the Church of England Sustentation Fund to meet this difficulty. There ought to be an organised system in every diocese in England, and, if the laity were really appealed to, I think they would make such a response as would astonish even the most sanguine friends of the Church. I do not believe that the English nation would be so communistic as to sweep away recent endowments, even if the Church were disestablished—an end which I hope is further away every year. There is a cry that there are too many livings already. The Bishop of Exeter's Bill relating to pluralities will to some extent meet this difficulty. There is still another question to be considered, namely, that of patronage, but I hope and trust that matter will be soon adjusted. A great deal has been said since the meeting of the Congress on the work of the Salvation Army. The Church has been told that it must carry out some of the work which the Salvation Army has set itself to do, and on more rational lines, do something to meet the crying wants of the diocese. This I believe we must do. We have done a great deal in building churches and opening mission rooms. We want still more of these, but we also want more men to work throughout our towns and dioceses, and if we are to have more men we must increase

our endowments. If we hope to see a practical remedy applied to the disadvantages under which the unbeneficed clergy suffer, let us make a greater effort to establish in every diocese some system of assistance to endowments, which will secure the hearty co-operation of the laity.

The CHAIRMAN.

I MAY perhaps be allowed to thank Mr. O'Donoghue for his paper, and to assure him that in my opinion his observations were more practical and useful than anything else I have heard during the course of the discussion. I may also say that when Mr. Hadden attacks the diocese of Lichfield he should be better informed, as when the old practice of not allowing anybody beneath the position of a canon or an archdeacon to preach was broken through, the first man who was asked to preach in the Cathedral was a curate.

DRILL HALL.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 4TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH.

(*a*) THE CHURCH AND CROWN.
(*b*) THE CHURCH AND PARLIAMENT.
(*c*) THE CHURCH AND DEMOCRACY.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

BEFORE the business of this meeting begins, I should wish to make to the Congress a gratifying announcement with reference to a matter about which I spoke in my address yesterday—the constitution of a Southwell Bishopric. We have received this morning from a former donor of £500, an additional donation of £1,000. I trust that this good example will be followed by a great many who are present here, and by a great many more who are not present here. We might then hope to have our bishopric constituted without much delay. I am sure it will interest you to know further that this donation comes from Derbyshire, and from the neighbourhood of Derby itself; from one who bears the well-known name of Mr. George Strutt, of Belper.

(*a*) THE CHURCH AND CROWN.

PAPER.

The Right Hon. EARL NELSON.

IN the programme of the proceedings of the Congress this division of the question of the relations of the Church and the State is succeeded by two others—"The Church and Parliament," "The Church and Democracy."

This places me in some difficulty in dealing with my special branch under the heading of "The Political Relations of the Church to the Crown."

The theory of an anointed king as being a sort of *mixta persona*—part secular and part spiritual—though of considerable age, I should hardly consider as worthy of serious discussion.

I know of no other political relation of the Church to the Crown, regarded as distinct from the supreme governing body of the realm, except such as may have been created from time to time in favour of any individual Sovereign on personal grounds, and such relations would necessarily determine on the determination of that personal sovereignty. To exemplify this form of relationship, and show its distinction from that of the relationship towards the supreme civil authority, I would refer to the group of promises as to synodal action embodied in the *submissio cleri* made by the Church in her synods, A.D. 1532, and extorted by the King under the terrors of a *præmunire.*

The fulsome flatteries of that document are discreditable; but they show distinctly that the promises made to the King were *personal* promises, made on the ground of certain spiritual and intellectual qualifications alleged to be in Henry VIII. as an *individual*, and by no means in the wearer of the Crown *ex officio.*

With the life of this Royal paragon, therefore, the spiritual obligation of the promises necessarily determined; and although the concessions of the synod—mutilated, indeed, and altered, and with the chief qualifications and conditions suppressed*—were subsequently embodied in the Act of Submission, and so became part of the ordinary civil relations of the clergy—as an estate of the realm—to the Crown—as the representative of the civil supremacy—this was no act of the Church, and involved her in no new spiritual obligation. Such special cases as the *submissio cleri* excepted, the Crown is nothing but the *ex officio* equivalent of the supreme civil authority, and in this latter light I consider in this paper the Royal power in its relation to the Church.

The Royal Supremacy is the most convenient term to express the authority of the civil power in matters of religion, and we may take for granted in respect to it these three points—

1. That every independent Sovereign State is inherently possessed of supreme and absolute authority in and over all matters, and every part thereof, of its political constitution, so as to be amenable to no authority but that of Almighty God.

2. That it is competent to every such State to assume, as an integral part and element of its political constitution, a *religious* as well as a secular organisation for the purpose of making a public profession of religion, and of giving it due effect in practice.

3. That this authority of religious self-organisation is an integral and inseparable branch of *general political supremacy*.

It is to the civil power that St. Paul refers—Rom. xiii. 1—"Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God." The religious laws of the supreme civil power, not being contrary to the law

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* See Wake's *State of the Church*, pp. 548—9. Col. 2, &c.

of God, are legally and morally binding as law on all subjects of that power to whom it is applicable to precisely the same extent and on precisely the same grounds as the secular laws of the same power—there is but one root, one life, one *vis* to all alike. This civil independence in matters of religion is a prerogative of all States, whatever religion may be accepted by the State, whether Pagan, or Mahometan, or Christian, and whether that Christian religion approach the scheme of the Independents or the religion of the Catholic Church.

If there is no accommodation possible between the religion of the State and the religion held by the individual citizen, he must judge by his own conscience which he must obey, submitting patiently to the correction which the State may see fit to inflict for disobedience.

So far as to the definition of the Royal Supremacy.

Of the Church, it will be enough to say that I mean that visible but spiritual society founded and established by our Lord before His ascension, to which He committed "the faith once delivered to the saints," and over which He appointed the apostles and their successors with spiritual power and authority and jurisdiction throughout all the world, to continue always even unto the end.

But it is important to make quite clear the distinction between the Church as so defined and the Establishment, which, though popularly so considered, are in no sense synonymous terms.

The Establishment may be regarded in two aspects; (1) as a *religion* —*i.e.*, as a system of doctrine and discipline and ceremonial; and in this aspect it may be any religion legalised or established by law, and so made its own by any State or nation, or (2) it is the State or political society so establishing it, *or the State manifested as a religious personality*.

The essential difference between the two is made manifest by a simple reference to history. Despised, scorned, and often persecuted by the earthly power, the Church held calmly on its way in spite of all opposition for 300 years.

The State held to its religion in spite of the Church, and the Church held to hers in spite of the State. The State persecuted, the Church suffered persecution, by patience and submission acknowledging the authority which she *could* not obey, but of which she accounted herself entirely independent in all matters relating to her own functions and mission, while never guilty of any enroachment on the political authority of the State, in which she had no share.

When the empire became Christian, no difference was thereby made in these distinct authorities. The Church had understood and acted on her commission for 300 years, and her charter abiding ever the same, her authority must have remained unchangeable. And in like manner the authority of religious self-government inherent in the State, by virtue of which it had the power and right to embrace Christianity, was in no degree whatever altered, increased, or diminished by being brought into concord with the collateral spiritual authority of the Church. "Ye truly," said Constantine, to the assembled prelates, "are constituted by God bishops of the things within the Church: I, of the things without" —*i.e.*, the things of the State.

When the supreme power was Arian, the Establishment was Arianised and the Church persecuted. When the Sovereign was Catholic,

the Establishment reverted to the Catholic type, and heresy was repressed.

It is evident that the Arianism of Constantius did not make the Church Arian any more than the Catholicity of Constantine made her Catholic, or the Paganism of Julian made her Pagan, or the heresy of Justinian made her Phantasiast.

Heresy could attach itself to the Church only through the bishops, as her spiritual princes, formally embracing it. State heresy contaminated and State orthodoxy purged the State religion only.

Again, at the final collapse of the Roman Empire of the West, the Establishment was temporarily swept away; but the Church remained to be the spiritual conqueror of the temporal conquerors. In our own country, this spiritual victory was obtained by direct missions among our heathen ancestors, from the British and Celtic Churches, and by Augustine's mission, sent by Pope Gregory the Great, till our rulers again embraced Christianity, and established the Christian religion in one consolidated kingdom.

After the re-establishment of Christianity as the religion of the separated kingdoms of Europe, as they were one by one formed from the chaos occasioned by the the irruption of barbarous hordes, there grew up by gradual aggrandisement the Papal supremacy.

At the time of the Reformation it was *this domination of the Court of Rome* that was primarily protested against. And we find the Church of this land, through the clergy as the ecclesiastical estate of the realm, renouncing the political sovereignty of the Court of Rome, and recognising the King as supreme head, so far as is allowed by the law of Christ, of all things ecclesiastical and temporal in this kingdom; but by so doing they surrendered nothing that they held of divine right; but simply renounced the political sovereignty which the Court of Rome held over them, to the prejudice of their lawful Prince. An extract from Cranmer's examination (*Foxe*, Vol. VIII., p. 68. Catley ed.) proves this :—

> After this Dr. Martin demanded of him, "Who was supreme Head of the Church of England?" "Marry," quoth my Lord Archbishop, "Christ is Head of this member as He is of the whole body of the Universal Church." "Why," quoth Dr. Martin, "you made King Henry supreme head of the Church." "Yes," said Cranmer, "of all the people of England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal." "And not of the Church?" quoth Dr. Martin. "No," said the Archbishop, "for Christ is the Head of His Church and of the faith and of the religion of the same; the King is head and governor of all his people, which are the visible Church . . . There was never other thing meant."

So you see that the distinction of Church and Establishment was clearly maintained.

During the Great Rebellion the Establishment was made to take the "Independent" form of worship; and the Church was persecuted!

But the Church continued to exist, and shone out with greater vigour during the succeeding reigns of the Stuart dynasty.

It is true that during the miserable days of the Georgian era the Church, with her synods suppressed, and her worldly-minded bishops, became so practically Erastianised as to appear for a time to be very much the same as the political establishment. But when, by God's mercy, the spiritual revival began, the differences between the Church and the Establishment became again more and more apparent.

In its judicial proceedings the State is forcing an interpretation on its religious formularies so as to make them more or less opposed in meaning,

while remaining the same in words, to the formularies of the Church of England; but, whatever else it may do, this action goes directly to enforce the distinction between the Church and the Establishment.

Allow me to give a few illustrations. By the Gorham judgment, 8th of March, 1850, the State court relaxed for the established religion the interpretation of the stringent baptismal teaching of the Office common to both the State and the Church.

This judgment has not been reversed, but the Church was not made thereby heretical. Her meaning of her own formularies as binding on herself was not effected by the new meaning imposed on the words by the State for the Establishment, while as a direct outcome of the State's action the Catholic doctrine was received for the first time by thousands, and the Church began to obtain her synodal action after a stupor of 150 years.

Again, the judgment on *Essays and Reviews* made no difference in the doctrine of the Church, and the book was shortly afterwards condemned by the Church in her synod.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction proper, which inheres in the Church, and is dependent on no temporal authority, remains now as ever in the persons of her bishops, is conferred by consecration, and is exercised by the bishops either alone, or with the council of the priesthood in the diocesan or larger synod. The deposition and excommunication of Dr. Colenso is the most notable recent instance of the exercise of this true ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Anglican communion.

And this entirely independent of and in opposition to the authority of the State, which, to the present day, maintains Dr. Colenso in possession of the temporalities.

Again, in her marriage laws the State is drifting further from the Church. The passing of the Divorce Acts has made no difference in the law of the Church as to the indissolubility of marriage; a fact the operation of which on the conscience of the clergy is so far recognised by the State as to induce her to relieve the clergy from the obligation of marrying the guilty parties, although they are bound to yield up their church for the purpose to any other cleric that will.

In the case of our disestablished Churches, whether in Ireland or in the colonies, the State has distinctly recognised their continuous existence and their uninterrupted spiritual power.

Here are some clear indications not only of the distinction of the Church from the Establishment during all periods of her history, but of the distinct recognition of the fact by our temporal rulers, as shown by the tendency of recent legislation.

I have dwelt thus long upon this distinction between the Church and the Establishment, for it is a very essential point in the consideration of the relations of the Church to the Crown.

1. Because as long as we recognise this inherent power in the Church, we need not be so absurdly nervous of any damage coming to her through the aggression of the temporal power.

2. Because when carefully considered many of these so-called aggressions are not really such at all, but the exercise of the State's necessary rights in respect to the Establishment.

The Emperors and State rulers took pleasure in conferring on the clergy, especially the bishops, secular honours of various kinds—they

became gradually endowed with many temporal privileges, and were gifted with jurisdiction in many causes of civil cognisance, and were not uncommonly employed in the transaction of important secular affairs. Now all these honours as coming from the State, were held subject to the conditions imposed by the State, and any interference with these functions, though called ecclesiastical, does not necessarily affect the *true* ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Church, which is inherent in the Episcopal office and order.

Again, we must remember that laws about bishops, divine service, rites and ceremonies, and the like, to which we may add dogmas of the Christian faith, might under the existing relations of the Church and the Empire under Constantine and his successors, be either ecclesiastical or civil in their character, and therefore in their authority.

For all these things have a place in a State religion, for which reason all these things so far, *and so far only*, as they had relation to the State religion, were parts of State law and under the legislative and judicial cognisance of the State.

Let me illustrate this by a reference to the difficult question as to the appointment of bishops by the Crown.

The Church's position here is impregnable. The State may nominate 1,000 Bishops: the Church *only can make* one. It is absurd to talk of compulsion. If bishops won't consecrate improper men, they cannot be made bishops at all. On the other hand, there is no necessity for the Church to refuse to consecrate men *not unfit*, on the ground either that better men might be found, or that they are State nominees. And we must not forget that, so long as the bishops are the great temporal chiefs they are, the Crown (that is the supreme civil power) must have a voice, and a consentient voice, in their appointment.

I am fully sensible of the advantages both to the Christian religion and to the cause of good government arising from the union of Church and State.

But the only chance of maintaining that union is a due recognition, on the part of each, of their distinctive authorities and powers.

The *independent* power of the Church must be purely spiritual in its nature and authority, for all that is temporal and political must necessarily be inferior and subject to that power which in these matters is rightly supreme. On the other hand, the limit of the Church's influence on the well-being of the people is the supply of individual life and zeal that is within her, and it will be wise for the State to foster that life by giving great liberty under due Episcopal control for fresh services and organisations, without seeking to shackle them with the authority of law, and to avoid driving that zeal into excesses by a careful consideration for those high susceptibilites by which true zeal is so frequently accompanied.*

(*b*) The Church and Parliament.

PAPER.

Stanley Leighton, Esq., M.P.

It does not seem a very violent assumption to say of any church that she ought to be governed by members of her own communion. But

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* *Vide* "*Church and State.*" John Walter Lea. 1867.

the Church of England forms an exception to this principle. A Baptist Member of Parliament the other day described himself as one of the governing body of the Church, in right of his seat in the House of Commons. A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed last session to report upon Ecclesiastical Burial Fees, and did make a report setting forth a new and legally unfounded definition of the status of the clergyman with respect to his freehold. On that committee sat an Irish Presbyterian minister, the late officiating minister of the Marlborough Independent Chapel, Southwark, a leading Nonconformist member of the Liberation Society, and a Scotch Presbyterian. Upon the report of a committee so composed, legislation will be proposed affecting the Church. Again, a Reform of Church Patronage has been demanded by Churchmen, has been supported by the Prime Minister, and has been prevented by the Nonconformist leaders in Parliament from passing into law. So has a bill been stopped for the release of a clergyman from prison, which was also outwardly supported by the Prime Minister. These are merely examples of some of the inconveniences of things as they are.

But if we look ahead, and acquaint ourselves with the definite schemes of certain members of Parliament—some Nonconformists themselves, some representing Nonconformist constituencies, and some, perhaps the larger portion, holding what are called advanced opinions on religious subjects—we find that it is proposed to deprive the Churchmen of England of all the property which belongs to their Church, and to appropriate her sacred buildings to every sort of worship without distinction.

How is this scheme to be accomplished? Why, by a Parliamentary majority. A Parliamentary majority can do anything of a legislative character. It is for all practical purposes supreme, until checked by superior force, which means revolution. A Parliamentary majority can, and has cut off the heads of its enemies, and it can and does transfer the money of one class of persons into the pockets of another class. There is no appeal against its decisions.

It is just worth while to take an historical retrospect, and to mark the successive changes of opinion which have taken place affecting the relations between the State and the Church. The spiritual crime of heresy, punishable with death in the fifteenth century, became in the sixteenth the civil crime of Nonconformity, also punishable with death. In the seventeenth century Nonconformity ceased to be a punishable offence, but a condition disabling the Nonconformist from holding civil office. The next step forward was to abolish civil disqualifications, and to make Churchman and Dissenter equally eligible for the offices of State. In the meantime, no corresponding re-arrangement was made in the relations of the Church of England to the Parliament of England. We have now arrived at a point when a backward step is demanded by those whose disabilities have been justly removed by Churchmen. They are now proposing the confiscation of the property of the Church, which is the modern form of persecution. The relations of the Church of England with the Parliament of England were tolerable enough when all Parliament men were Churchmen, but those relations must surely be modified when Parliament men are not only not Churchmen, but when some of them have engaged to do all they can to destroy her. A

practice based upon the fact of a unity in religious belief is tenable only as long as that fact exists.

Let us endeavour to simplify the meaning which we attach to the phrase of the Establishment of the Church by the State. I suppose we may say that it consists practically in some of the laws which govern the Church having been made by Act of Parliament, and in any change in those laws requiring the sanction of an Act of Parliament. There could be little practical objection to this use of Parliament, so long as the Church was powerful enough to prevent legislation of which she disapproved, and to promote legislation which she favoured. But its success depended upon a condition of things which has gone by. There is nothing sacred about the relations of Parliament with the Church of England. The connection is good as long as Parliament is good, and is bad as soon as Parliament becomes indifferent or hostile.

When members of every denomination have been admitted into Parliament, and when they have all obtained not only toleration but protection for their churches, it is not very easy to distinguish on principle what churches are established and what not. The Charity Commission takes cognisance of the endowments of every religious community, the official trustee of Charity lands, a State paid officer is the trustee, and therefore the legal owner of many of the Dissenting chapels; the Home Secretary takes the place of the Ordinary in respect to all unconsecrated burial grounds. The Nonconformist chapels have been recognised in Acts of Parliament as places of public religious worship, and as such, have been exempted from rates. The Court of Chancery is the ultimate appeal court which interprets the dogma to be taught in any chapel. If, therefore, national recognition by Parliament, and appeal to the Legislature and protection by the State create an establishment, then all the denominations are at the present moment established in England, and if establishment places endowments at the disposal of the public, then all the endowments of all the religious foundations in England are at the mercy of Parliament, as well as those of the Church of England.

Such incidents as the existence of spiritual peers, the churchmanship of the Sovereign, the summoning of Convocation at the same time as Parliament, the patronage of the Bishoprics and other ecclesiastical preferments, are small matters compared with the growing power of the Lower House of Parliament, and its evident intention of dealing with religious questions.

But perhaps some one will say that such and such like incidents are evidences that the State is not Pagan, that they are national testimonies in favour of religion. I answer that if the "Personnel" of the Government is without religion, there is little use of public testimonies in favour of what does not exist. We want a reality, not a testimony or recognition.

A word now upon the Parliamentary claim put forward, that the endowments of the Church do not belong to the Church but to the nation. It matters little what epithet we apply to them. Whether we call them "National," or "Private," or "Ecclesiastic," whether they be "New" or whether they be "Old"—Parliament will certainly deal with them according to the will of the Parliamentary majority. For myself, I cannot distinguish between the title of the Church of England to her

possessions in their entirety, and the title of the Roman Catholics, the Wesleyans, or the Jews to their own distinctive endowments. But the power of the State, which no one can resist, may deprive any men, or any body of men, of all their worldly goods.

Force is the only ultimate argument; and the only effective answer which I know to such a plea, is for the 75 per cent. of Englishmen who are Churchmen, to vote that they will not allow their Church to be robbed. But Churchmen either don't realise the danger, or else they satisfy themselves with weaving arguments instead of influencing men. They seem to think that somebody else is certain to look after their interests, and that, therefore, as individuals, they need not concern themselves. Some put their trust in the House of Lords, some in the Bench of Bishops, some in the self-interest of the owners of property: forgetful of the history of former confiscations, the confiscations of the Reformation, of the Rebellion, of the Irish Church, and of the Irish land. We live in days when confiscation is a fashionable means of government. A Parliamentary majority condones everything, and the conscience of a Parliament is not more tender than the conscience of other corporations. A good title is no bar to an Act of Parliament, and the conviction that the Church of England is doing good work, is the very strongest reason for those who object to her existence, to make haste to destroy her.

I am not surprised that in the perplexities of the present day Churchmen should hold divided opinions, and should act with resolute independence of each other. If this spirit continues the result is certain, they will all be equally disappointed.

Some few are what are called "Liberationists." We all know of some clergymen who, strong in the voluntary support and enthusiasm of their own congregations, and aggrieved by untoward interference, wish to be free. They forget that if their wish be gratified, new chains will be forged; they also forget that the first principle of their Liberationist friends is to make use of the very Church in which they worship for the worship of every denomination of men without distinction. Others, again, a much larger number, shocked at the idea of sacred things being discussed with the license, irreverence, and incompetence of the House of Commons, not only withdraw themselves from politics, but vainly hope that in doing so they will withdraw Church affairs from the cognisance of Parliament. They are blind to the fact that not less than twenty-nine subjects of ecclesiastical concern were brought before Parliament last session either by bill or resolution; and upon none of these subjects had the Churchmen of England taken pains to impress upon their representatives their own opinions in such a way as to insure effective interest. This "do nothing" party have, indeed, succeeded in paralyzing the hands of their friends, but not in closing the mouths of their opponents. The scandal of the sale of livings continues; Cathedral reform is stopped; a tithe agitation is being dangerously kindled; Parochial registers are allowed to decay; the status of the clergy in the Universities has been degraded; the burial and marriage laws are being handled in a hostile spirit; Mr. Green remains in prison; and a host of other questions, some needing consideration and reform, others strenuous opposition, are brought to the front in Parliament by men alienated from the Church; and yet so well have the "do nothing" party played

their game, that the Prime Minister himself is feign to act as the humble and unwilling servant of the Church opposing party.

Now I believe that as long as Churchmen have a real control over Ecclesiastical affairs in Parliament, there is only a theoretical objection to the present religious condition of Parliament. If Churchmen were able to assert a commanding influence, the relations of the Church to Parliament might remain unaltered. But it is very doubtful whether such a position once regained could be maintained for any length of time; the tension might be injurious to the highest interests of all; and at any general election the relative strength of parties might be reversed. But I would warn Churchmen that it is absolutely essential to their interests that they should devise some scheme for dealing with Church affairs, and that they must provide themselves in Parliament also with a working majority in the House of Commons, in order that such a scheme as they approve of may become law; unless indeed they are willing to accept the alternative of suppression and confiscation.

As a possible solution of the difficulty which arises from men of an alien communion, or of no communion at all, settling the internal affairs of the Church, the idea of referring ecclesiastical subjects in Parliament to a Grand Committee, composed only of Churchmen, is plausible. The danger of such a plan, from a Church point of view, is that men would be technically eligible to serve who were altogether disloyal to the Church, and the opposition to such a plan by the Liberationists would probably be extreme. Again, the extension and the development of the principle of what is known as the Bishop of London's Rubrics Bill of 1874, sometimes called the "Draft Bill," which would place the preparation and initiative, as well as the details of Church legislation, in the hands of Convocation, might form a method of settlement. Unfortunately, however, upon the principle of this "Draft Bill" the minds of Churchmen appear to be equally divided; and there is a deadlock.

I conclude then that the relations of the Church and Parliament are fast becoming intolerable. The position of Churchmen in the Lower House is most unsatisfactory, because the Church does not afford them that amount of outside popular support which is absolutely necessary for successful action in the House of Commons. No battle is won without preparation, and the side which shows most zeal in preparation usually wins. The opponents of the Church have been busy for a number of years. They know their own minds. They have secured already many strange alliances. The Church is threatened by a coalition of hostile forces. Ler her rely upon neither political party, but press her own terms upon both. Let her make both parties equally afraid of her opposition. Let her endeavour to discipline her sons in the difficult task of making up their own minds. When Churchmen have defined their opinions, let them secure the Parliamentary majority which will make them the law of the land; thus they will earn the gratitude of their countrymen, Churchmen and Nonconformists alike, by relieving an overburdened Parliament from certain religious functions which its Imperial intelligence is incapable of exercising.

ADDRESS.

The Right Hon. H. Cecil Raikes, M.P.

It is, as we know, generally asserted that the nation is peculiarly happy which has no history, and I dare say there are many here who would supplement this assertion by declaring that institution to be specially favoured which is without any share in Parliamentary debates. Such at least I gather to be the sentiment in the main of my friend, Mr. Stanley Leighton. Now there is a great deal to be said for this view, but I do not myself unreservedly subscribe to it. Take, for instance, such a favoured nation—the nation may have no history because it has not had the spirit to resist oppression, or the courage to throw back invasion. Who would wish to belong to a nation like that? Who would prefer to be a Portuguese to being an Englishman? Similarly, if we have regard to an institution, even one so great, so ancient, and so sacred as our Church, we may compare it with some other bodies not very far distant, nor altogether dissimilar. Take the case during the last century-and-a-half at least, of the Scotch Kirk—the Scotch Kirk has escaped almost scot free, if you compare her with the Church of England, from the Parliamentary criticism and the rude Parliamentary handling to which her elder and more venerable sister is so constantly exposed. Has the Scottish Kirk on this account more influence with the Scottish people than the Church of England has with the English people? Is the Scotch Kirk more free from internal dissensions and from religious discord than we with all our parties? I trow not. Therefore, I for one will say that although the very handling of such an institution as our Church is full of danger and anxiety to those who wish her well, yet, at the same time, it has a certain bracing influence which our Church could perhaps ill afford to miss. It is of course very hard upon the clergy and upon those who labour in the Church that they should have to take their position like Nehemiah's builders, with a sword in one hand and the building tools in the other. Yet I am bound to say that those who serve and love the Church will be none the worse Churchmen, if they have constantly brought home to them, as Churchmen, the fact that they are also citizens of a free country. We hear every day of dangers which beset the Church owing to the action of Parliament. There is no doubt that many measures proposed in both Houses of Parliament are of more than questionable import to the Church. Such measures might be divided into three classes. There might be measures—happily I don't think we are familiar with them—but there might be questions proposed which would touch the faith and doctrines of the Church. Now these, we maintain, are really outside the sphere and scope of Parliament. I am happy to think that it is essentially impossible that Parliament or any other body could alter the faith and doctrine of the Church, unless the Church commits treason to herself. But there is a class of legislation with which we are much more familiar, and this relates to the property, the privileges, and the rights of the Church as a national institution. If the Church is to be, as we trust it will ever remain, a national institution, you must accept this sort of interference as incidental to her position. The Church, as long as she remains the Church of the nation—so long as she is to exercise an authority throughout all parishes, parochial and not congregational—can never sink into the happy insignificance of many of the Dissenting sects. And it is to this class of question which attention most frequently is directed. But there is a third class, and this just touches the border line of the other two—it is this class to which I would now

refer—a class which concerns the services in our churches in a certain degree, and also the administration of the Church. It is clearly difficult for Parliament to touch this without infringing upon the province of faith and doctrine which every Churchman holds sacred from such intrusion. And yet it would be very difficult indeed to prevent Parliament from dealing with such questions up to a certain point, for they are connected in some measure with local circumstances, and the freeholds of churches and churchyards being in the Church, we cannot prevent Parliament from dealing with these freeholds. It is for you to show the nation and Parliament that Parliament may often be wrong in doing so. Moreover, though not coincident with these three classes of legislation, there are three classes of legislators. There are the avowed enemies of the Establishment in the first place, then the recognised friends in the second, and thirdly, there are those who cannot be exactly referred to either class—those gentlemen who are not very numerous, but who are to be found in both Houses of Parliament; and who are ever anxious to be known as Church reformers. It is, I think, by some of their efforts that the Church is sometimes put in greater jeopardy than by the open attacks of her assailants. My friend, Mr. Stanley Leighton, has referred to the scheme which was often called the Bishop of London's Bill. Now I don't know whether everyone here knows what the Bishop's Bill or the Draft Bill is. It is simply a proposal introduced into the House of Lords a few years ago, that in all matters touching the Rubrics of the Church—it was confined to the Rubrics—it should be competent for Convocation under the Royal license to draw up any scheme for amendment of these Rubrics—that such a scheme, after it had been forwarded by the two Archbishops as presidents of the two Convocations, should, if her Majesty in Council was pleased so to direct, be laid upon the table of both Houses of Parliament as those educational and charitable schemes with which we are all more or less familiar, and if such a scheme should remain on the table of both Houses of Parliament, forty days without alteration or amendment, it should be competent for the Queen in Council to declare the scheme legalised as part of the law of the land. This was a scheme for dealing only with Rubrics, and the initiative in the matter lay with Convocation, which is a very fit arrangement. This scheme, however, does not preclude any member of either House of Parliament from bringing in a bill upon any Church question. But there is an ancient jealousy between Parliament and Convocation. I think it exists on both sides. If you could not get Parliament to accept this scheme, my suggestion would be this—We have a great many excellent friends of the Church who are continually bringing in bills, which, to a certain degree, fatigue the mind of Parliament, and the mind of the country, by the constant recurrence of schemes doomed to failure, brought forward again and again, and at the end of each session swept into the parliamentary waste paper basket. We have, in course of formation, a central Council of Diocesan Conferences, comprising representatives, lay and clerical, from two-thirds of the Dioceses in England. I trust we shall have representatives from all the dioceses before another year has ended, and we hope that one of its duties will be to consider something of the priority that should be given to different proposals which might be brought before Parliament by Churchmen in Parliament. That body will represent the united opinion of clergy and laity in advising individual members of Parliament as to the proper measures which it would be desirable to bring forward. A force such as that at the back of any member of Parliament bringing forward a Church measure, would give a hundred times more *momentum* than can be

possessed by any private scheme. You would not have measures which affected the Church counted out session after session if the member bringing them forward received the support of such a body, and if he was able to speak with the voice of the Church of England, as he would be able to speak. At the same time, it is well that we should not be too active and too fussy in awakening the intervention of Parliament upon every little matter of Church discipline and form which may appear to be desirable. I would ask the question now—Is the Church resolute in holding her own, and Church men as vigorous and as earnest as they ought to be in maintaining those privileges and advantages which she possesses? We know they are not. That spirit to which Mr. Leighton has adverted too largely prevails. Churchmen consider more any bone of contention between themselves than the question of maintaining the Church of England in that position which she enjoys in this country. They believe that she is so good, that her mission is so Divine, that she has in her such means of influencing the minds of men, that they need not exert themselves, and they allow some one else to go and do the work, and stay at home themselves and look after their own particular crotchets. That is not the right spirit. The Church must not be abandoned. She would no doubt be a branch of the Apostolic Church if she was stripped of all her national position, but that generation would incur great responsibility which, by carelessness or indifference, or any personal controversy, allowed those enormous advantages possessed by the Church, which have come down to us through the munificence of the past ages, which are the means of evangelising the poorer brethren around us, and enabling the Church to perform those great duties imposed upon her by her highest source, to be taken away from her. And I think we should not forget that if the endowments of the Church are to be taken from her, you will strike such a blow against endowments in the future as will make it impossible to recover from the ruin which will have been caused in an unguarded moment. People will not endow again if they see the Church stripped of what their fathers gave her. I do not shrink from fighting the battle of the Church as far as her temporalities are concerned in Parliament. I believe the Church will hold her own in Parliament, and I call upon this meeting to testify in an unmistakeable manner, that we, as Englishmen, are determined that the Church of England, so long at least as we have one arm left to uphold her, shall continue to flourish in all the strength and all the beauty which she has gathered in the many centuries she has dwelt amongst us.

(*c*) The Church and Democracy.

PAPERS.

The Rev. Canon Barry, D.D., Principal of King's College, London.

If we include the relation of the Church to Democracy among "Political Relations," the phrase must be used in a different sense from that in which it has been applied in the other two sections of the subject. Democracy is not, like "the Crown" or "Parliament," a concrete power. It is a principle of society and government, which may have many developments, varying according to the condition and character of various times and nations.

I use the word "principle" rather than "form." For in respect of mere social and political forms, it is at once clear that the attitude of the Church of Christ towards these is one of absolute independence; it can harmonise itself with all; it must identify itself with none. It grew up to world-wide influence under the old imperial system of Rome; it presided over the birth of the nations of modern Europe; it allied itself with the feudal aristocracies, and the organised monarchies which superseded them. There can be no reason why it should not flourish in co-existence with systems actually or virtually republican.

But Democracy is in our own days something more than a form of government. It involves certain principles, fundamental conceptions of the nature of human society—preached with passionate earnestness as a kind of gospel, almost as a "religion of the future." The question of the relation of the Church to Democracy has, therefore, two forms—one more abstract and general, the other more special and practical.

(*a*) The first is the question necessarily underlying all others—"What is there in the Christian idea of human society, embodied in the Catholic Church, which is in harmony or discord with the ideas of Democracy?"

(*b*) The second is the question more immediately interesting to a Church Congress—"What is there in the constitution and government of the Church of England which may affect the recognition of this harmony or this discord?"

(A) To answer the former of these questions, we must remind ourselves first, for a single moment, what is the Christian idea of human society, embodied in a Church, which is in its essential nature Catholic, and which, in fact, has advanced, and is advancing, to universality of scope and power. It is the idea of a spiritual unity; in which every individual soul is, first, brought directly into union with the Lord Jesus Christ, and, through this union with the universal Mediator, restored to the Fatherhood of God—an union so personal that (as has been well said) in grave crises of our life we are conscious of but two existences, God and our own soul; and is, next, indirectly, but most truly, united with all other souls in the Communion of Saints, and subjected to the corporate life and authority of the whole body.

How stands this related to the Democratic idea?

(1.) At the great birth of Democracy in Europe, at the beginning of that reconstitution of all European society which we call especially the French Revolution, it announced itself to the world in the celebrated motto of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." What has the Church to say to these? Take the first and last of these—the one the guardian of individuality, the other of unity—it is clear not only that they are half-forgotten elements of the Gospel, but that the Christian idea of human society is the only one which effectually guards and harmonises both. In the sense of an individual relation to God—hidden, sacred, indissoluble—which no other relation can rival, no earthly power crush, no authority overbear, lies the true life of freedom. "He feared no man, because he feared God so much," is the right epitaph of every Christian hero and martyr. "Call no man your master on earth; for one is your Master, even Christ." Yet, on the other hand, is fraternity possible, in that true sense in which it is more than mere voluntary association, except under the overshadowing sacredness of a supreme Fatherhood? Can such Fatherhood be an attribute of a mere law,

a force, an impersonated society? Can it be found anywhere except in the living belief stamped by our Lord on the Prayer of Christianity, in "Our Father Who is in heaven"?

As for Equality—which (according as it is interpreted) is either the noblest of truths or the most preposterous of falsehoods—here the Christian idea of society comes in with striking decisiveness, to reject the false and to sanction the true. Equality before God—in the sacredness of life and of liberty, in the Divine image stamped on all humanity and renewed in the Lord Jesus Christ, carrying with it the possibility of the higher spiritual life, and the pledge of immortality—this is the fundamental principle of the Gospel, applied especially to the poor, the weak, the ignorant, the hard workers and patient sufferers of life, over whom the world tyrannizes, and whom the aristocratic schools of wisdom despise. Yet, in respect of individual gifts and privileges, of fitness to guide and rule, of mission from the Great King of all the world—the Gospel, simply confirming the teaching of visible facts and of scientific psychology, recognises the law of infinite inequality as another fundamental law of God's providence, against which no human law ought to struggle, because no human power can possibly prevail. It has always seemed to me singularly instructive that these two great laws are distinctly brought out in two parables of our Lord Himself—the law of equality in the Parable of the Pounds, the law of inequality in the Parable of the Talents—both as working out the will, and subjected to the judgment of God.

So far, then, as Democracy is represented in its time-honoured formula, it is clear that the Democratic idea is a part, though only a part, of the great idea of the Catholic Church.

(2.) But there are two great dangers, because two great usurpations, of Democracy, against which Christianity bears continual witness.

The first is that which De Tocqueville has painted in terrible colours, as advancing steadily and irresistibly, like the Fate of the old Greek tragedy—the tendency to be false to its first profession, by overbearing individual liberty and by crushing the development of strong individuality. There is no tyranny so ruthless, because none so fearless, as the tyranny of a majority, whether it act by the iron hand of law or by the subtler force of public opinion and sentiment. Against it, happily, there are many voices which are boldly raised. We welcome such plea for liberty as was put forth by John Stuart Mill; such denunciations of the mass as "mostly fools," fit only to obey the hero or the sage, as were poured out in the scathing utterances of Thomas Carlyle. But there is no guard of liberty comparable to the consciousness of individual light, grace, mission from God, which is the privilege of the simplest Christian. From the days of the bold declaration of a handful of poor men before the great council of their nation—"We must obey God rather than men;" "We cannot but speak" when He bids, though all the world would clamour or daunt us into silence—through many an age of witness and martyrdom, the Church, except so far as it has fallen away from its Master's teaching by aiming at a spiritual despotism of its own, has been the guardian of liberty, alike against the cold, hard tyranny of the few, and the fiercer and more cruel tyranny of the many.

Yet there is, perhaps, an even more fatal defect in the Democratic idea—in its failure to recognise any law greater than the will of the

people, any authority not created simply by that will. Yet, if individual life is to have light and strength, if corporate life is to have stability and peace, we must have some law, eternal and changeless, not of to-day or yesterday; we must be able to see in authority something really sacred —limited, no doubt, by popular rights, yet not simply created by popular will. Need I prove that for both the Church bears its continual witness? It claims to have the eternal law of Truth and Right, revealing the nature of the Eternal God through the Lord Jesus Christ—modified in its applications by ever-changing circumstances, interpreted with fresh clearness by every growth of knowledge and civilisation, but in its essence incapable of change, destined to be fulfilled or avenged in the judgment of Him who declared it. Yes! and in its Ministry, ordained from the beginning for the people, not created by them, tracing itself unhesitatingly up to a Divine commission, claiming to be consecrated by a Divine blessing—in this it bears a like witness to the sacredness of authority, to which I can conceive of none as equal or even second.

Such, in general, would seem to be the relation of the Church to Democracy—one neither of hostility nor of subservience. She recognises its true claims; she forbids its wrongful usurpations. She acknowledges the truth which it contains; she resists that attempt to stretch a half-truth to sole universal supremacy, which turns it into the most dangerous of falsehoods. This attitude may involve some danger and conflict with the growing democratical force. But whatever be the immediate issue, she must hold her ancient ground, careless though the fierce surges of democracy rage and swell, and heights, once thought firm as the everlasting hills, crumble before them into ruin.

(B) But it is time to glance briefly at the second subject. Our own Church of England—how stands it in relation to the undoubted growth of democratic power in our own land?

If, as I believe, it holds firmly the true principles of the Catholic Church, it ought to maintain that relation towards English democracy—of independence not without sympathy, and with large possibilities of harmony—which I have attempted to describe.

And let me remind you that even the principle of its establishment and endowment for the benefit of the whole people, so far as they choose to use that benefit, is an eminently democratic principle. In respect of all that concerns the higher life of man, by education, by culture, by civilisation, it is the very characteristic of democracy that it delights in what may be called establishment. To provide at public cost for the use of the masses of our people schools and colleges, public libraries, and museums and picture galleries, even parks and pleasure-grounds—what is it but to create a kind of national establishment, to promote their intellectual and æsthetic and moral life? The theory of a Church Establishment in itself—as contradistinguished from the idea that in the religious life every man or every class must create and sustain its machinery—is it not a theory obviously and completely in harmony with the democratic idea?

Why, then, is it that, unhappily but undoubtedly, every advance of the party of democracy in England is marked by hostility shown or threatened against the National Church? Is it (as some think) because there is in the masses of the people an alienation from all religious life—

a disbelief in the Christianity of which the Church is the great representative? That such things are, would that I could doubt! But I do not believe that they pervade the great mass of our English society. And if I must give ground for that belief, I would point to the extraordinary power of that movement, which is at this moment putting forth what I must consider as a crude, perverted, almost caricatured, form of Christianity, but yet pressing it forward triumphantly in the name and by the power of Christ. Is it because the teaching of the Church is viewed as a perversion of Christianity? I believe very little in this. Is it because the terms of communion with the Church are too onerous and artificial? I can conceive nothing more absolutely simple. There is not in the nature, in the establishment, in the constitution of the Church, anything which should stir up between it and democracy a war of life and death.

Where is the fault? There are many faults of those without the Church. Few institutions are more misrepresented and misunderstood. But with these I am not here concerned. I speak only of the fault within, and it lies here—that the Church of England has but imperfectly been what she professes to be, the Church of the people. She has identified herself too exclusively with the feudal and monarchical principles, with aristocratic, and, what is far worse, plutocratic power, with one political party and with the classes of education and wealth. Her ministrations and services have been but imperfectly fit for popular and evangelistic work. Her ministry has not found room within it for men of lower culture and social standing.

Surely there is no reason why all this should not be changed, and why the Church should not thus increase or regain her hold over the mass of the people.

But, if so, there are certain things which must be done, and done without delay, even at some shock and risk.

First and foremost—and this I would press respectfully on my brethren of the clergy—the laity of the Church must have their right place of power and duty—not in the ministry which Christ has given to us, but in all that concerns the work, the government, the jurisdiction, the standards of doctrine, of the Church itself. In the synod and in the parish, in Church courts and in Church appointments, it is for the Church, as a whole, and not for the clergy alone, to speak and to rule.

Next, it is certain that we must have more elasticity of Service and of Ritual, preserving those liturgical treasures which have been our glory and safeguard in the past, but adding to them freely whatever is needed to cope with the simple and the uneducated, the careless and the ignorant, especially in the virtually evangelistic work of our great towns. We must have Services and teaching which they can understand; and I will add that in some way our churches must find free room for them, as their right, if they will come in.

Then we must somehow find place—may it not be in a revived diaconate and minor orders?—for all whose hearts God has touched with the desire to preach the name of Christ, without lowering the standard of education in the higher orders of the ministry. The strength of Wesleyanism lies in its local preachers; the very life of the Salvation Army is its enlistment of all in the ranks of active service.

Again, if I may trench on delicate and dangerous ground, we want, over and above our parochial system, provision—I would have it under Episcopal authority—for freer evangelisation by individuals or preaching brotherhoods through the denser and poorer quarters of our great cities. It should not be possible for a parish priest to do little himself, and yet stand on the border of his parish, to warn off all others who would labour in the name of the Church.

Lastly—for my time is run out—there must be correction of those abuses, which spring from the pestilent habit of looking upon posts in the Church as matters of property and not of trust. The traffic in livings must at all hazards be stopped. The abuses of Church patronage, which paralyse the discretion of the bishop and deny all voice to the congregation or parish, must be cut away. There must be power to remove from livings men of criminous lives or of criminal neglect of duty. There must be provision for resignation of those who, from age or other causes, cannot do their work. These abuses do more than any other cause to alienate from the Church the minds of the people. I would rather see them removed, than devise the best possible Ornaments Rubric, or reconstruct ever so skilfully our Ecclesiastical courts.

These things are no real innovations. They are, I maintain, restorations of the original idea of the Church.

To that idea let the Church be true; and then she need not fear the advance of Democracy. Whatever in it is right she may sanction and hallow. Where its idea is false and defective, she may teach, and teach with power, a more excellent way.

The Ven. HENRY WILLIAM WATKINS, D.D., Archdeacon of Auckland and Canon of Durham.

A FEW days ago I was looking through a somewhat crowded list of engagements, and congratulating myself that with the end of September came the end of their pressure, and that before the opening of the University term I should at least have a few days of what I flattered myself would be a well-earned rest. I was especially happy in the fact that I had been released from a promise to speak on one of yesterday's subjects at this Congress, and was correspondingly grateful to your Committee. My gratitude was of short duration, for the next post brought me an urgent request to supply one of two places unexpectedly made vacant at the eleventh hour, and to address the Congress on "Church and Democracy." That request I tried to decline, but I could not find it in my heart to do so—partly because my experience on the committee of last year's Congress gave me something of a fellow-feeling for my brethren on this; chiefly because I thought that there was no subject on your list of greater practical importance, and that it must not, at any cost, be left unmanned. I should not have dared to choose it; I could not at any time add much to the solution of the problem, still less can I hope to do so now; but I can at least, as a working clergyman, whose lot is cast among the masses of the people, bear witness to the fact that it must not be left unsolved, and express the hope that the wisdom of this Congress may help to solve it aright.

Now when we speak of "democracy," we are, of course, admitting its existence, and have a more or less clear idea of its significance. Clerel de Tocqueville claimed to be an impartial judge of it, because it had not come into being when he was himself born; but he lived to be its historian. With prophetic insight and prophetic dread he foresaw the rapid strides which it would make, and lived to see his predictions fulfilled. The popular nature of English institutions and the stability of English character, have hitherto prevented our feeling the full force of the wave; but men who are not alarmists think that our present position is full of gravity. They read of Russia, of Germany, of France, of Ireland; Nihilism, Socialism, Communism, Fenianism, are ugly words and denote ugly things. Electricity and steam have brought both word and thing to our very doors. Will those doors still protect us? The British nation, more than any nation in the world, presents the striking contrast of property in the hands of the few, and political power in the hands of the many. You may be accustomed to weigh votes; the nation is pledged to count them. It requires but one more "leap in the dark" and our destinies will be absolutely in the hands of the people. The text on which to address them is not wanting, nor are the preachers. Hear for a moment words which are said to have been spoken to an audience of working men by the most eloquent orator in England:—"Just now (*The Right Hon. John Bright* is reported to have said) as I was on my way to this place to speak to you, I watched in the street a magnificent carriage pass me; and in that carriage were two splendidly dressed ladies. Who made that carriage? You did. Who made those dresses? You did. Have your wives any such carriages to drive in? Do your wives ever wear clothes of that kind? I watched that carriage farther, and I saw where it stopped. It stopped before a stately house with an imposing portico. Who built that house? You did. Do you and your wives live in any such houses as that?"

These remarks were, of course, received with loud cheers. You will mark their import; I make no comment upon them; my work is rather to point out the position of our Church in the conflict, and the duty of her sons in the struggle, which is said to be at hand.

That position I take to be absolutely unique. It is the high privilege and the grave responsibility of the Church of England to be able to speak with authority to the disputants on either side. She alone can claim rich and poor alike to be her children; and, standing betwixt the approaching armies, forbid the war and declare a lasting peace:—"Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one another?"

(1) The assertion that the Church of England is the Church of the rich man is not likely to be questioned. In theory every Englishman is born within her fold; and every broad acre of every estate, every site of every factory, every street of every town, every mile of every railway, is claimed by some one of her parishes. As a matter of fact the landowners, the manufacturers, the capitalists, the men and women who represent the property of the country are for the most part, at least in profession, members of the Church of England. Here is her right to speak to them fully and frankly granted. They admit her authority; they are bound to hear her voice. Let her then speak boldly and decidedly. Ler her clergy speak; let her daughters speak; let her lay

sons speak; let her, if she claims to be a pure and Apostolic branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, speak in the nineteenth century as she knows Christ and His Apostles did speak in the first century. Let her say, and by leavening public opinion let her make the truth felt as well as said, that a Christian's tenure of property is that of a trust committed to him by God for the good of man; that the doctrine of the dependence of rights upon duties is true of the rich man's acres as it is true of the poor man's claims. If the holders of property assert that it is sacred, let her teach them to regard it as sacred. Is the warning unnecessary? An hereditary peer gambling away the estates of his fathers; a manufacturer sweating by farthings from the weary toil of women and children the thousands which he squanders on wasteful, and therefore, sinful luxury; a capitalist gloating over his profitable returns, though they may have come direct from the gin palace and the haunts of vice, and every gold piece be stained by the blood of souls; a Christian woman, who believes in the inspiration of St. Peter, wasting more on useless ornament than would rebuild or drain a squalid court and give to a hundred of her sisters the possibility of a Christian life — are such lessons rare, some of them very rare? Let the charity which hopeth all things hope that they are; but let those who teach them remember that the masses are apt learners; that one deed says more than a thousand words; that every owner of property who violates its sacred character and ignores its solemn responsibilities is placing the axe in hands that will surely seize it. And let the women and the men of our Church of England, in the name of our Master, Christ, protest against such deeds. Let mothers and fathers declare that women and men who do them shall not darken their doors, or with stained hands touch their daughters or their sons; let Christians in the every-day life of home, of the mart, of the club, cease to smile at such things—the demagogue alone can afford to smile at them—and let them rather weep. Let men be honoured for what they are, and not for what they have; let wealth be regarded as an accident of human life and not its essence; let disciples of Christ at least believe, and let them speak and act as though they believed, that a man's life is not a matter of magnificent carriages, and splendid dresses, and porticoed houses, that it "consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."

(2.) The assertion that the Church of England is the Church of the poor man, is also one that is not likely to be seriously questioned; and public opinion in our own day will deal sharply and decisively—the more sharply and the more decisively the better—with every obstacle that prevents its being so. She is the Church of the poor man, because she is the Church of England. He can claim his share in her endowments; he can claim the services of her ministers; he can claim his place—a Church which believes in the inspiration of St. James will not give him the worst place—in her buildings. She has then the right to speak authoritatively to him, and she has grounds of appeal which must necessarily command his confidence :—

Does he feel the burden of a life of constant work and pressing penury? The Church of Christ is founded on the perfect life of One who was the Son of a carpenter and a carpenter Himself, who lived the poor man's life, and ate the peasant's black barley-bread, and had not even a hovel which He could call His own. Every man who believes that the life

of Christ is the noblest ever lived on earth has a faith that ennobles labour and sanctifies even want.

Do European workmen claim a higher place in the world's esteem and a greater share in the product of their work? It is the Church of Christ which has given them all the honour and all the rights they have. Even a Plato declared that an artisan's life served no other end than the practice of his trade, and a Cicero held that a workshop was incompatible with anything noble. Christianity first called the workman "brother," and lifted him to the true dignity of man. The Church dared baptize emperor and slave in the same font, and bade them kneel before the same altar, and taught them that there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all.

Have the working classes claimed a fuller freedom, a wider liberty, rights of union and organisation for common good? The very idea of the Church of Christ is of an all-inclusive brotherhood. Her name ἐκκλησία means not a body called out of the wider humanity, but the body of mankind as such called out of the selfism of the individual into the corporate life of the whole. The lesser brotherhoods and societies which are co-extensive with Christianity, are all of them her offspring and are practically unknown beyond her pale.

Do men claim liberty? The Church found one half of mankind in bondage to the other, sold as chattels or butchered to glut a monster's savagery; and wherever she has uttered her voice she has bidden the slave go free.

Are rights claimed for women and for children? The Church found women the mere creatures of man's passion, and infanticide a recognised practice. It is the voice of Christ and His Church that has declared human life sacred, and has blessed the poor man's cottage with the hallowed love of wife and child.

I am warned that I may not dwell longer on the Church as the friend of humanity in the past. But the fact that she has ever been so, gives her the right to address humanity in the present. Are men still poor and oppressed? then, if the Spirit of the Lord be upon her, she has a Gospel for the poor, and release for the captives, and sight for the blind, and liberty for the bruised; and if she declares this as Christ declared it, the common people will hear her gladly. If she declares it as Christ declared it, she will not flatter them, and they will despise her if she does. She will not set class against class; she will not speak of their rights; but will here, too, lay stress on duties, and by first teaching their duties will effectually create their liberties. If she is tempted to forget this necessary order, the poet of freedom will himself remind her of it:—

> "Licence they mean when they cry, Liberty,
> For who loves that must *first* be wise and good."

(3.) In making these remarks on the Church's mission to the working classes, I have had in my mind the obvious and frequent objection that, whatever our theory may be, the practical outcome is that thinking working men are brought to a very slight extent into any relation whatever with either the Church or the clergyman. This objection is in part false, and it ought to be wholly false.

(A.) It is in part false, let these facts among others testify and teach—

(*a*) When the Co-operative Congress met at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, they chose as their president the Bishop of the diocese. (*b*) The Bishop of Manchester, on three important occasions, has acted as arbitrator between masters and men. Chosen by both, his decision commanded the confidence, and gained the thanks of both. Christians will not forget, families saved from the fearful struggles of a strike did not forget, that "Blessed are the peacemakers." (*c*) The trades' unionists are to be addressed at Middlesborough, on the first Sunday in the next month, by the Archbishop of the province. (*d*) A committee of clergy on "Trades Unions and the Church," has existed for the last two years. To say that it includes the Bishops of Durham and Bedford, and the Deans of St. Paul's and Carlisle; and that amongst those who have conferred with it are Mr. Holyoake and Mr. George Howell, is to say that it exists in more than name.

(B.) The objection ought to be, and it is in our hands to make it, wholly false. No race of men in the world are more honest than the working men of England. They have a prejudice against black coats, but this may not be altogether undeserved, and at all events it may very soon be removed. Perhaps we have some natural prejudice against black faces. A crowd of artisans pouring out of a workshop, or a crowd of pitmen coming from a night shift, do not always look like men and brethren: but you need not be afraid of the coal dust. It will wash off; the diamond is in another form, both on the man and in him; and when you get face to face with these men, when you look at things from their standpoint, when you are willing to learn in order that you may teach, when you have seen that there is a real man beneath the black face, and they have seen that there is a real man beneath the black coat, and that neither is a scarecrow, you will find the great heart of humanity here, as everywhere, beating true. The working men of England will listen whenever they find that more than a voice is speaking to them. Did they not listen to Frederick Maurice and Charles Kingsley? Did they not in this diocese listen to their Bishop Selwyn? Did they not in the East of London listen to the layman Edward Denison, to the priest Charles Lowder? They are men, do not reason about them as though they were machines; they are men, do not be afraid of them, as though they were brutes; they are men, do not expect them to be faultless, as though they were angels; they are men, do not feed them with spoons, as though they were children; they are men, with sharp, God-given intellects and great God-endowed souls; and they will hear the Church of Christ, they will hear the Church of England, for she has God's truth to tell them and God's love to give them.

But if the assertions which I have ventured to make are based upon facts, the Church of England has in this her power to reach the rich, and in this her power to reach the poor, a responsibility which should rest heavily on every Churchman. If she is the Church of England she ought to be the salt of England, but "if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" Is the beloved mother of us all "to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men?" Let her children answer. Not unless they make her "good for nothing." Her rights also must depend upon duties. Let her in the day of trial be found faithful; let her, as I verily believe she alone can, save

the nation, and she will save herself; yea she will remain established in the loving hearts of a thankful people, and a nation yet unborn—this nation born again—shall arise to call her blessed.

DISCUSSION.

WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE, Esq., D.C.L.

THE junction of the two phrases, "the Church and the Crown," and "the Church and Parliament," remind us that the relations which exist between the Church and the Crown have been changed into the relations between the Church and Parliament. At what has often been called the Reformation settlement—the relations as then settled between the Church and State were not relations under which the Church bound herself to Parliament, but relations under which the Church came to the personal head of the Government. Henry the Eighth and his successors never intended, and the Church never intended, that she should be governed by the Parliament of the country. It was intended that that voice should be given to the State with regard to the Church which had been exercised in all ages by what is called "the Godly Prince." But those relations between the Church and the Crown have altered as Parliament got greater power; and at the same time as Parliament got greater power she ceased to be an assembly of Churchmen. From the time that the union with Scotland introduced a large body of professed Presbyterian members into the Parliament of the United Kingdom; from that time forward Parliament has ceased to be an assembly of Churchmen—has ceased to be what it was at one time thought to be, an assembly of the laymen of the Church. And from the very same time, Parliament begun to claim its present overwhelming authority in matters concerning the constitution of the country. We have gone on until we have admitted not only Dissenters but Jews, and at last we have only drawn the line (if we have drawn it) at professed Atheists. We have come to this, that the power which was once asserted for a godly prince is now asserted by a godless Parliament. Now then, what are Churchmen to do in the face of this state of things? Are they to submit to all the claims which this godless Parliament puts forward to legislate for the Church. Mr. Raikes says in a rather optimist speech, that Parliament cannot deal and will not claim to deal with doctrine. He forgets that only a year after the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act, we were threatened with an Act of Parliament which was to re-constitute the Church courts as tribunals for cases of doctrine, and we have been truly told that the court is that which makes the law; that once entrust the court with the interpretation of the law or of the statute, and it very soon adds to the law and the statute. And it needs no prophet to tell us, that if the Church courts had been remodelled by Parliament in 1875, as dealing with cases of doctrine, the decision of these courts would rapidly have made alterations in the legal doctrines of the Church of England. Has the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council never given decisions relating to doctrine? Has it not attempted to stamp its doctrine upon the Church of England? And surely it was Parliament and not the Church which made the Judicial Committee. Now let us see what remedy can be offered for the tendency of the present state of things. Surely, first and foremost we must make a firm front. We must be prepared to say to Parliament, "There are matters on which the Church will not allow you to legislate. Legislate you may, if you please, but your legislation will be disregarded and disobeyed." There are things—there may be more than we think for—where the State and the Church hold a double empire, and where the State is entitled to a voice. No one will say, for instance, that because the Church courts twenty-five years ago dealt with the question of the probate of wills, that it became a matter of life and death to the Church not to be bound by the State law in such matters. Let us give up anything where the State has a right to interfere, and let us concede to the State full and free legislation; but when she attempts to deal with our doctrine, rubrics, ornaments, services, or courts, let us say to the State, "Thus far, and no farther." Well, then, what is to be done as to the Church's necessary legislation? Some years ago I propounded a plan, which was mentioned with approval at a Church Congress by Sir Stafford Northcote. It was a plan for allowing the Convocations, with the concurrence of some assembly of lay churchmen, to prepare schemes of legislation, to be ratified by Order in Council. Suppose, for instance, the Royal Commission as

to the Church courts produce a report showing the deficiency in the present state of things and crying out for a remedy. Are the labours of that Commission to be shelved because the Government do not keep a House, and Churchmen do not attend to make up the forty members? Surely not; we must take some such scheme as that in the Bishop of London's Bill. We must have some arrangement under which Convocation, with, if you please or not, the assent of some lay body of the Church of England, shall recommend to Parliament schemes, and unless Parliament puts a veto upon such schemes they shall become law. But in order that anything of this kind may be done the Church must be fairly represented by her leaders in the Church and in Parliament If a Bill, like that for the release of Mr. Green, could not find forty members of the Church in Parliament when it was discussed—for it was no question of a majority or minority, but because there were not present forty Churchmen that the Bill was talked out; if the heads of the Church, and the Bishops in their places, will give way to the claims of the State, the Church will never get her voice heard in Parliament or the nation. Those who stand forward as the leaders of the Church, either in a secular position or in Holy Orders, ought to take a more decided part, and not until they throw themselves into the gap will the Church's battle be really won.

The Rev. W. L. BLACKLEY, Rector of North Waltham.

I FEEL it pressing strongly on my heart that out of such a meeting as this something practical ought to come, after what we have heard of the grandeur and present strength of our Church. It has been stated that three-fourths of the people of this country belong to the Church, and yet we are told that a strong destructive power is being brought to injure that Church. We should all join in one under these extraordinary circumstances, and ask ourselves, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Let it not be merely talk with us. If Parliament threaten injury to the Church, it is because the men sent to Parliament are not pressed, as they should be, by Churchmen to support her. It is because people seem to take no interest in the matter, and do nothing to prevent what we do not wish to come to pass. The lay members of the Church of England do nothing. I do not blame them. I will tell you where the blame lies. We cannot blame the people in the city if they have no alarm and feel no fear, when the clergy and the Churchmen on the walls say nothing of the danger. That is where our error lies. I speak as much of myself as of my brethren. We hold our tongues when we ought to speak. We are deluded by certain fallacies. I think one of them is this—we say we must not discuss this subject among our people, because they will accuse us of covetousness in keeping our own endowments. But what is covetousness? Is it not the desire to get what belongs to other men? If so, then it is our opponents who are covetous. But to defend what belongs to ourselves and our poor people, and the people who are to come after us, is a duty and not covetousness at all. Another point is that our clergy, for the most part, know very little indeed upon this subject, and therefore it is that the people whom they teach know very little on the subject too. I think it is the duty of every one of the clergy to inform himself on this subject—to know what a Church endowment is, how it was given, how held, and how it ought to be defended; and then we should have something done instead of mere talk of what Englishmen will or will not stand. A third point is that men are afraid of being called politicians, and do not like to speak out. I should like to know, if a measure were proposed to disendow the Dissenting communities, whether the Dissenters would object to their ministers preaching against it. I say this, that if in such case Dissenting ministers did not publicly in the pulpit defend Dissenting endowments, they would not be sure of their sustenance for six months. Then, again, the act of defending the property of the Church is no self-seeking. We are trustees, and bound to defend her. If there be a rector here who has a glebe and a little property of his own beside it, though he be perfectly free to take an acre of his own property and do what he likes with it, he has no right to sacrifice what he is trusted with for other people. I wish, in suggesting this earnest solemn thought to the clergy, not to be supposed to be placing anything like a fire brand in our midst. The conflagration is begun. These names—covetousness, firebrand, self-seekers, are easily given, but they are given by the wrong people to the wrong people. I remember a famous caricature in *Punch* long ago. It was that of two thieves at the corner of a street, looking at a string of policemen, and one said to his comrade—"I say, Bill, they police is a very bad lot; they ought to be

done away with." And just in the same way people are talked of as incendiaries who would defend the Church and stir up Churchmen to defend her. When, in fact, the true incendiaries are those by whom the disestablishment movement is set on foot, not we who do our simple duty in pumping the fire-engine.

LEWIS T. DIBDIN, Esq.

IT is, perhaps, a little unfortunate that a very interesting subject and a rather dull subject should have been considered together this afternoon; at least it is unfortunate for those like myself, who desire to go back from the absorbing subject of the Church and the Democracy to the less exciting one of the Church and the Crown. In listening to Earl Nelson's very interesting address, I was disappointed not to hear more stress laid upon the Reformation view of the Royal supremacy. There ought not to be any doubt upon this subject, for if there was one thing more than another which occupied the attention of the Reformers, it was this matter of the supremacy. Now, the Reformation theory of the supremacy is summed up with clearness in the Thirty-seventh Article: "We give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments, but . . . that they should *rule* all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal." While the Sacraments and the preaching of the Gospel belonged exclusively to the ministry, all *rule* was vested in the Crown. This is stated still more unmistakably in the preamble of 1 Edward VI.:—"All the courts ecclesiastical be kept by no other power or authority, either foreign or within the realms, but by the authority of his most excellent Majesty." Such, then, was the view of the Reformers. The theory of inner and outer jurisdiction, the first coming to the bishop direct from God, the other confined to the Crown, was not recognised then, although it was taught later on. When we get into the Stuart period, we find it adopted by the great divines of that period, such as Carleton, Saunderson, and Bramhall. It is on this theory of inner and outer jurisdiction that the most extraordinary pretensions are now founded. Both last night and this morning I have listened, in the more heated atmosphere of the other hall, to the most startling propositions advanced with the utmost confidence. I have heard it stated that the dependence of the Church courts upon the Royal authority is a novel theory started within living memory; and, again, that the law administered in those courts is "not the law of England." As these notions are supposed to be deductions from the "power of the keys," "the inner and outer jurisdiction," it is important to bear in mind that they were not shared by the great divines of our Church who most strongly supported the "power of the keys." I will only quote one writer, though I might quote many. Bishop Saunderson strongly deprecates the notion that "Bishops living under Christian kings, might at least exercise so much of their power as is of Divine right after their own pleasure, without or even against the king's leave, or without respect to the laws and customs of the realm." He says that is "no part of his meaning." Thus even granting that the power is from Christ, the right to use it is from the Crown. Now, this principle is sometimes called Erastian, but I think it is so stigmatised in forgetfulness of the true position of a Christian Prince. A Christian Prince has a recognised and distinct status in the Church, and it is in virtue of this that all *rule* over the Church is vested in him. We constantly hear the appeal to the Crown referred to as an appeal to Cæsar, but this is quite inaccurate. The difference between a heathen prince and a Christian sovereign is wide and deep. The Queen is not Cæsar. It is only because she is a Christian Prince that she holds the power of rule which I have described. With reference to the relations of the Church and Parliament, I should like to say one word. I desire frankly to admit that the increasing secularisation of Parliament does create a difficulty with regard to its control over the Church, which difficulty increases year by year. But I ask the clergy to consider the position of things from the point of view of Government. How is it possible for the State to allow a great corporation like the Church of England, possessing large powers, and able on some occasions even to speak in the name of the Sovereign—how is it possible to allow such a corporation to exist, unless the State exercises considerable control over its action?

TEMPERANCE HALL.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 4TH.

The Right Hon. the EARL OF DEVON in the Chair.

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TO :—

(*a*) CRIMINALS.
(*b*) PAUPERS AND VAGRANTS.
(*c*) CANAL POPULATIONS.

(*a*) CRIMINALS.

PAPER.

ARTHUR MILLS, Esq.

THE duty of Christian communities towards criminals is a subject far too vast to be completely treated in twenty minutes; nor is it easy to treat it at all, without the risk of repeating what has been often already said or written by others who have made secondary punishments, prison discipline, reformatories, industrial schools, Prisoners' Aid societies, and all the various agencies for the prevention of crime, the work of their lives.

Before offering any suggestions as to the duty of the *Church* towards criminals, it will be convenient to state, as briefly as possible, the duties which in England, and in most civilised countries, are deemed at the present day to appertain to the *State*.

Whether rightly or wrongly, the duties of the State towards criminals are practically held to be limited to the administration of penal laws, enacted simply for the maintenance of public order, and the repression of crime so far as it interferes with public order. It is on this ground that drunkenness and other vices are held to be punishable; and the support, by way of subsidy or supervision, to what are called "Preventive" institutions, and to those established for the aid of discharged prisoners, is based not on philanthropic or religious grounds, but on the correct assumption that the institutions thus subsidised aid in the maintenance of public order, either by preventing the unconvicted from joining the ranks of criminals, or by bringing them back, after they have so fallen, into the ranks of orderly members of society. And it has thus been practically admitted that our duties as Christians in this matter coincide with our interests as citizens.

But whatever may be the limitations of the functions of Government as to the treatment of criminals, there can be no doubt as to those of the Christian Church. These duties are prescribed to us in the Gospel, but to go no further back than one century, we shall find them distinctly recognised. And since John Howard laid down his life in

his noble efforts to reform the scandalous system which he found prevailing in the 244 prisons he visited in 1779, a long roll of illustrious names stand out to prove to us that it is not by Governments or Parliaments, but by the independent action of Christian men and women, that society has been saved from the perilous consequences which, but for their devoted efforts, the neglect of our criminal population would have involved.

The special object which we have now before us is to indicate by what means, and in what directions, Christian influence may best be brought to bear on the treatment of criminals. But before proceeding to offer such practical suggestions as, in the course of my experience in or out of Parliament, in connection with our courts of justice, or school boards, may have occurred to me, I think the most convenient course will be to state very briefly the actual state of things now existing, so far as the machinery provided by the State is concerned. My subject naturally divides itself into two heads. 1. The existing provision as to *adult* criminals. 2. Those which relate to *juveniles*, whether actually convicted, or in danger of falling into crime.

1. As to adult offenders. The number of local or county prisons (which before 1877 was 113) is now reduced to 67, and in these the maximum term of detention is two years. All prisoners sentenced to any longer term are sent, in the first instance, to the convict prisons at Millbank or Pentonville for the first nine months of their sentences, for separate imprisonment, and afterwards passed on to what are called the "Public Works Prisons," at Portland, Dartmoor, or Chatham (originally established in 1847, 1850, and 1856 respectively), or to one of the other convict prisons, at Borstal, Brixton, Parkhurst, Portsmouth, Woking, Wormwood Scrubs, or Fulham. To all these prisons chaplains are attached, who, so far as my knowledge goes, discharge effectively their laborious duties; and in their reports, presented annually to Parliament, much interesting information will be found.

In connexion with many of these prisons, and worked by voluntary agency, though subsidised by the State, there are Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. In the United Kingdom there are now about 54 such societies, of which about 44 are in England, through whose agency an annual public grant of £4,000 a year is distributed, for the purpose of giving a fresh start in life to discharged prisoners. But there are still ten counties in England, of which this county of Derby is one, unprovided with Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. Besides the share of the above-named sum of £4,000 a year, what is called "mark" or "stage" money is allotted to such of the discharged prisoners as may be deemed by the authorities to be entitled to it. Grants are also made to certain convicts on specified conditions, and these grants also pass through the hands of the certified Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, with discriminating powers, limited by rules prescribed by the Home Office.

If asked what practical suggestions I have to offer as to the duty of the Church towards *adult* criminals, I should say in one sentence—"Support all your existing Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, and where they do not exist, establish them at once, beginning at Derby." These societies are the only agencies through which the subsidy granted by the Treasury can be distributed; they are, in fact, the

only agencies by which we can hope to save adult criminals from relapsing into crime. Provide the law and organisation, and a pensioned policeman, as agent, is all that is required in the way of staff to constitute a society. With the honorary aid given by the governor and chaplain of the gaol, no paid secretary is wanted, and a few energetic magistrates, whom the Prisons Act has released from some of their former duties, will form a committee. On this subject we cannot have a better adviser than Mr. Murray Browne, who says :—"Our penal legislation, our gaol and police systems, will remain incomplete until such societies are regarded as a necessary adjunct to every prison. I would plead for the establishment of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, in the interest not so much of the criminal as of the innocent. Unless discharged prisoners are enabled to support themselves by honest industry, they will assuredly make society support *them*, either as thieves or as prisoners, and while so doing they will corrupt as well as injure the innocent. The reformation of those who prey upon society is as important to the honest as to the criminals themselves." And we shall do well also to follow the advice of the Rev. C. Goldney, the excellent chaplain of Stafford Prison, who counsels us to employ every available agency for looking after prisoners after their new start in life. It is much to be desired that clergymen in populous towns may realise the importance of helping, as far as possible, those hopeful cases of discharged prisoners who may come to them with commendatory letters from the chaplains. The last published report of the chaplain of Parkhurst Convict Prison contains also a valuable suggestion as to the dangers sometimes resulting from delay in getting work for discharged prisoners, during which interval he suggests that a cottage might be rented, with a reading room attached, for their temporary accommodation.

But those who have the most experience in the work carried on either by the chaplains in our prisons, or in connection with the efforts of those societies after the sentences have been fulfilled, will be best able to appreciate the concluding remarks of the third report of the Prison Commissioners, when, after giving statistics showing the increase of crime with the advancing years of life, they go on to say—"These figures cannot but be regarded as affording a demonstration that men take to crime in the earlier rather than in the more mature periods of life, and that means for its effective repression are to be sought much more among the agencies for securing a good training of the neglected part of our population in their early years, than in any form of punishment which can be devised."

2. And this brings me naturally to the second and last division of my subject, namely, the provisions existing under State supervision, or subsidy, for dealing with our *juvenile* population, for the purpose of discipline or reform of those who have fallen into crime, and for the prevention of crime among those who may be, from various causes, in danger of so falling.

These institutions, classified under the heads of reformatories and industrial schools, have now been for a quarter of a century under the inspection of a sub-department of the Home Office.

There are now about 62 reformatories, containg about 6,000 inmates. Three of these institutions are afloat, *viz.*, the ship *Cornwall*, on the

Thames, and the *Akbar* and *Clarence*, on the Mersey. By the Reformatory Schools Act, 1866, it is provided that youths under the age of 16 may, if convicted of an offence punishable with penal servitude or imprisonment, be sentenced to be sent for a period of not less than two years, nor more than five years, to a certified reformatory school, provided that they are previously to undergo 10 days' imprisonment. These reformatories are maintained at a gross cost of about £130,000 a year, of which rather less than £6,000 is contributed by the parents of the inmates, the whole of the remainder being borne at the public cost.

With reference to the second class of institutions above-mentioned—*viz.*, industrial schools, there are now about 126 of these institutions, containing about 17,000 inmates. Nine of these institutions are afloat, *viz.*, the *Mount Edgecumbe* ship, at Plymouth; the *Wellesley*, on the Tyne; the *Formidable*, on the Severn; the *Southampton*, in the Humber; the *Cumberland*, in the Clyde; the *Mars*, at Dundee; the *Clio*, at Bangor; and the *Shaftesbury*, on the Thames. This list does not include about 140 voluntary homes and three industrial school ships supported by voluntary contributions.

The certified industrial schools are maintained at a gross annual cost of £343,000 a year, towards which rather less than £17,000 is contributed by parents.

The law relating to industrial schools is contained in five Acts of Parliament, passed in 1866, 1872, 1876, 1879, and 1880. Under these Acts powers are given to magistrates, school boards, and guardians to deal with various classes of juveniles, under fourteen years of age, for whom special treatment is deemed to be required, either to save them from crime, or for purposes of discipline and punishment. It is impossible here to enter into full details as to these enactments, which will be best learnt from the Acts themselves. The main provisions are as follow. The Act of 1866 authorises, by s. 14, the committal of children under fourteen years of age, who are beggars, vagrants, destitute orphans, or companions of reputed thieves, to industrial schools. By s. 15, children under 12, who may be charged with petty larcenies, are included; and by ss. 16 and 17, children who are "refractory" are added to the list. A subsequent Amending Act, of 1880, includes children under 14, "living with or frequenting the company of prostitutes." An important addition to the law relating to industrial schools was made in 1872, when, acting on the example set by the Middlesex magistrates in 1854, in establishing their great industrial school at Feltham, Parliament passed a general Act enabling all counties, cities, and boroughs to do the same.

Under the Education Acts school boards are empowered to establish industrial schools within their respective areas, and as a member of the London School Board, I may mention that that Board has established schools at Brentwood and the school ship *Shaftesbury*. These two institutions accommodate altogether about 500 children. They have also a "Truant" school at Homerton, and they have agreements with about 53 certified industrial schools at which there are now altogether about 1000 boys and 300 or 400 girls. It should also be mentioned that there are now in various places 11 day industrial schools, also "Truant" schools at Leeds and at Liverpool.

Having stated the system as it now exists as to the management and discipline of our reformatories and industrial schools, I will venture to suggest some improvements in that system, on which, as it seems to me, some expression of public opinion may be advantageously invited. For when we speak of the "duty of the Church" in this matter, we include, of course, all those obligations which rest on Christian men, to bring their thought and experience to bear on any practicable reform in the administration of the law. My remarks on this point will relate chiefly to industrial schools, and (1) I would say a word as to the *age* up to which powers of detention of children sent to these institutions should be extended. At present all control over this class ends at the age of 16.

At the *Colonie Agricole*, at *Mettray* (which, as is well known, was founded in 1839 by M. Demetz, on the lines of the "Philanthropic School" in England first started more than a century ago), boys who, for any offence, come under control at public cost, are under Art. 66 of the French penal code, deemed to be still under legal control till they reach the age of 20, and this rule applies to all institutions of the same kind in France. In the United States of America children such as these are considered "Wards of State" until maturity. It is so also in some of the Australian colonies. Perhaps we shall be warned against following either France or America, but, before deciding the question, let us hear what Captain Rowland Brookes, the Governor of Feltham School, who has about 700 boys under his charge, says on this subject of age. After speaking of the large percentage of children claimed by worthless or careless parents when the period now prescribed by law expires, who relapse into crime, Captain Brookes protests against the "enormous injustice which permits a dissolute parent so to influence a child, as to induce it to throw to the winds the provision the managers have with care and forethought made for its suitable start in life, and cause it to return again to the contaminating influences of its old surroundings. Nor can it be said," adds Captain Brookes, "that natural affection is any factor in the mode of action on the part of the parent; for I feel sure that it is not—my own experience leads me to this conclusion, and to consider the whole action as entirely based on selfishness, and nothing else. The parent argues something after this fashion: 'Here is now my child strong and intelligent; he will with ease obtain employment near me; he will bring his wages, of 5s., 7s., or 10s. a week, home to me every Saturday night; this will enable me to procure more comforts than I am able to obtain at present, and will greatly assist in "keeping the family pot boiling."' Acting on this line of *thought* (for they will never confess it in words), the parent induces the child to return home, and very probably in a short time obtains employment as the parent anticipated. But now in due course arise the several factors which the parent did not take into account, and which tend to show what a bad political economist he is. The child falls ill, and its maintainance and medical care devolve on the parent; or it becomes corrupted by its old associates, with whom it has again become intimate—it gets idle and negligent, and perhaps loses its situation and its character at the same time; or, if things do not turn out so bad as this, in due course of time it requires new clothing, or possibly retains and spends on its own amusement some portion of its earnings. Each or any of these results leads to upbraiding on the part of the parent: the

boy or girl leaves home; but now, alas! quite disqualified from obtaining suitable employment, falls into vagabondage, or even, perhaps, gets into prison. This is no ideal picture, but a stern fact of every-day occurrence. I would venture to ask, Is such a state of things to be any longer countenanced, and permitted to continue? Is the time and money spent in rearing a child to be thus entirely thrown away and wasted? Is a fabric constructed with such care to be so rudely cast to the ground? Let us hope that something may yet be attempted to, at all events, mitigate this crying evil, and to prevent results so lamentable and disastrous."

Similar opinions are expressed also by the Rev. W. Newton, chaplain of the same institution. After stating that the proportion of relapses amongst the boys who return to their parents after leaving Feltham, is nearly three times as large as amongst those placed out in various employments by the school authorities, and claiming the right of the State, to insist here, as in other countries, that the care, time, and money spent in endeavouring to convert what would have been a pest to society, into a useful citizen, should not be wasted; he goes on to suggest that no parent of a child under detention in a reformatory or industrial school, should be allowed again to exercise control over its future actions, unless he first pays a certain proportionate sum towards the cost of its maintainance, according to the parent's means. I might quote the opinions of Mr. Glossop, Mr. Munby, and others of great practical experience on this subject, but it may suffice to say, that at two representative conférences, held in November, 1880, in London, and in May, 1881, at Bristol, resolutions as to the expediency of some extension of the period of control over the inmates of these institutions, were unanimously adopted.

(2.) The second suggestion, which, on equally concurrent authority, may be urged as a needed reform in the management of these institutions, relates to the necessity of more stringent provisions for compelling parents of inmates to contribute according to their means. The reformatories and industrial schools now under inspection, cost about half-a-million sterling a year, and of this sum not more than a shilling in the pound is contributed by the parents of the children, and the collection even of this pitiful subsidy is found most troublesome and onerous to all parties concerned. It has been suggested that parents, who, having the means, fail to pay such debts, deserve imprisonment with hard labour. However this may be, *some* more stringent means of enforcing these payments will certainly be required. For the danger of all these institutions arises from the encouragement they afford to profligate and worthless parents, to throw off their own natural responsibilities. And the munificent disposition of public bodies who are spending the money of not even wealthy ratepayers, aggravates sometimes this danger. A drunken father in some poor London East End parish, who hears that the School Board, for instance, has spent £40,000 or £50,000, in providing board and lodging for his troublesome boy, is not likely to feel much scruple in throwing upon his neighbours the whole burden of his child's maintainance, which he ought in common justice to share himself. Nor is it strange if honest parents who have not left their waifs and strays to be picked up by School Boards and philanthropists, should regard the good luck of these little wastrels with a touch of envy, not unmixed with discontent at the premium thus given to vagabondism, vice, and

unthrift. Let us hope that our paternal legislature may find some remedy also for this anomaly.

(3.) The third point which I would venture to urge is, that an extended provision may be made of *day* industrial schools, of which there are now only 11, and of "Truant" schools, of which there are only 4.

(4.) The last and, in my judgment, most pressing point to be kept in view is the immense importance of maintaining a broad line of distinction between what may be called *punitive*, and *preventive* institutions. The mere suggestion of blending together these two classes has called forth an almost unanimous protest too plain to be disregarded, even if there had existed in official quarters any tendency in that direction.

Not only do we need to keep the unconvicted class as distinct as possible from the convicted, but for obvious reasons the bigger boys, for whom our reformatories are provided, should not be classified with the little ones, who form so large an element in our industrial schools. It is quite possible that children may now find their way into industrial schools who are more fit subjects for reformatories, but not only the line of age drawn in the former at 14, and in the latter at 16, but the antecedents of those detained, the grounds of detention, and the period prescribed for that detention, constitute material differences between the two classes, which no one with any practical experience on the subject can venture to overlook. Indeed, so far from any tendency towards amalgamation or fusion of industrial schools with reformatories, I should say that in the view of the best authorities a more complete separation of *preventive* from *punitive* agencies is greatly to be desired.

It is hardly necessary that I should press on those who are members of a Church Congress the vital importance of religious influence in the working of all such institutions as those of which we speak. We who regard Christian truth and teaching as containing the only principle which can regenerate mankind or inbreathe life, as it were, beneath the ribs of death, hardly need to be reminded that no efforts, however philanthropic, can attain the desired result unless based on this foundation. But the long official experience of the late inspector of these institutions, the Rev. Sydney Turner, lend a special value to his words on this subject. After warning us that neither secular, nor mere formal, religious teaching will avail with these classes, he goes on to say, "In many cases the young offenders who enter reformatory schools have had a fair share of teaching of this kind; they can read, write, and cypher, and are familiar with the technical forms and expressions of a catechism. They need to have the motives, feelings, and actions of Christianity brought home to them by plain personal teaching, and their interest in these awakened, and the teachers need to be at full liberty, as well as to have the personal capacity to do this without the restrictions which the formal regulations of a time-table, and the cautionary provisions necessary for strictly public and rate-supported institutions, impose." I believe that about sixty of the institutions classified on the list of the Reformatory and Refuge Union are in connection with the Church of England, or under the influence of its teaching. I wish the list of these were longer, for without at all desiring to fetter the full religious liberty of all denominations, I confess that my experience in connection with institutions of this kind inclines me to believe that the more definite such teaching is, the more real and practical it becomes. Of one thing I am

certain that, with the classes of which we are speaking, mere *secular* culture is absolutely unavailing as an influence on conduct, and I am confirmed in this opinion by the Chaplain of Pentonville in his last report to the Directors of Convict Prisons, in which, after adverting to the increasing proportion of men of superior education in our prisons, he justly remarks that this circumstance must be "rather discouraging to those who have looked to *education* as the one specific for crime."

Permit me, in conclusion, to mention one reason why it is specially important that opinion should be at this time brought to bear on the moral and religious aspects of this question. Let us bear in mind that it is *at home*—within the narrow limits of these islands—that all our secondary punishments, whether for young or old, for long or short terms, must hereafter be exclusively carried out. Transportation in every form to our free Colonies has entirely ceased, and we are only reminded that it ever existed by the presence at Newcastle, in Western Australia, of a handful of men, whose sentences will shortly have expired. The forced labour of convicts at Bermuda and Gibraltar has also been finally discontinued. The huge prison at Norfolk Island, built for 1,000 convicts so recently as in 1825, is now (as I can testify from personal observation two years ago) a heap of ruins—a melancholy monument of a system never to be restored. It is now certain that our *whole* criminal population must be dealt with in the United Kingdom itself, and this consideration tends to quicken our interest in a class which can no longer be kept out of mind by being kept out of sight. And the completion of this change in our old mode of dealing with criminals has coincided with a time when it has become more than ever the tendency of modern legislation to ignore officially any responsibility for the religious teaching of our citizens. Nor has the demand on individual and private effort in reference to the moral treatment of criminals been diminished by each successive reform in our criminal administration. On the contrary, the abolition of transportation, the introduction of the separate system, the establishment of reformatories and industrial schools for juveniles, the substitution of penal servitude for death in all cases except murder—all these changes brought with them fresh moral problems connected with secondary punishments. And it is with this state of things that we have now to deal. Never perhaps in our history was there a time when we were more earnestly called upon by every consideration of conscience and of self-interest, to redouble our efforts in a direction in which legislation can do little unless preceded in its path by those higher influences which it may sometimes reflect, but can never call into existence.

ADDRESS.

The Rev. J. W. HORSLEY, M.A., Oxon., Chaplain H.M. Prison, Clerkenwell.

NEITHER the prevention, the repression, nor the cure of crime, can be left simply to the State if the Church is to justify her existence. Criminals, from her point of view, represent her failures. A Church that must be either missionary or in ruins cannot

ignore the existence of the outcast or the lapsed, nor in view of the contamination of the sound sheep can it neglect this obvious source of evil. The time is happily past, though it is hard to conceive that it was not a century ago, when John Howard had to rouse the nation from its then voluntary blindness and pagan apathy, and to show the awful result of having excluded or not admitted agencies for moral and religious reform into our prisons, those pesthouses of physical and moral evil which disgraced our land. His statue at the entrance of the choir of S. Paul's Cathedral is in a well-deserved place, and his epitaph is free from the usual exaggeration of such compositions, when it says : "This extraordinary man had the fortune to be honoured whilst living in the manner which his virtues deserved : he received the thanks of both Houses of the British and Irish Parliaments for his eminent services rendered to his country and to mankind. Our national prisons and hospitals, improved upon the suggestions of his wisdom, bear testimony to the solidity of his judgment and to the estimation in which he was held in every part of the civilised world ; which he traversed to reduce the sum of human misery. From the throne to the dungeon his name was mentioned with respect, gratitude, and admiration. His modesty alone defeated various efforts that were made during his life to erect this statue which the Public has now consecrated to his memory. He expired at Cherson, in Russian Tartary, on the 20th of January, 1796, a victim to the perilous and benevolent attempt to ascertain the cause of, and find an efficacious remedy for, the plague. He trod an open but unfrequented path to immortality in the ardent and unintermitted exercise of Christian charity. May this tribute to his fame excite an emulation of his truly glorious achievements."

His suggestions were many and minute : few have not been adopted, none were impracticable. No moral and social reformer has left less room for the invention of disciples or successors, and in no department of social, sanitary, and philanthropic effort has progress been more marked or rapid than in that of prison reform. Chaplains in all prisons, assistant-chaplains or scripture readers in all of considerable size, daily services, schools in all prisons for those convicted, ample libraries with the moral and religious element largely provided, decent chapels, and in some cases the authorised visits of volunteer workers, the provision of Bibles, Prayer-Books, Hymnals, Tracts, and Prayer-cards of various descriptions, all attest the fact that the State does not ignore the importance of religion when hoping that imprisonment may be reformatory as well as deterrent. But the question for our consideration seems to me to be rather in what ways the Church, by her representatives and members not officially connected with our prisons, can fulfil her duty towards criminals. It cannot say the class is uninteresting from paucity of numbers. The Judicial Statistics for 1881 give the number of known thieves at large in England and Wales as 20,627, of receivers as 2,294, of suspects as 27,223, a total (probably under the mark) of 50,144. Then the daily average of those in custody is 44,797, to wit, in local prisons 17,798, in convict prisons 10,245, in certified Industrial Schools 10,728, in Reformatories 4,611, criminal lunatics 872, military and naval prisoners 442, and debtors 301. And perhaps a truer estimate of the dimensions of the class is afforded by the facts that the number received into prison in 1881 was 188,586, and that the summary convictions and convictions after trial came to 542,680. Some to whom *argumentum ad crumenam* especially appeals, may like to know that the cost of our prisons and similar institutions was £1,033,838, of criminal and government prosecutions £155,356, and of the police £3,157,876, total £4,347,070, while some estimate of the additional indirect loss to the country

may be gathered from the fact that the loss by the felonies reported to the police in London alone is nearly £130,000 in the year.

Plainly, therefore, if the Church fails to act it is not for want of objects on which to act, especially as Professor Leone Levi showed at this year's meeting of the British Association that "the number of indictable offences within the last ten years in England, Wales, and Ireland indicated a slight increase of crime in recent years, both absolutely and relatively to population."

If then it is desirable that the reformatory as well as the punitive and deterrent ideas should enter into our prison system, not merely for the sake of the offenders but also because recidivism is as expensive as injurious to the State, is the Church content to be represented in this work by a handful of Chaplains, of whom it must with truthful plaint be said "What are they amongst so many?" Are we content with repeating four words in the Litany when we chance to attend that service? Can we justify the almost universal exclusion of the needs of our imprisoned brethren from any compilation for family or private prayer? Is it right that a brother clergyman should tell me the other day that after 30 years of church going he had never heard the needs or the existence of prisoners mentioned from the pulpit? Have we not in fact first to remind the Church that she has a duty towards criminals before we discuss what that duty is?

"Remember my bonds," says S. Paul, desiring that what made such an impression on him should not be forgotten by the Church. Saul the Imprisoner became Paul the Prisoner, and in Thyatira, in Jerusalem, and twice in Rome he found bonds and afflictions awaiting him, and his letters are full of imagery drawn from his chains, once to the Ephesians, four times to the Philippians, twice to the Colossians, once to Timothy, twice to Philemon, and once to the Hebrews, basing his exhortation on his bonds. And meeting as we do under the shadow of a great shame, this same voice comes to us from Lancaster Prison, from one pursued and persecuted even there by the missiles of a vituperative Annas and a dirty Ananias. Remember my bonds, cries now to us the class most of all neglected in prayer—our brothers and sisters in prison. Easy it is to talk about the criminal class as being a homogeneous and unalterable entity, but as a matter of fact only about half those in prison belong to the criminal class, even if we were inclined to admit the irreclaimability of any class. Half dead the wounded man may be and no doubt is, but if the Priest and Levite pass him by he will be three quarters dead, and if the hardly concealed sneers at the gullibility and impractical nature of the enthusiastic chill or drive away the few good Samaritans, the moribund will speedily lapse into utter and infectious death. It was the desire to help not merely my friends in prison, but those whose forgetfulness had caused them to omit in their intercessions and works of charity, this body so needy even when unconscious of their need, that caused me to establish the Guild of SS. Paul and Silas, an association for intercessory prayer for prisoners and prison work. It numbers now 138 members, prison chaplains and officers, ex-prisoners, the parish priest, the mission woman, the lady of title and the needlewoman, their obligation being to spend some time daily in prayer for prisoners and prison work, to aid in which a manual of Collects for all classes and needs has been issued; to interest themselves according to their opportunities in obtaining homes or employment for discharged prisoners; to give alms, if possible, to societies for the prevention of crime and sin, or for the reformation of the fallen and criminals, or to prison and penitentiary chaplains to be used at their discretion

for the benefit of those who are or have been under their care, or to the Guild itself to be distributed by the Warden and Council, to attend, if possible the Annual Service and Meeting of the Guild ; to influence others to become members of the Guild ; and (this is the sole monetary obligation) to purchase the Manual of Prayers (price 6d.) The work of such an association will always be more felt than seen, but no one who believes in the power of prayer and the blessing of endeavour, will doubt of its value and success. Many and many a despairing creature has been invigorated, ennobled, and helped to a chance, if not a life, of self respect, by the prayers, the alms, the clothing, the employment, the friendship, given by members of the Guild. Humbly and quietly we have begun ; may many others apply, extend, and improve our principles and aims.

Having accustomed themselves to prayer for those in prison, men will desire in other ways to help them, for prayer without work is superstition, as work without prayer is presumption. If they live near a local prison they will attach themselves to the Prisoners' Aid Society, of which between thirty and forty exist, all of whom would probably be too thankful for fresh workers, and the infusion of fresh blood into their Committees. It seems to me, by the bye, that such Committees should never be, what they almost universally are, exclusively of one sex. John Howard has his work, his power, his insight into things, and his special experience : and Elizabeth Fry has hers as well, parallel but not identical ; and in the working out of the details of a society's work the need of the special qualifications and powers of either sex must or should be felt. But how many of this audience could tell me even the habitat of their nearest Society of this sort ?

The clients of these societies are those who have ceased to be prisoners, and their operations can only with difficulty extend in any way to those who are still in durance vile. I must express my regret that in one instance England seems far behind other countries in the management of prisons, I allude to the admission and recognition of voluntary, but accredited agents to the prisons. Governors, Chaplains, and other existing internal agents are neither infallible nor perfect, nor have they much leisure for the study of the needs of individual cases ; and I believe any earnest official worker would welcome heartily such supplements to his work. In Austria volunteer visitors are admitted, if of societies occupied in the care and improvement of prisoners. In France there is a special Order of Sisters (Marie-Joseph) for female prisons, and others are allowed by authority of the Minister of the Interior. In Prussia they are admitted, and in some provinces of Italy. In the Netherlands special associations for this work exist in some cities. In Mexico, Switzerland, and Maryland they are allowed. In England, however, the land of Howard and Elizabeth Fry, they are few and far between, and their existence is abnormal and unencouraged. I need not stop to point out the advantages alike to prisoners and to Prisoners' Aid Societies that would accrue if such agency could be at least allowed, if not favoured. Discipline, which has a divinity, but may become a fatuous idol, is the barrier to their entrance. Meanwhile something may be done by enlisting the services of ladies and gentlemen who will undertake to shepherd cases on discharge, or to look after the families of those in prison. I have about twenty such external agents whose labours are often of the greatest value. Surely there are many who could say to Chaplains or the Prisoners' Aid Societies, " You may send me one or so many cases, in a year, and I will find the money, the time, and the labour to do my best for them." This would most beneficially

introduce the element of personal regard and human sympathy which can hardly be found in the operations of a society. And again, some such workers might have an attraction to, or be trained in the practice of a particular line of work. One lady, thus, in London, takes up for me the distinct work, and that alone, of looking after the wives and families of men above the lower classes who have been sent to penal servitude; and in no case has she failed somehow to benefit the children or find employment for the wives. Others, again, might well be employed in shepherding and visiting (of course in no inquisitorial or detective spirit) cases that had already been aided by the Society.

But the great need is that of employers who would promise to give work to ex-prisoners if, and when they had a vacancy. I believe that less difficulty obtains in some counties in this respect than in London, where such practical philanthropists seem almost non-existent. Societies would not be so anxious about their funds, nor Chaplains about the perseverance of their pet burglars, if they had lists of employers—builders, wharfingers, laundry-proprietors, and factory owners—to whom men and women might be sent on discharge with some prospect of employment, and a certainty of not receiving a rude and discouraging rebuff. Amiable ladies gush over the desirability of giving a fresh chance to some penitent girl on leaving prison or a Home, but somehow they usually discover exceptional circumstances in their own homes that force them to exercise self-denial by refusing your request. We learn from *Les Miserables* of Victor Hugo, the divinity and the recuperative power of forgiveness, and if some object that while the good bishop gained the burglar he lost his candlesticks, I can only answer that I have never been without a servant who came from prison, and never have lost a farthing or a pin. If others again plead the difficulty that might arise from fellow-servants, I answer that half the people who keep servants in London keep only one.

But far more pecuniary aid is needed from the public, who are interested somewhat in all things relating to prisons and prisoners, but have somehow and somewhence got an idea that Government, or some other abstraction, supplies all necessary funds. Government buys the good behaviour of prisoners by a system of gratuities amounting in no case to more than 10s., but this aid does not profess to be based on either the real merits or the needs of prisoners. An habitual criminal with a long sentence knows by experience how to avoid the breach, or detection in the breach, of prison rules, and is sure to get the maximum gratuity and tolerably sure not to make a good use of it; while a really deserving prisoner, in prison for the first time, and having received a short term because the magistrate or judge saw he was worthy of leniency, cannot earn any gratuity, or at any rate only a few pence, simply because of his merit; nor is the question of destitution or want for such clothing, tools, or temporary shelter, as are necessary for his finding fresh employment, taken at all into consideration. I am not saying, mark you, that Government either could or should act otherwise: I simply state the fact. Nor is the aid given by Government to recognised Prisoners' Aid Societies at all commensurate to their needs, though on a scale that from a Treasury point of view is no doubt considered large. It is sheer ignorance, I am convinced, and not apathy or a forgetfulness of the fact that the words "and in prison" are added to the Saviour's words "I was sick and ye came unto Me," that causes the subscription lists of most, if not all, Societies to be so meagre.

And it would be in many ways beneficial if in every prison there was a Chaplain's

Fund, or where it seemed more advisable, a fund administered by a Governor and Chaplain conjointly, derived it may be chiefly from private benevolence, and yet if necessary aided by a grant from the Prisoners' Aid Society, or even Government, to meet such cases as may, though worthy, be excluded from aid by the rules of Government or the Societies. Sometimes law, but not equity, denies a place of repentance to those who have committed some offence against prison discipline. In other cases there is no time, from various reasons, to refer the prisoner to societies. Sometimes again it may be most desirable to aid the families of prisoners; and in other ways the need is apparent of a fund which shall not be swathed in iron or red tape. I invariably aid through established and authorised agencies where possible, but yet I have in six years, preached, lectured, written, or begged into my private fund some £511, by the prudent distribution of which I have materially helped and relieved, not only prisoners and their families, but struggling and overburdened societies for their aid as well.

If funds were sufficient a most useful work could be set on hand by the establishment of laundries, sewing rooms, woodcutting, tailors' and shoemakers' shops, in which decent pay could be given to prisoners on their discharge as a halfway house to better and more remunerative work. Here characters would be tested and abilities discovered, as well as time gained, during which better places could be found; only the stumbling block of obviously inadequate pay must be resolutely avoided. Better help a few substantially and really than give to many an occasion of discontent and cavil.

Again, with ampler funds there could be established refuges for men and women, to which they might go direct from prison; such refuges to give simply supper, bed, and breakfast, leaving the inmates free to spend the day in searching for employment. Those who know by experience how much depends on the way the first day, or even the first hour, after discharge is spent, will at once recognise the great benefit of such institutions, which exist only to a small extent.

Again, with ampler funds societies or individuals could make use more frequently of the two most efficient forms of aid, migration and emigration. Do not understand that I advocate the shooting on to a brother's land the refuse and even the garbage of our own, but amongst those discharged from our prisons there are those whose inability to get constant employment, or to keep from old haunts and companions, forms the only reason for their relapse, and this can be effectually removed by emigration. I might dilate upon the remarkable success that has attended this form of effort, especially amongst the obviously hopeful, and the well nigh hopeless types of prisoners, for women far more than for men. Enquire of Father Nugent of Liverpool, or the Rev. G. P. Merrick of Westminster Prison upon this point.

Finally (you welcome the word), I would add an exhortation to my brethren who are parish priests. See that you promptly, lovingly, and perseveringly shepherd any cases commended to your notice on their discharge by prison Chaplains. I suppose a thousand by no means represents the letters I write in a year commending some poor fellow or girl to the notice, sympathy, and aid of those in whose parishes or neighbourhood they may be going forth to dwell; and in many cases with the greatest benefit to the temporal and spiritual interests of those thus commended. Remember the vital importance of the first day after leaving prison, with new resolutions but more than the old difficulties. Remember their stomachs have been somewhat pinched, and that sometimes "the best way of all to the heart is down the throat." Don't want them at once to relate the history of their shame. Encourage them to visit you and not wait

to be visited. As soon as you prudently can, associate them with stronger brethren and sisters in some society or class, and from the first give them some God-parent, shepherd, or guardian angel in human form. Keep their secret in manner as well as in speech. Give them encouragement; others have given them all necessary rebuke. Bear with their weakness; let no falls or relapses scandalise you, nor progress elicit enervating gush. And withal grind indignantly under foot any rising feeling that you are condescending in the work; no such ennobling and Christlike work comes to you every day. Never mind just now the ninety and nine case-hardened in their respectability and compounding for sin by denouncing crime; here you will find the object of the Master's peculiar care, aye, even the very members of Christ sore from the world's buffeting, foul with its mire, quivering with its scorn, but as the holy women tended and washed and anointed that Body when discharged from the prison of the Cross, so will you with reverence, love, and gratitude to the Giver of the task, prepare the despised and rejected man for a resurrection and a life of glory.

(*b*) The Duty of the Church to Paupers and Vagrants.

PAPER.

General Lynedoch Gardiner.

Paupers and Vagrants are but invalids suffering from a malady which can never be entirely extirpated, but which may be alleviated and reduced to narrow limits by judicious treatment, and it is clearly the duty of the Church, clergy and laity, but especially the clergy, to apply that treatment.

Whether we look to preventive measures by implanting habits of self-denial and thrift through religious and moral training, or to curative measures, by applying the principles which experience has shown to be necessary in the administration of legal and charitable relief, it is evident that the Church is called upon to take a leading part in remedial action, and without her help all efforts to meet this insidious and wide-spread disease, must be unavailing.

The disease is peculiar in some of its features: that which at first sight would seem to be the readiest and simplest remedy, viz., relief in money or kind, if offered as a right, so that all may claim it, or if applied carelessly and indiscriminately, tends more than anything else to aggravate and multiply the disease it is meant to alleviate, by demoralising the recipients, and by creating a craving which can never be satisfied, but which goes on increasing with its indulgence.

If I were asked to define the word pauperism, I should answer: demoralised poverty and demoralised destitution, thus indicating the two classes pertaining properly to Charity and to the Poor Law; for although a pauper in the strict sense is one who is receiving legal relief—yet charity misapplied so as to impair self-reliance, is certain to produce the same disease, even if its effects (by reason of its being voluntary and not claimable as a right) may be somewhat less mischievous. The disease is peculiar also in having existed in the world from the earliest ages, and yet being so little understood. The experience of one Nation seems to

be of no avail in teaching any other Nation, but each country must make its own experience, and even make it over and over again before arriving at the practical solution best suited to its special character and circumstances. The complaint declares itself with the growth of population after a time in every civilised community: the Hebrew poor tax is distinctly laid down in the Mosaic law. Plutarch and Demosthenes bear witness to the pauperism of ancient Greece; while the history of pauperism in Rome, under the Consulate and the Empire, has been curiously repeated in our own annals.

God grant that we may have taken warning in time.

The imminent national ruin which threatened us, owing to the demoralisation of the poorer classes, and the terrific expenditure which was worse than wasted upon them during the first third part of this century, bore a striking analogy to the state of things which preceded the fall of the Roman Empire.

It is a hopeful sign, however, that in the year 1834, we had the courage and the vital energy to retrace our steps—although the moral blindness which not unfrequently hinders self-reform still rests upon us.

It seems almost incredible that in the face of such a warning as we had during the period just referred to—after having laid bare legal out-relief as the cause of the mischief, and after having worked out our own practical remedy in the workhouse test with a well classified workhouse—that we should again have relapsed (notwithstanding the protests of the Poor Law Board, which had meanwhile become an important department of the State) into such an abuse of out-relief as existed throughout the country between 1860 and 1870; but the cause is not far to seek.

I doubt whether the second crisis would ever have occurred if the framers of the Act of 1834 had not (in order to provide for extreme emergencies) left in the hands of the guardians the power of granting out-relief in exceptional cases, *without defining and limiting the cases to which it was intended that this exceptional power should be applied.* This is an omission in the law which ought to be remedied in order to prevent the constant relapses of Boards of Guardians into lax administration which we see so constantly recurring, and which, I fear, must otherwise inevitably recur. To a benevolent set of gentlemen, not over well versed in political economy, such as Boards of Guardians usually are, the temptation to make an exception, and to grant out-relief to cases of deserving poverty which have no legal claim to relief from the rates, is too strong to be permanently resisted, backed as it is by pressure from the applicants and their friends to get the parish allowance, particularly if it be given in the form of money. If one single case of this kind be granted, it then seems unjust to withhold the grant from others similarly situated, and their name is legion--if poverty and not destitution be admitted as a title to legal relief, and thus exception after exception is granted, until the exceptions become the rule.

It is curious that this loophole should have been left, for the Commissioners say in their report:—"To permit out-relief as an exception, would be to permit it as a rule;" and again, speaking of the offer of the workhouse:—"Even if it be in some cases a hardship, it appears from the evidence that it is a hardship to which the good of society requires the applicant to submit. The express or implied ground of his application

is that he is in danger of perishing from want. Requesting to be rescued from that danger out of the property of others, he must accept assistance on the terms, whatever they may be, which the common welfare requires. The bane of all pauper legislation has been the legislating for extreme cases. Every exception, every violation of the general rule to meet a case of unusual hardship, lets in a whole flood of fraudulent cases by which the rule must in time be destroyed. Where cases of real hardship occur, the remedy must be applied by individual charity, a virtue for which no system of compulsory relief can be or ought to be a substitute." I should like to see that paragraph printed and framed, and hung up in every Board-room in the Kingdom.

It may be thought that some of these remarks relate rather to the duties of Guardians as administrators of the Poor Law, than to those of members of the Church as representatives of charity; but I have thought it indispensable to enter into these details in order to lead up to the task of dispauperisation, which seems to me to form one of the most prominent duties of the Church, and for this purpose I wish further to recall the notable instance of dispauperisation set on foot and successfully carried out at the worst crisis of our poor-law history by a clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Whately of Cookham—brother to the Archbishop.

Time will not permit me to quote the evidence of the antecedent condition of his flock, and of the remarkable success with which his efforts were crowned; but I have selected this instance from the voluminous report of the Commissioners, in order to show how much easier it would be now under the amended law, and, in a less malignant state of pauperism, to produce similar improvement by the same means; and also because Mr. Whately's example seems to me to point to the first duty of the clergy with regard to pauperism, viz., to take an active part in the administration of legal relief as Guardians of the Poor. They might become in most places the leaven to leaven, not only the whole body of Guardians, but the whole population—the instructors so much needed as to the true functions of Poor Law and Charity.

It is a melancholy fact that Guardians, are as a rule, ignorant of the first rudiments of political economy, and not unfrequently of the law which they wrongly suppose they are carrying out; and from a long course of bad administration handed on to them by their predecessors, are under the delusion that they are acting benevolently in usurping the functions of charity and in squandering their neighbours' money on persons for whom this kind of relief was never intended, and deem those uncharitable who urge them to refuse out-relief to cases to which it can only be applied by an evasion of the spirit and intention of the law.

In recommending the clergy to grapple with this great question as Guardians, I must, however, modify my recommendation by adding, that before following the example of Mr. Whately, they must first qualify themselves as the Rev. Mr. Whately did, and as the Rev. Mr. Fowle has done, to judge by the able treatise on the Poor Law published last year in the "British Citizen." They must instruct themselves before they become teachers in this department, otherwise the result would be disastrous:—but further than this, they must not only acquire more knowledge of the Poor Law and of its past history, but they must learn to dispense better than they now do the funds placed in their hands by Charity.

Considering the vast interests at stake, and the great work of reform in which it behoves them to be the leaders, and for which their education and their position afford superior qualifications and special opportunities, I would earnestly appeal to the highest authorities in the Church to make the proper principles of charitable work, of legal relief, and of the rudiments of political economy, an essential part of the examination of every candidate for holy orders. The benefits to be derived from such a course of instruction would be invaluable. I say it with regret, but with the firmest conviction of its truth, that the clergy, who must always be the most trusted representatives of charity, have done, and are still doing an infinite amount of harm with the best intentions, and have much to answer for as well as the Guardians in the present extent of pauperism. I do not mean that much of the money entrusted to them is not well spent in genuine charity, but that a large bulk of the wage-earning population who are improvident but still independent, and also the vast masses who are on the verge of pauperism, and who specially require to be reclaimed from the taint of that moral disease, and to be taught lessons of thrift and self-reliance, are being constantly demoralised through the clergy and their visitors (as well as through other charitable sources) by the dole system,—by ill-judged and inadequate relief—given without sufficient enquiry, and without sufficient pains-taking judgment as to the best way of helping each particular case. Cases of sickness may require this form of relief. but in other cases a mere dole, which is often not needed, and which, if needed, leaves the recipient as soon as it is spent in no better position than before, not only does no good, but does positive harm by teaching the recipients to lean upon alms instead of upon their own exertions. and to become beggars and paupers in soliciting these doles. Where help is given, it should be given with a definite object, and in a manner which will help the recipients to help themselves. Poverty should be relieved so as to remove it, not to perpetuate it: destitution should be left to the Parish.

If the clergy once realise that their responsibility with regard to a case is either not to help it at all or to help it thoroughly, influencing at the same time both parents and children, so that they may all belong to some friendly society or place money in the Post Office Savings Bank. they would alter their whole system of work. District Visitors would then occupy a new position. Their functions would be educational. not eleemosynary. They would be the care-takers of each case after relief had been given, so that persons once helped should be looked after and induced to put by some of their earnings and become self-supporting. But for this purpose trained Visitors are necessary, and to train district Visitors the clergy must devote a good deal more attention to the problem. This can only be secured by making it a part of their qualification for the priesthood.

Where it is possible, the services of an independent Committee in deciding as to relief, after carefully weighing and discussing the merits of each case, is of great value, and the relief function should be left in their hands.

The administration of charitable funds so as to assist the Guardians in reducing out-relief is of the first importance, and in order to accomplish

this a pension fund should be formed in every Church district for the benefit of really deserving cases of poverty in old age, and when evidence of thrift is forthcoming. Many Boards of Guardians who have got into the bad practice of granting permanent pensions from the rates, and who cannot be convinced by argument or by statistics of the wide-spread mischief thus effected, might cease to be so lavish of other people's money, and might consent to apply the workhouse test, if they were assured that charity would do all that is necessary in such cases:—that it would do so has been proved wherever the experiment has been tried. This point alone affords the strongest evidence of the necessity of closer co-operation between charity and the Poor Law. It is impossible for the administrators of either one or the other to deal with this great question separately, they have stood aloof from each other far too long already. It is only by the most perfect understanding between the two, and by clearly marking the functions of each, that we can hope to produce any real effect in carrying out what is now admitted to be the first step towards the reduction of out-relief. I say advisedly the restriction, and not the abolition (the words commonly used), because I do not believe it is either possible or desirable to abolish *temporary* out-relief while the Poor Law exists. Chronic out-relief should no doubt be abolished, but in justice to the present recipients this must be a gradual process. It will take years to abolish chronic out-relief throughout the country and to restrict temporary out-relief to its proper limits. When it has been so reduced, it can only be kept down and prevented from again usurping the functions of charity by constant watchfulness on the part of the Guardians, and by the active exertions of intelligent Relieving Officers, who will be fully as much needed then as they are now. Those who advocate the total abolition of out-relief, also advocate the repeal of the Poor Laws, and this is the course recommended by Mr. Pretyman in his "Dispauperization." This is almost the only point on which I am unable to agree in his conclusions. It must be remembered that Mr. Malthus, the Rev. Sydney Smith, Dr. Chalmers, and others who so strongly condemn the principle of a Poor Law, wrote under the influence of the panic produced by the demoralisation of the people previous to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The necessity of a Poor Law in England, in spite of acknowledged drawbacks, has been fully proved to me by close observation of the working of the Poor Law and Charity in London. I would recommend any who entertain a doubt on this point to read Mr. Fawcett's admirable Lectures on Pauperism, delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1870; and also Mr. Fowle's sound reasoning at pages 10, 11, and 12 of his recent treatise on the Poor Law.

I do not say that the Poor Law is not capable of improvement. I think it is so in the point already noticed, and in another which it would take too long to discuss here, viz: the limitation of legal relief to relief in kind. But it is not the Poor Law in its now amended state, but the lax and bad administration of that law which has demoralised, and is still demoralising, so many of the labouring classes.

Mr. Goschen's admirable Minute issued from the Local Government Board in November, 1869, on relief to the poor in the mepotroplis, may well form the basis of all schemes for co-operation between Charity and the Poor Law. It ought to be quoted at length, for every word of it bears on the subject before us, but time will not permit me to enter into

these details. It is a singular coincidence that at the very time this Minute was being framed, the means of carrying out the scheme recommended by Mr. Goschen were first provided.

The first Charity Organisation Office in London was opened in St. Marylebone, in 1869, and it is on the strength of the experience I have gained in working constantly since then as an Honarary Secretary of that Committee, being at the same time a Guardian of the Poor, and an Almoner of the Society for the Relief of Distress; that I venture to offer for your consideration the conclusions which have forced themselves upon me. There is now a Charity Organisation Committee in each of the Poor Law Divisions of the Metropolis, 38 in all, and the most cordial co-operation has been carried out with the Guardians at the West End of London, where my experience lies, as well as in many notable instances at the East End. I regret that time does not permit me to invite your attention to the typical cases of St. George's in the East, Stepney and Whitechapel. I merely wish to indicate that the machinery is thus furnished for securing co-operation between Poor Law and Charity, and for marking afresh the line which has become almost obliterated between them.

The movement that has taken place since 1869, for improving the condition of the poor by the Organisation of Charity, has undoubtedly contributed with other causes to the considerable reduction of pauperism which has been effected, and which is still going on there. It seems at last to be dawning on the mind of the thinking part of the wealthiest nation in the world, that it ought not also to be the most pauperised, and that unless checked this mass of pauperism, which has been well described by a French Statesman, the late M. Thiers, as "*la plaie la plus dévorante de l'Angleterre*," must sooner or later undermine the strength and vigour of the nation. We should at least not rest until we have got rid of the abuse of out-relief, which is the most fertile source of the evil. But it is not in England alone that this industrial problem is working out its own solution. Our neighbours across the Atlantic are passing through a similar phase. Alarmed at the growth of pauperism, and recognising the true cause of it in State relief, they are reducing it by leaps and bounds. Following our example in London, Charity Organisation Societies (or Charity Aid Associations as they are sometimes called) have been springing up for the last few years all over the United States. Frequent conferences are held in the principal cities, and their reports are among the most interesting and remarkable I have ever met with. The results achieved by volunteer work in raising the condition of the labouring class by the organised personal help and sympathy of the more educated classes, by the total abolition in some places of out-relief, without any hardship to the poor, without any increase of numbers in the workhouses, and even with a decrease on the call on charitable funds, owing to strict enquiry, are little short of miraculous.

If our Guardians had eyes to see, or ears to hear, the lesson to which they have been blind and deaf in England could not fail to come home to them from America, where it is being loudly proclaimed that, if State relief is allowed to take the place of Charity, or that either one or the other is administered so as to reverse the laws ordained by Providence, demoralisation must follow. "If we would succeed," said Sir Charles Trevelyan, speaking last year at Leeds, on raising the condition of the

poor by the abolition of out-relief, "we must obey the natural laws, and be workers together with God. His institutions will outlast ours, and while we prefer our ways to His, as we have done of late years, we shall continue to wander further from our object."

With regard to the treatment of both paupers and vagrants in the ordinary sense of those who receive legal relief, there is but one course for the dispensers of charity to pursue, viz., to leave them to be dealt with by the Poor Law, first, however, establishing such co-operation as to ensure that hopeful cases shall be referred to charitable sources.

Vagrants are a class far more difficult to deal with than local paupers, because enquiry, the chief safeguard against imposition, must at a distance cause delay in the making, and when made, the result is frequently vague and insufficient. The usual plea is immediate want while in search of employment, but when a sensible man is thrown out of work he does not expect to find it on the hedges by the roadside. He hears at a labour registry office, or he sees in the papers that hands are wanted at a certain place. He will then raise money by gift or loan to go there, and by all means let Charity, with a thorough knowledge of his case, help him to his railway ticket. He knows well enough that his chance of obtaining employment by loafing about the country is infinitesimal, and that in pursuing such a method of search he can hardly fail to get mixed up with the host of tramps who beg their way from place to place on the plea of looking for work, which they are by no means anxious to find.

The present law, treating vagrants as a class apart from paupers, is certainly not satsifactory. In a discussion which took place in Parliament last May, Sir Baldwin Leighton stated that the number of vagrants receiving legal relief had risen from 1,900 in 1873 to 7,000 in 1880. These numbers, however, form but a small part of the wandering population, which he estimates at 50,000.

The causes assigned by the speakers for this large increase of vagrancy were, first, the discharge from the Army under the new short service system of men who have not served long enough to acquire the spirit of order and discipline, and who have become imbued with restless, indolent, or intemperate habits, at a time when they might have been learning some useful handicraft or settling down to some permanent employment; and secondly, the depression of trade, throwing men out of work, and causing those who, in the first instance, might be roaming in search of employment, to fall gradually into a reckless haphazard kind of existence, and eventually to lapse into confirmed vagrants. The President of the Local Government Board admitted that something ought to be done. Certainly, the general opinion of those who have had most experience in this difficult problem would seem to point to more classification in the casual wards, to longer periods of detention, and to assimilating generally the position of the vagrant to that of the pauper. This, indeed, is the tendency of the "Casual Poor Act" for England and Wales, which will come into operation at the close of the present year.

As yet, however, no remedy has been suggested, only palliatives. It seems to me that the only remedy is to persuade Charity to hold her hand; while the best palliative (coupled with a ticket system such as that practised in Berkshire, so as to leave no excuse for promiscuous almsgiving) is suitable indoor relief. The vagrant hates work, therefore make him do a task in exchange for his food and lodging, a task sufficient to

be irksome to a shirker, but not sufficient to prevent a *bona fide* traveller from making an early exit in the morning. He hates cleanliness, therefore make him take a luxurious bath, and let him clean his room with scrupulous care before he leaves it. He loves bad company and crowded lodging houses, therefore give him a bed chamber to himself. All these precautions have been taken in St. Marylebone, and the result is that while a gentleman might occupy a casual ward for a night in perfect comfort, and that honest wayfarers are protected against the companionship of thieves and prostitutes, the vagrant finds these comforts excessively unpleasant, and that, notwithstanding the increase of vagrancy, the motley crowd that formerly herded in our casual wards has dwindled in a very remarkable degree. These, however, are but palliatives; the root of the evil lies with those who create this Army of Bedouins by indiscriminate almsgiving. This host of flitting vagabonds would not exist if the easy-going, soft-hearted, unreflecting public could be brought to some sense of the harm they are doing by a purely selfish form of Charity: giving away that which they will never miss, and taking no further trouble about the recipient: indulging in a listless way the pleasure of giving without asking themselves whether the dole bestowed, or the disagreeable task of saying "no" would be best for the individual and the community. This is what the author of "John Halifax" calls "the crime of benevolence."

The Secretary of the Poor Law Board has well said:—"I cannot too emphatically express my conviction that as long as the public persist in giving alms to sturdy beggars and idle vagabonds, all attempts on the part of those who make and administer the laws for the suppression of vagrancy will most assuredly prove unavailing."

But who is to bring about this change in the public mind? Who so effectually as the clergy? They are brought into intimate relations with all classes. They can point out to well-to-do parishioners whose hearts so frequently cause them to act independently of their reasoning powers, that a sixpence or a shilling thrown to a stranger, or a meal given at the kitchen door to a tramp of whom they know nothing, is the very reverse of Christian charity, for it is doing harm instead of good; and they can also convince the labouring classes whose improvidence betrays itself in nothing more conspicuously than in their generous but reckless liberality to mendicants, that if they wish to be really charitable, this will be better done by saving up the coppers so freely given, until they grow into silver, and the silver into gold, and then being given to provide adequate help to some case which they know to be deserving.

I am aware in the remarks I have offered that I have left unnoticed many branches of the attitude of the Church towards pauperism, such as the separation of children from pauperising influences, boarding out, the treatment of widows, improving the dwellings of the poor, relief by loan, medical relief, etc., and have left much unsaid on Out-relief and co-operation between Charity and the Poor Law, which seems to me to be the most urgent points in the programme of dispauperisation.

I had indeed entered much more fully into these two topics, but I found my paper would occupy just three times the number of minutes allotted to me to read it. I must, therefore, in thanking those who have so kindly listened to me, beg their indulgence for any lapses of continuity that may have occurred in the abridgement.

ADDRESS.

The Hon. and Rev. Canon J. W. LEIGH, Vicar of Leamington.

HALF a century ago the Church scarcely seemed to recognise the close relations between social and religious duties. The clergy, while active in striving to promote the spiritual welfare of their flock, did not consider it necessary to devote much attention to their social condition. Endeavouring by precept and example to discountenance intemperance, immorality, etc., they did not examine closely into the cause with a view of ascertaining how far the evil might be remedied. Therefore, their efforts in regard to spiritual improvement were much hindered. Matters in this respect are somewhat altered now. We find the clergy and earnest-minded laymen turning their attention to sanitary laws, thrift, prevention of intemperance, etc.; but although a good deal has been done, especially during the past ten years, much yet remains to be done. The subject under discussion embraces a wide field, including many points of great interest. General Gardiner has dwelt especially on two points—out-door relief—and the co-operation of Charity Organization with Poor Law administration: subjects which he is well qualified to discuss from his experience as Hon. Sec. to the C.O.S. Committee, as an active member of the St. Marylebone Union, and on account of the important reforms he has introduced into that Union during the present year. There is one great difference, however, between the metropolitan and rural Unions—viz., that whereas out-door relief in the former is administered through a Relief Committee, in the latter it is administered by the whole Board, who consider the merits of each individual case. We are pretty well all agreed that there is too much out-door relief given. As far back as 1834, the Poor Law Commission condemned out-door relief, because it was the fruitful parent of pauperism. It was condemned but not abandoned. In theory we may agree with Sir C. Trevelyan and others, that out-door relief is an abuse, and should be entirely got rid of, and that it has a most demoralising influence in this country; but at the same time we see great difficulties under the present system in doing away with it altogether. I do not see how a hard and fast line can be drawn, *e.g.*, the case of a poor widow, with a large family of small children, who manages to earn a scanty subsistence by charring, washing, or sewing; or of the wives of militia men, who have been called to go and serve their country at Aldershot on sixpence per diem. We have heard, however, that it has been discontinued in three of the largest and poorest Unions in London, and I may mention that in America, where the same difficulties have existed, and greater abuses have arisen, in two of the largest cities, viz., Brooklyn and Philadelphia, out-relief has been entirely abolished with remarkable results. It was thought at first impracticable, and that almshouses of mammoth proportions would have to be built to hold the inmates. Results have proved otherwise. In Brooklyn, where it was abolished in 1878, the inmates in 1877 amounted to 1,371; 1878, 1,371; 1879, 1,389; in 1880, 1,200; and last year 1,171, showing a steady decrease in the number of inmates; notwithstanding the abolishing of out-door relief and the large annual increase of population. In Philadelphia, where it was abolished in 1879—1876, 2,600; 1879, 2,036; 1880, 2,000. In both these places, out-door relief was prohibited; because it was prostituted to political ends and demoralising in its effects. And here I may state, as American institutions are often quoted for our example in this country, that I believe we have little to learn from their Poor Law administration, although we

may learn something from the efforts of philanthropists in that country to correct abuses, for just as we owe a good deal to Conferences of Guardians 1872—so they, following in our wake had their Conferences of Charities, started by them in 1874, which have done much in the way of bringing gross scandals to light. The State Charities Aid Association, started in 1872, and worked chiefly by ladies under the able superintendence of Miss Schuyler, has done a wonderful reformation work in the State of New York. In America, reforms have, however, a terrible obstacle to contend with, from which we are happily free, *i.e.*, political influence; overseers, managers, masters, paupers, and even vagrants, being all more or less infected with this political poison. Still, although we have not this difficulty to contend with, how to deal with the large pauper class is no easy problem. The Rev. W. L. Blackley is, I know, prepared to solve the problem by "compulsory providence," or "national insurance," but, although most active and zealous in promoting his scheme, he has failed, as yet, to convince some of our leading poor law reformers, who seem to consider his plan too Utopian, or partaking too much of the character of a paternal Government. Therefore, until it becomes law, we must be content to see how far we can mend our old ways. I would briefly dwell on one or two points—I may call them the three C.'s, viz., (1) Classification, (2) Children, (3) Casuals. (1) Very important; easier to carry out in large workhouses than in the small rural ones. True, the orders of the Local Government Board require a certain amount of classifying, *i.e.*, sexes, aged and infirm from able-bodied, sick from healthy, children from adults, but it might be carried out still more, so as to separate as far as possible the positively depraved from those of better character, especially young women, who have been brought in from no fault of theirs, or who may be just commencing a downward course, from the most degraded of their sex; otherwise the result must be a tendency to bring down all to a level of the lowest, destroying self-respect, and preparing the way for a life-long dependency on public and private charity. Nowhere is the Scriptural proverb so likely to be fulfilled to the letter, that "Evil communications corrupt good manners." The sick and infirm should be tended with care, their sufferings alleviated, their happiness promoted as far as possible. Able-bodied should be made to do work, and that, if possible, of a remunerative kind; therefore it is very essential that there should be plenty of land attached, especially to Unions in the country. Of course, I naturally exempt from able-bodied, the children; and this brings me to (2) children. A great deal has been written and spoken with regard to these "children of the State." We owe much to such ladies as Mrs. Nassau Senior, Miss Meredith, the Misses Joanna, Florence, and Octavia Hill, and Miss Ellice Hopkins, for their exertions in bringing forward the matter of the better training of pauper children; and I quite agree with the latter lady, who says, in an able article lately published in one of the monthlies, that ladies ought to have more voice in the internal arrangements of the workhouse. About thirteen years ago I was enabled to introduce the boarding-out system into the Union, of which I have now the honour to be Chairman, and although at that time I met with considerable opposition, I think all the Guardians are now satisfied with the results, both as regards the welfare of the children and saving to the pockets of the ratepayers. Result out of 26 originally boarded out: service, 9; trades, 5; friends, 2; foster-parents, 8; lunatic asylum, 1; workhouse, 1. In connection with Unions in the metropolis and larger towns, it may be better to have district schools; although at Birmingham boarding-out has been very successful, out of 98, 78 have turned out

well, 13 not so well, but not hopeless. With regard to the other children who are left, *i.e.*, those *not* orphan or deserted, it would be well to do what we have just done at Warwick—send the older boys and girls to the National School. One thing is quite certain, that the education of the pauper children should be of such a kind as will fit them for the employments of after-life, and obliterate all tendency to return to a state of pauperism. Every effort should be made to develop industrious habits and feelings of independence. I should like to see industrial training homes established in connection with Unions, in which the elder girls might get a training which would enable them to procure good places. To these, when out of service, they might return for a while as their home, instead of being often compelled to come back to the Union, where they are forced to associate with young women of immoral character. I am glad to see by an Act passed in the recent session, facilities are given for sending children to schools certified by the Local Government Board. Such an institute exists at Lincoln, where girls can have a domestic training on payment by the Guardians for out-fit and 4s. a week. It is for girls we especially require these training homes. Boys, as a rule, do well enough, being sent to sea or apprenticed. The other day, two master employers (blacksmith and tailor) applied for apprentices. On inquiry it was found both had been boys at the Warwick Union. I now come to the subject of (3) casuals, vagrants, or tramps, those pests of society patronised by a kind-hearted public, and fostered by old ladies of benevolent intentions, who look upon Guardians, Relieving Officers, Charity Organisation and Mendicity Society's Committeemen, as hard-hearted persecutors of deserving poor. They listen to the tale of woe of the wanderer, and their heart melts and the string of their purse becomes unloosed as—

"He tells them of his starving wife,
His children to be fed—
Poor little lovely innocents,
All clamorous for bread:
And so they kindly help to put
A bachelor to bed."

He acknowledges no allegiance, he asks no protection, he feels no gratitude, he has only one aim—to be supported in idleness, he has only one fear—to be deprived of his liberty. To whom do we owe these idlers and cumberers of the ground, who seem to think that they have a right to live by the sweat of other men's brows? I fear we must answer, to a too indulgent public, perhaps in some measure to the Church. Some have traced the evil back to the days of monastic institutions, which to a great extent supplied the place of casual wards and workhouses, and to which the idle and profligate were wont to resort for alms. At least, old Fuller says, with regard to English abbeys, "Some will object that this their hospitality was but charity mistaken, for some vagrants account the abbey alms their own inheritance, served an apprenticeship, and afterwards wrought journey-work to no other trade than begging; all whose children were by their father's copie made free of the said Company," and their descendants have continued and multiplied among us unto this day; and have, moreover, crossed the Atlantic, and given more trouble over there than here, insomuch that most stringent measures in regard to them have had to be passed. In New England the Statute Law has had such terrors for the tramp, that he has had to seek for fresh hunting-grounds. Laws passed in N. H. 1878, Conn: 1879, Mass: 1880, have resulted in the speedy extinction of the vagrant class: (1) Single act of beggary sufficient evidence; (2) Reward of five dollars for arrest and conviction of tramp; (3) Each

tramp when convicted sentenced to imprisonment, extending to three years where violence or theft was proved. Hon. F. Wayland, Chief Commissioner of Charity in the State of Connecticut, says "This State sends its tramps to the State prison, dressed in convict garb, where they are compelled to do work as felons; they remain in prison from four to eight months." "The result," he adds "is good." These States, after nine months' operation, were completely rid of hordes of worthless vagabonds, who made their living by preying upon the community without working. The result was a great saving of expense to these States, lessening of crime, and great reduction in criminal prosecutions. A satisfactory move has just been made in our country by the Amendment during the last session of the Vagrant Act of 1871, relative to casual paupers. It comes into operation 1st of next year, and is to the effect that a casual pauper shall not be entitled to discharge himself from a casual ward before 9 a.m. on the second day following his admission, instead of 11 a.m. on the day following; and where a casual pauper has been admitted on more than one occasion during the month, he shall not be entitled to discharge himself before 9 a.m. on the fourth day after his admission, and shall be transferred to workhouse to do labour required of him. I think it will have one good effect in preventing these vagrants from making use of our workhouses as hotels to stay at when attending race-meetings and fairs; at the same time, it must be owned that it may bear severely upon those few (very few) honest men who are travelling in search for work; for which reason I should have been glad if it had been possible for a clause to have been inserted exempting from this regulation *bonâ-fide* working-men, who should produce a certificate signed by an employer or secretary to some recognised Trades Union, and countersigned by a magistrate or clergyman of the place where the labourer comes from. We do not wish to be hard on the deserving, but we owe no debt to fraud or idleness. Neither policy, humanity, or Christianity prompt us to harbour or succour any of this class. In every workhouse there is sure to be a proportion of the debased and idle, who utterly refuse to work, and who prey upon the community either by begging or crime. The admission of this idle and vicious element is not only a flagrant wrong to taxpayers, but to the deserving poor for whom it is established. I would not for a moment wish to stem the stream of beneficence, which is ever ready to flow so plentifully in this country. I would merely wish to see it directed into the right channel, and urge the charitable to try and ascertain for themselves that their money is being spent upon deserving objects, bearing in mind that any alms-giving is vicious that is not systematic and discriminating. It encourages an idle and demoralizing class to prey upon the public, and defeats all efforts to compel those who are able to support themselves. The duty of the Church, then, seems to me to be as far as possible to take an interest in the paupers; to see that the aged, infirm, and sick, in the House are made comfortable and happy; to see that there is proper classification, and that those who are compelled from sickness or disability to seek relief are not compelled to herd with those who are tainted with chronic pauperism and ingrained vagabondism; to see that the children are kept separate from adult paupers, and placed where they may be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and become useful members of society. In this special department there is room and need for the valuable help of ladies, who, moreover, can do another great work, such as has been done by Mrs. Barnett, in Whitechapel, viz., to rescue pauper women from a life of dependence and degradation,

and to assist them to regain positions of independence and respectability; thus not only helping the individuals, but benefitting the community at large, by doing much to lessen pauperism, prostitution, and infanticide. To such as feel an interest in this special work I would recommend Mrs. Barnett's pamphlet on "The Young Women in our Workhouses," reprinted from her article in *Macmillan* for June, 1879. Moreover, it is incumbent upon Churchmen to consider the higher duties of alms-giving and charity, and to see that their alms flow through proper channels to the most deserving quarters; lastly, to use every effort to encourage thrift and discourage intemperance, for there can be no doubt but that intemperance, poverty, and pauperism are as closely united as cause and effect. There is a never-failing connection between facilities for obtaining intoxicating drinks and vagrancy and pauperism. Money uselessly squandered for drink; time lost in drinking; wages not earned when they ought to and might be earned, these are the sure means of manufacturing paupers and vagrants. When we consider the immense sum squandered in drink, we cannot wonder that so much pauperism exists; that the families of our working classes are so often in want of the simplest necessaries; that their homes present such scenes of discomfort and wretchedness. "We boast," says one who has studied the subject thoroughly, "of our Christianity; we pride ourselves in our civilization; we are perpetually complimenting ourselves upon the industry of our population; and yet with all this, and with the wealth of the world pouring in upon us, we have a pauperism and demoralization that makes us a bye-word among the nations of the earth." Surely it is the duty of the Church rather to use every effort to inculcate habits of temperance, soberness, and chastity, and thus assist in preventing the manufacture of that pauperism and crime which it seeks, often too late, to cure when made. We may fitly apply the words of the poet to illustrate the duty of the Church to her downcast and poverty-stricken son:—

> "Arouse him then; this is thy part—
> Show him the claim, point out the need,
> And raise his arm, and cheer his heart,
> Then stand aside, and say, 'God speed!'"

(*c*) The Duty of the Church to Canal Populations.

PAPER.

T. Salt, Esq., M.P.

The enquiry, What is the duty of the Church towards the Canal Populations? touches upon a very large question. It brings us at once face to face with one of the difficulties inherent in the parochial system. Nothing would be more easy than to put forward generally and vaguely, a statement in reply to the enquiry such as few persons could be found ready to dispute. The reply would be as follows:—It is the duty of a great National Church to provide efficiently for the spiritual wants, and, in some degree also, for the bodily necessities of the thousands of poor people who work and move upon the waterways of the country.

But, then, how is this duty to be carried out in the practical details of every-day life? One of the great features of this National Church—

some persons would contend the main source of its strength and influence—is to be found in its parochial system. This system is a territorial system. The limits of an ecclesiastical parish are, in most cases, clearly defined. And with respect to a parish the general principle of ecclesiastical law is this; that it is not competent for any clergyman to officiate within the limits of a parish without the consent of the incumbent. It follows, therefore, that a boatman finds himself ecclesiastically in a dilemma. His occupation presumably causes him, with wife and family, to be in constant motion along a river or canal. Hence, on the one hand, he cannot claim the ministrations of each incumbent through whose parish he travels in his course; for such a claim would become an impossible absurdity. Whilst, on the other hand, he may not obtain the assistance of any clergyman from a distance, lest such a person should become amenable to the ecclesiastical law as regards the incumbent of the parish in which he might happen to officiate. It appears, then, that the first duty of the Church in dealing with the Canal Populations must be to rise superior to the mere technical restrictions of the parochial system. To observe it in its spirit rather than in the letter of the law. For it has been well said, that the aim and end of the parochial system of the Church of England is to provide a fold for every sheep, and a shepherd for every fold.

So far we have been speaking chiefly of those boatmen who with their families live upon their boats. There are, however, many whose families live upon shore. The number of these tends to increase. For such cases the parochial difficulty obviously does not arise in the same sense or in an equal degree. Yet there is something to be said even here in favour of a special ecclesiastical arrangement. It is not within the means or the opportunity of every incumbent to provide for a class of people peculiar in their pursuits, their instincts, and their ideas. This fact was well illustrated in papers read at the Church Congress at Stoke, in the year 1875, by Canon Barclay, and Commander Dawson, upon a subject kindred to our present subject, namely, "Church Work among Boatmen." Time will not permit a repetition of the interesting information and suggestions contained in those papers: but perhaps I may venture to say that any person interested in the subject should read the discussion of 1875, in connection with the discussion of to-day.

There are, however, some cases in which the organisation of the parochial system may become especially available for the assistance of boat people. These arise when boats are detained at small wharves or at out-of-the-way places by accident, sickness, or weather. A boat may be delayed by want of water, by repairs of the canal, by failure of a horse. Sudden illness may cause the stoppage of a boat; but this will not often occur, as boat life is most remarkably healthy. It is on the occasion of a long frost in winter that boat people suffer most, are most in need of a friend, and are most amenable to kindly advice. I speak from practical experience. I am glad to have the opportunity of calling the attention of any clergyman through whose parish a canal passes, and who may chance to hear or to read this paper, to the fact that in winter there may be boat people detained for many days in his district, grievously in want, and deserving assistance. The boats may be brought to a stand almost suddenly at any point during a hard frost, for they travel as long as it is possible for the horse to drag them through the ice; and the poor

people may be out of reach of any help except such as may be found in the immediate neighbourhood. Bread, soup, tea for the boatman and family, hay for the horse (if there is no other source available), would easily be provided by a parochial subscription in money or in kind; and these simple gifts would pave the way for the willing acceptance of advice, instruction, tracts, books, and of special Church services, as opportunity and circumstances might suggest. The remembrance of such acts of friendship would never be effaced; they might exercise a happy influence on the life of many a man, and of many a child. They may appear small and humble, but they are not unworthy to be reckoned as one of the duties of a Church whose especial glory it is to be called the Church of the Poor.

Besides the parochial system, the subject under discussion touches upon another large and difficult question. I refer to Church finance. If, as has been suggested, some special ecclesiastical arrangement should be established for the benefit of Canal Populations, money must be found. It is clear that the revenues of the parochial clergy will not, and ought not to be made available for this purpose. Much has been done, and more may yet be effected by societies supported by voluntary subscription, but these are more or less outside the organisation of the Church, and the question we have to consider is, what is the duty of the Church in this matter? It remains then to devise some plan by which a fund may be created for the use of a diocese, administered by the chief authorities in the diocese, for objects of general utility and importance. There are many purposes for which a diocesan fund is needed, besides the support of clergy to labour amongst the Canal Populations, but it would be out of place to describe them here. Probably a considerable fund might be raised if the necessity for it were fully explained, and if the method and items of expenditure were efficiently controlled, audited, and published. There might be three sources of income. First, donations and subscriptions from companies and from individuals; secondly, annual collections in each parish of the diocese on a diocesan Sunday, when the work of the diocese might be fully explained, and the thoughts of the parishioners raised to a wider sphere of Christian unity and labour; and, thirdly, gifts and bequests by way of endowments; the capital sum being placed in the names of trustees, and the interest being added to the income of the fund. May it not be said that it is the duty of the Church to provide a fund in this or in some other manner—more definite and regular than the casual subscriptions of a few benevolent persons—in order to supply the spiritual wants of the poor on our canals, who may otherwise from their peculiar position be again in the future, as they have been in the past, too much neglected and forgotten.

In considering what is the duty of the Church towards them, something perhaps should be said with regard to the number, the condition, and the character of the Canal Population. First, as to their number. One of the writers of a paper read at the Church Congress at Stoke in 1875, states as follows:—

"It is calculated that there are some five thousand miles of rivers and canals in England; and the laborious and useful class of men employed thereon give, with their wives and children, a population of nearly one hundred thousand souls."

The periodical circulated by the Missions to Seamen Society in the

October number of *The Word on the Waters*, for the year 1875, reckons the class of boatmen on canals and rivers at 30,000 men, exclusive of women and children. Upon what data these figures are reached I do not know. A Parliamentary return was issued in the year 1879 of the number of canal boats registered under the Canal Boats' Act, 1877, and of the total number of persons for the accommodation of whom such boats were registered. It appears from this return that there are 99 Registration Districts under the Act. Of these 37 did not register any boats—the remaining 62 districts registered 4,964 boats, for the accommodation of 22,206 persons. This gives with sufficient accuracy the number of persons living on board the canal boats. The rest of the boat population live on shore. Of these 22,206 it would be interesting to ascertain the exact proportions of men, women, and children. However, 39 districts only, affecting about one-half—namely, 11,062 persons—gave the statistics in detail. Of these 11,062, 6,701 were men, 1,462 women, and 2,899 children. If we apply somewhat the same proportions to the whole number, we arrive, roughly speaking, at the calculation that there are 14,000 men, 3,000 women, and 5,000 children who habitually dwell on canal boats. The Legislature by the Canal Boats' Act, 1877, has made provision for educational and sanitary matters. Is it not the duty of the Church to take some special care for their spiritual welfare?

The number of boat-people who have homes on shore very largely exceeds those who live entirely on board their boats. I have just observed that the accommodation provided on registered boats—for boats not used as dwellings are not required to be registered—is stated on authority to be sufficient for 22,000 persons. I have also mentioned the calculation that the Canal Population is about 100,000. These estimates are supported and illustrated by a return very kindly furnished to me by the manager of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal. He has sent statistics of persons on board 647 boats plying on the canal. On these boats there were 1,980 persons. Of these 578 were married men, 525 single men or boys above 12; 309 were married women, and 94 single women or girls above 12; 227 were children between 5 and 12; 247 were children under 5 years of age. Of these 1,980 persons, 1,613 or five-sixths, had homes on shore; 627 could read, 427 could write. These are instructive details, and suggest the nature of the work that has to be done.

The condition and the character of the canal people varies in different parts of the country. Some are very poor and very rough; others are respectable, and in comfortable circumstances. Much depends upon the employment they can obtain in the locality where they happen to live. More, perhaps, depends upon the education and the habits of the individual. As a class, I believe they are improving, and I can see no reason to suppose that they are less deserving of attention and respect, or less amenable to wholesome teaching and influence than any other labourers in this country. Their mode of life, their work, their number, their days spent sometimes on the wharves of crowded towns, sometimes in the quiet solitude of country journeys, and the want of education in past years, render them possibly difficult to reach and to understand; but all this affords abundant evidence that it is the duty of the Church to make some special effort on their behalf.

During recent years valuable work has been done by the Missions to Seamen Society, by the Lichfield Diocesan Barge Mission, by some of the Canal Companies, and by individuals; but to enter upon a description of this work in detail does not fall within the terms of the subject proposed for discussion to-day. We have to deal with the general and large question, What is the duty of the Church? Can anyone doubt for a single moment that it is the duty of the Church to devise some means for drawing the Canal Populations within her fold. The work may not be easy, but it is on that account none the less necessary. High ritual however attractive, historical position however stately, territorial wealth however powerful, political influence however unshaken, will weigh as nothing to promote the true and permanent authority of a Church when compared with the quiet, humble, patient, long-suffering labour of teaching, by which the poor and rich alike are turned towards the virtues of purity and of contentment.

If the ordinary Church system is not adapted to meet the case, some special organisation must be created. It has been shown that the parochial system only partially meets the needs of a roving population. Some other area must be applied. The whole country is too large an area for convenient management. The county does not correspond with the ecclesiastical divisions. The areas of the Archiepiscopal Sees would probably be inconvenient from their size, and from the absence of any plan of administration to which men are accustomed. The diocese appears to afford all that is required—suitable area, the means of concentrating work, an authority that men will accept and comprehend. Would it be so very difficult for each diocese to create a system under the direct control of the bishop, aided by a small committee of laymen and clergymen that would effectively provide for the persons who are beyond the reach of the incumbent of each parish. The canal people would be found in their own houses, or in their boats travelling on the waterways, or lying for days at a time at certain well-known wharves where they receive and discharge cargo. Here are the opportunities. They must be approached by men specially adapted to the work—men whom they can learn to know, to trust, and to understand. It would be the work of the committee, under the direction of the bishop, to select such men, and to raise funds for their support. One clergyman with a salary of £250 or £300, assisted by two or three lay-helpers at about £75 each, sometimes moving with the boats, sometimes settled at the most important wharves, would control a large network of canals. The object should be not to separate them from, but to attract the canal people more and more to the parish schools and parish churches. The work would improve with experience. It is a good work; it is not impossible. It is one that may reasonably be reckoned amongst the manifold duties of a powerful, generous, and large-hearted National Church.

DISCUSSION.

J. Ll. Murray Browne, Esq., Rhyl, North Wales, Hon. Sec. Central Committee of Prisoners' Aid Societies, and Hon. Sec. Cheshire Prisoners' Aid Society.

We have been told to-day that there are a limited number of counties without Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. I may tell you, however, that one of these counties—Norfolk—has wiped off that reproach, and that last Saturday a society of this kind was formed in that county. There are eleven counties with no agencies for assisting discharged prisoners, but of these four have no gaol of their own, thus reducing the number to seven—viz., Nottingham, Derby, Berkshire, Huntingdon, Leicester, North Riding of Yorkshire, and Carmarthen. It is said to be the reproach of such Congresses as this that they lead to no practical result. Will not some gentleman from one of these defaulting counties make an effort to form a Prisoners' Aid Society in his own county? Will not anyone in the county of Derby do so? I was at Nottingham during the week of the Social Science Congress, and I believe the result will be the formation of a Prisoners' Aid Society in that place. May not the Church Congress in like manner lead to the formation of a Prisoners' Aid Society in Derbyshire. The Government meet us fairly. They will double every pound we give within certain limits out of money voted by Parliament for that purpose. All that is needed is that some person should devote a little time to acting as honorary secretary of the society, and receive a moderate amount of support from magistrates and others. Does Derbyshire mean to be the *last* county in England to establish such a society? If it does not take care it will be the last. I have been in correspondence with almost all the defaulting counties, and I know that in most of them movements of this kind are already on foot. You need not go further than Stafford to find an admirable model on which to form your society. I appeal to the clergy, the magistrates, and generally to the public to aid this movement, and I will only add that any one who desires information may obtain it either from myself or from the Reformatory Refuge Union, 33, Charing Cross, London.

The Rev. R. C. Billing, Rector of Spitalfields, and Rural Dean.

I will not say anything with regard to criminals—of whom I have had a very large experience—but I wish to say a few words with regard to paupers, and the administration of the Poor Law. I have been very much gratified to hear that it is the opinion of some laymen conversant with the subject, and qualified to form a sound judgment, that clergymen should interest themselves in the administration of the Poor Law, and, if possible, should become Poor Law guardians. I am an elected Poor Law guardian myself, representing a population of twenty thousand. As such, I should like to say that I appreciate the co-operation of charitable institutions. In the administration of the Poor Law I think it is highly desirable that the Charity Organisation Society, for instance, should co-operate with the guardians. If this can be done you can distinguish the cases that are proper for legal relief and those that should be objects of charitable aid, and that, I think, is a very necessary distinction. What are we doing with the poor people of this country now? My opinion is that we are ruining many by the present administration of the Poor Law—we are training up a race of paupers, and this with our eyes open. I would advocate the abolition of out-door relief, except in cases of extreme urgency. I believe that until the poor are brought to understand that they cannot fall back on the Poor Law for out-door relief in old age, they will never be self-reliant themselves, nor will the children realise their duty to support their parents. In the great union of Whitechapel we have abolished, I may say, out-door relief. A few people receive it, but these are for the most part aged people, who were on the list before the new system was inaugurated. But we have a "Pension Society," and all those who have been sober, thrifty, and industrious are adequately provided for with the assistance of relatives who can and should help. There is no longer any doubt that the poor can be trained and encouraged in habits of self-dependence, if only this be one of the objects we set before us in dealing with them.

The Very Rev. W. R. FREMANTLE, Dean of Ripon.

MAY I be permitted to say a few words on behalf of a large and useful population who do not come exactly under the scope of to-day's discussion, but who, if they do not belong to the canal population, have been the labourers who have made all the canals of this country, and who have derived their names from that fact—I mean the navigation men, now commonly called navvies. They compose a population of some 80,000, and are the pick of the labourers of this country. They are men of the greatest physical strength and endurance, and as a class, they display an immense amount of skill and courage in the course of the very perilous work they undertake. It is on behalf of these men, who have been for years grievously neglected, that I appeal. They are a wandering population, and consequently cannot claim the benefits of the parochial system. No clergyman can find time or strength to attend to the wants of 500 or 600, or sometimes as many thousand navvies who may be imported for a time into his parish. Therefore, they have to be ministered to by some special and extra organisation. A Navvy Mission Society was established some five years ago for the purpose of providing chaplains and lay agents specially fitted for that particular kind of work, and has now about thirty-four stations in which its agents are employed. The navvy is a rough character, but he is just as accessible to Christian influence as any other class. These men are now attending our schools. They have also established their Sunday schools, and there is one at this moment conducted by twelve navvies who manage the Sunday school themselves, and who have about 100 children in regular attendance. On one occasion, our Scripture Reader was taken ill on the Sunday morning, and was unable to perform his duties in the Mission Chapel at Newhaven, where 800 or 900 men are engaged in making a new harbour. Well, three of them got on the platform and intimated that they must not lose their morning service. Thereupon one of them gave out a hymn which they sang; another read a portion of Scripture; and another offered up prayer; in this way completing the morning service among themselves. When the large reservoir was commenced upon the beautiful estate of Lord Harwood in Yorkshire, his Lordship was full of alarm lest they should become poachers and woodstealers, and introduce all sorts of disorder into the neighbourhood. But what has been the result? Why those men have been so well behaved that I had myself a report from the Chief Inspector of Police at Leeds, at the beginning of the year, to say that there has not been a single case brought against the navvies at Eccup for drunkenness. It is no exaggeration to say that the reason for all this lies in the fact that they have been attended to by a missionary and a chaplain, and by Christian ladies who have ministered to them. The Bishop of Lincoln went there at the beginning of last year, and confirmed some thirteen or fourteen of them. They made themselves a sort of chancel to the mission room, which they attend in large numbers whenever Holy Communion is administered. And I may be allowed to add that Lady Harwood goes there every Sunday and has her Bible class among the navvies, who delight to sit at her feet and receive instruction.

The Rev. E. W. EDWARDS, Ruabon Vicarage, Denbighshire.

I WOULD congratulate the Committee of this Church Congress that, in the choice of the subjects for discussion, they have not lost sight of the Divine teaching, that "the poor ye shall always have with you." There is too great a tendency, it is to be feared, in these days, even in the very laws of the land, that have been nominally, at least specially intended for the protection of the poor, to look at this question from a very different point of view. It is the boast of our Poor Law that no one is allowed to starve in England. But this law in its practical working would seem to have been based on principles the very opposite to what has been thus recognised by this Church Congress. No doubt the obligation which rests on the wealth of the nation to support the poor is fully admitted by the law. And in enforcing this obligation, it is but just that the ratepayer should be protected from imposition on the part of the rateconsumer, by some such power as that which is given under the workhouse system. But when little or no distinction is made between the deserving and the undeserving, the practical result will be that not only the dregs of vice and idleness, but that the aged and infirm, destitute through no fault of their own, and destitute and orphan children, will be within the same workhouse walls, equally out of sight and out of thought. It is in this, especially, that the Poor Law systems seem often so hard in their bearing on the poor. To correct the

defects of the law in this respect, or rather to prevent its abuse in the indiscriminate application of its penal tests to all alike, so that those who would work but cannot, should not be treated in the same way as those who can work but will not. To extend to the aged and deserving poor the active sympathies of the Church, not only in the direct bestowment of charity, but in assisting them to obtain the help the law provides for them, without subjecting them to the much dreaded penalty the law is able to impose; of homes broken up, husbands and wives separated in their saddened old age, aged parents got rid of to end their days amongst strangers, all ties of home and kindred lost for ever; to ward off the workhouse from those who do not deserve, but fear it; this must ever form an important part of the duty of the Church to the poor. And then when the threatened, and but too often real evils can no longer be avoided, the relation of the Church to the pauper ought not to cease there. The walls of the workhouse should not be allowed to shut them out from the Christian sympathies of their more favoured neighbours. But how often is it so! How seldom do the clergy or the church visitors of the parish to which they belong think any more of them when they are once gone to the workhouse. Where the poor generally are well cared for, the workhouse is probably the last place thought of. Even where those who are ever ready to do kind deeds are passing the workhouse to and fro on some mission of charity, how often does the condemning voice seem to be re-echoed from its blank walls, "sick and in prison, and ye visited me not." It is this which makes the hard provisions of the poor law harder still. It would doubtless have a marvellously modifying power in the suffering they have to bear, if the sick and aged poor could feel, though within the walls of the workhouse, they were not forgotten. It is true they are officially visited by the chaplain. But surely the one Sunday service in the chapel dining room, and the weekly or fortnightly reading in the sick wards ought to be supplemented by further Church help. In fact, the great want would seem to be that there should be some organised co-operation between our workhouse chaplains and the parochial clergy. This would probably be the best solution of the long unsolved problem of the poor law, how to combine justice to the ratepayer with mercy to the pauper. But where organised co-operation between the chaplains of our workhouses and the parochial clergy is needed most of all, and would be likely to be more especially beneficial in its results, would be with reference to the children who are old enough to go to service. When a child leaves the workhouse to go to a place, it would seem that the chaplain ought to have the power to see that there is proper provision in the agreement as to the religious privileges the child is to have, and that it should be able to attend some place of worship, at least on Sundays. And this provision, to ensure its being carried out, should be sent to the clergyman of the parish where the child goes to. And then again, when the child leaves the place, it ought to have been provided in the agreement, that notice of this should be sent at once to the workhouse authorities, and that the chaplain should communicate in the same way with the parochial clergyman of the child's new parish. In fact, for these orphan and destitute children, the Church should, through the workhouse chaplains and the parochial clergy, stand to them in this respect "*in loco parentis;*" and this relationship should be maintained until they have come to an age to be confirmed. And if this same organised co-operation between our workhouse chaplains and the parochial clergy were extended to vagrants, it would probably help to sift the deserving from those who were not so, and to assist those to find work who would work. If public opinion can be influenced in this direction, and the dawn of better things arise for the sick and aged poor, for the orphan and destitute children, this will be not the least of the good results that may be expected from the discussions of this Church Congress.

The Rev. W. St. Hill Bourne, Vicar of All Saints', Haggerstone, London.

I have been asked to speak with reference to one particular institution, by helping which I think we may answer the question to a certain extent—"What is the duty of the Church towards Vagrants and Paupers?" I shall confine myself entirely to the question of our duty towards little children. I think the Church of England has neglected very greatly her duty towards her waifs and strays. But within a very short time there has been started, as some of you know, a Church of England Central Home for Waifs and Strays. Hitherto these poor little wanderers—neglected, ill-used children, have been, I fear, more cared for by the Dissenting communities than by the

Church—*as a Church.* Surely the Church as a Church has her plain duties towards them. This Church of England Home is taking up the most lost of the little ones, for whom our Saviour cared so much, and is providing for their temporal wants, while taking care that they shall be trained in the principles of the Church of England and baptized into her Communion. In asking you to help this home and thus fulfil at least a part of the Church's duty in this particular, I am asking you only to do that which is strictly in accordance with the terms of the question under consideration. I am not speaking now of what may be the duties of a civilised community—I am not speaking of our duties as Christians, but I am speaking strictly of our duty as a *Church.* If you could go with me into that part of London where my work lies, and follow me to some of the houses where I daily have to be, I think you could not but feel as much interested as I do in the subject. Although the work only commenced practically in January of this year, already seventy cases of distress have been dealt with. Two receiving houses are now open, and another will be very shortly. Some of the children—neglected and destitute—are boarded out in a healthy part of the country, and where all their wants are well attended to. The only possible objection I can imagine anyone making against such an undertaking would be this, which has been said—"I will not help any home of that kind, for it would simply be encouraging drunken and wicked parents to neglect their children." But if you argue in that way where are you to stop? You must not, for instance, support hospitals, because so many bring illness on themselves by their own wickedness. Great care has of course to be taken; and no encouragement that can possibly be avoided is given to those who wilfully neglect children. But how many little *orphans* there are; and when all has been said the children are blameless of the parents' sin. "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones."

J. TREVARTHEN, Esq., Redhill, Surrey.

I VENTURE to speak on the Church's relation to Criminals, because I may claim to represent a large amount of Church of England experience in dealing with one of the classes to which reference has been made to-day; having been associated with the work of the Philanthropic Society, Redhill, Surrey, as its Secretary for more than 20 years, and so come into contact with nearly 2,000 young outcasts of the criminal classes. The other day I went before the Royal Commission on Reformatories and Industrial Schools, and in the course of a lengthy examination I underwent, I had the pleasure of telling the Commissioners that, going over the statistics of our discharges for the last ten years, relating to boys of the worst type, and after following them up for four years, we find 87 per cent. of the whole have retrieved their character, and are now living respectable lives. The point of my observation is this, that these facts are a great encouragement in considering the Church's duty towards such outcasts. That has been to some extent dealt with, but I must point out that in my opinion it is the Church's duty to undertake this class of work, because she is, or should be, the most perfect representation of the mind of God in her arrangements for the benefit of the world. It is her duty and privilege to teach every class of society, and this class is no exception. I could give you from my own knowledge, had I time, most interesting accounts of the crowning effects of the Church of England's teaching and practice upon poor outcast lads. Many a lad at this moment in the far distant colonies is now helping in church choirs, and even assisting in the work of Sunday Schools, who was trained at Redhill. Church people, as yet, have not generally realised that they can do a vast amount of good if they only buckle themselves to the task of rescuing those who have gone wrong. My acquaintance with Reformatory work has shown me unmistakably that in most cases the lads are victims of circumstances. The wonder is not that they have fallen into sin and crime, it would be a wonder if they did not. It is in most cases more their misfortune than their fault. This seems to me to point to arrears of Church work amongst the dense masses of our people, and to the need of more intimate acquaintance with the homes of the poor in town and country. Then it is also very obvious to me that many young people go astray, and even commit crime, through seeking their pleasures in improper ways. Churchmen may often save young men and young women by providing them with healthy recreation for their leisure hours. With respect to legislation, I hope that so far as any feeling of ours can be expressed, that it will be distinctly in the direction that whatever alteration of the law is made with reference to parents of criminal children, nothing shall be done to put a premium on crime. We should set our face against that. Another point on which I

would touch is this, that when the work we undertake for juvenile criminals is done, it is very often marred by the very people who made it necessary in the first instance—I mean the parents. At the last moment the parent comes in and says, "I claim that lad for myself," and so the work which would have been completed by emigration or other hopeful disposal, is ruined from their interference. I should like it if our law could be assimilated with the law elsewhere, so that a lad should be free when eighteen to say, "I will go where I like and do for myself." In that case, we should have a very much larger percentage of good results than at present we enjoy. Even now, it seems to me we have a loud call as Churchmen, both from the evident need of such special work, and from the great encouragement which has attended the limited efforts put forth.

The Rev. T. WILLSON.

IT is with the hope of enlisting the sympathy of all who are engaged in parochial work that I now stand up. I want your help for us who are engaged in working amongst criminals, and who are chaplains, and I want it in this way. I want to tell you the way in which you can very greatly aid us. Whenever a person from your parish commits a crime, and is sent to prison either for a short time or a long time, I want you not to think that you have done with them when they come under our care, but send letters to us telling us what their former lives have been, and what they have done. Of course we can learn something from the register, but the clergyman of every well-worked parish knows a great deal more of their past history. If you will but tell us, we shall then be able to take up the thread, and be far more careful of impressing upon them our lessons, and so make them more fruitful in after life. I have done this myself. Whenever prisoners come under my charge, I have had letters from the clergyman of their parish or have written to them and asked for information, and I can assure you that that has been done with marked success. These letters have not been thrown away. If you will but co-operate with us, we shall then be able to make our work far more effective. I can assure you that the chaplains have not too much time to devote to individual souls, and we want to win souls to Christ. And remember this, that when they leave our charge letters go out with them. Listen to these letters, and do not let them be waste. Take up the work at once and watch them. Go to them the first day, and keep your eyes on them continually. Go to them twice or three times a week, and help them in every possible way, as a clergyman should, carrying on the noble work which the Church has set you to do.

DRILL HALL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 4TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

WORKING MEN'S MEETING.

ADDRESSES.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I AM not one of the speakers appointed to address you to-night. There are others much more able than myself, whose names you have on your papers. But, as chairman of this meeting, and as president of this Church Congress, and, above all, as bishop of this diocese, I must at

least bid you welcome to this Congress meeting. Ever since we began to make our preparations for this Congress it has been my earnest desire that the working men of Derby should have a very real share in it. I knew very well that your daily occupations would prevent you from taking part in our ordinary meetings, but I had hoped that some arrangements might be made for issuing evening tickets for your use, that you might come when you were able to listen to the discussion. But, my dear friends, the numbers of people who have come from a distance, as well as from the town and county of Derby, and who have taken their tickets as members of this Congress have filled our two halls already to overflowing. It was thus impossible to make any arrangements such as I have now spoken of. I regret it very deeply for your sake. My own desire then was, and I urged it very earnestly that we should hear some of you speak to-night. But on full consideration, and after taking counsel with those who know you best, we learnt that you would rather hear such speakers as you see around me than listen to those of your own body whom you might hear speak at other times. I was also told —I don't know whether it is true—that those of your own body who might have been most ready to speak to you to-night might not have been exactly those whom you would most wish to hear. And so, on the whole, we have fallen back on the old arrangement of the working men's meeting, and you are here as recognised members of the Church Congress, though circumstances prevent our having the advantage of hearing you speak to-night. But, my friends, it would have been a delight to me to hear you speak, and to hear you tell us plainly what you think about us and what you think we ought to do for you, as well as what difficulties you feel in casting in your lot with us; and I should be very thankful indeed if at some future time you could arrange such a meeting among yourselves, where we should exchange places, and you should be on this platform, and I and my brethren, the clergy, in the body of the hall, to hear what you had to say to us—for we want your counsel as well as your presence in our Church Congress. The Church of England needs you—the Church of England cannot do without you —and, please God, the Church of England will have you. We want you not only to attend our services and to work heartily in our ranks, but we want you to take counsel with us in the great work we have to do. There are many things on which we need your counsel sorely. You know the difficulties and temptations of those who have to labour with their hands, better than even we do, although, God knows, many of us have honestly tried to enter into your difficulties, to sympathise with you, to understand you in such a way as to be able most effectually to help you. But I think we should be able to help you better if we could meet you more often. I believe that the Church of England will never be so strong as she ought to be, and will never have done the work she ought to do, until she enlists you heartily on her side, and as fellow workers with her. I have often, as I passed through your streets and saw you streaming out of your factories in hundreds—I have often longed to go down among you, to have my dinner with you, and talk to you, and see if we could not, by putting our shoulders together, accomplish more of the great work we have in hand. It is the work of every one of you as members of the body of Christ, and is not confined to the clergy. This is no new opinion or conviction on my part. Ever

since I began to work as a parish clergyman in London, where I laboured happily for more than twenty years, one of my most earnest desires was to secure the assistance of the working men in my parish. I was able in some measure to do it, so that forty good fellows stood by me for many years, and when I think of them I say, "God bless them" for all the love they showed to me and for the work they did for the Master and for His church in that parish. I believe myself there is no backwardness on your part to help us, and I can assure you there is no backwardness on our part to accept your help. Your presence here is a pledge that you will, if you see your way to it, take your part with us in the work we have to do. But I must not sit down without saying one word for my Master, for I am here not only as president, but as a minister of the Church. The Church, let me say, not only needs you, but you need the Church also, and in some form or other you must have the help of the Church, which was instituted by One who lived as a working man, who came to preach the Gospel to the poor, and whom "the common people heard gladly." Your instincts and your experience teach you to nurture and strengthen your bodies. We are glad to see the splendid bone and sinew of you men here to-night—and to know what magnificent defenders of the country, to say the least of it, you would make in time of need. You are in an increasing degree seeking to develop your minds, and in this you do well. We are proud to think of the splendid attainments in knowledge which many of you have achieved during recent years. All this, however, speaks of your body and your mind; but you have something far grander than muscular bodies and cultivated minds. You have something more powerful and more splendid and more glorious than either of these. You have in you a capacity far beyond the utmost limits of intellectual power. Besides the body and the mind there is something else, and something higher, which is the spiritual nature. The man who, however much he cultivates the powers of his body and mind, leaves neglected and forgotten the powers of his spirit, is neglecting the grandest part of his being, and missing the great end of his creation. While the intellect can do wonderful things, the spirit can do what is more wonderful still. It is by that spirit which God has given us that we can even conceive of His existence. Even the man that denies there is a God proves that there is within him a spirit which can conceive of God, and refutes his own argument in the very course of the argument itself. But perhaps some of you will tell me that there is no God. But I say, my friends, that the very existence of that capacity within you proves God's existence. That power would not be there if the object corresponding to it did not exist. But as you know very well, when a man takes a bit of work, the first thing he has to do is to find the proper tools for it. Now if you think that by mere arguments or evidences you can know God you will fail in your endeavour. When we speak of knowing anything, we mean getting hold of it. If it is a thing to be understood by the intellect we get hold of it with our minds; but God is not thus to be apprehended. We have the heart and the will as well as the mind, and the man who would know God must lay hold of Him, not with the power of the intellect, but with the power of the heart and the power of the will. It was said by a famous thinker of another country—Pascal—that while all other objects need to be known in order to be loved, God must be

loved in order to be known. And it is only when with the heart and will we yield ourselves up to Him that we can know God. I say that if men fail to find God, and fail to believe in God, it is not from any want of intellectual power or capacity, but because they have not sought Him with those powers which God has given them for that very purpose. One word more. I take it for granted that all of you admire and in some measure desire to follow a sober and righteous life. I know there are many who have cast aside all sense of religion and have lost their faith in that which we hold most precious, who yet make some endeavour to lead righteous and sober lives. But let me tell you that without those higher sanctions and higher motives such a life is simply impossible. You are familiar enough with this fact. You may make the most perfect machine that ever was constructed, so that every wheel will turn with the most perfect smoothness, and with a very little effort the machine may be set in motion. To the ignorant it may seem that the wheels will continue to turn and need never stop. But stop they certainly will unless there is some motive power. You must have fire and get up steam to make even this exquisite machine continue to work, but the steam will keep it working. It is the steam you want if you are to live righteous and sober lives, and unless you have this, all efforts to do right are only like giving the wheel a turn with the hand—sooner or later it will come to a stand. But once the man's heart is touched with a sense of the love of God, then indeed that love of God constrains him. As the motive power is necessary to the working of the engine, so is the love of God to the life of righteousness; only thus will you be able to live such lives as you yourselves desire. A man may be a very diligent worker at his daily work, and he may cultivate highly the powers of his mind; but only if you give the first place in your heart to God and seek after Him will you be able to cultivate those higher capacities which God has given you, or even attain to that which you may desire yourselves. Thank you for listening to me so kindly. I will not occupy your attention longer, but will ask my good friend the Archbishop of York, whom I see by your welcome that you know already, to address the meeting.

His Grace the Lord Archbishop of York.

It very seldom happens to me to have to differ from the right rev. prelate, whose beautiful address you have just listened to, but when he suggested that little proposal that we should change places, and that we should come down there, and you up here, to tell us what you thought of us, I must confess that I heard the proposal with a cold shudder, and I thought that I at least preferred my place on the platform. Now I stand before you as one of the original projectors of the working men's meetings. And as I am a stranger to you, I am glad to put that fact forward as commending me to your kind notice. In the year 1866 we had a Church Congress at York, but strange to state there had been no sort of provision for working men's meetings in the history of Congresses. But a number of working men of York came to us and said, "Here

you are making very great efforts on behalf of Christianity, and why should we be left out in the cold? We have souls to save like other people, and we should be very glad to take advantage of this meeting." Several prelates were there, Dr. Hook, Dean Close, and several others, and that night, without any preparation, we called all the working men together in the Congress-hall, and told them what was uppermost in our minds, and though I have attended many working men's meetings since that extemporaneous production, it was as successful a meeting as any I have been at. I have now standing before me an assembly of working men, but I should have supposed, had I not known otherwise, that you were the regular attendants of our Congress meetings, and only a specimen of what I found there. From the position in which I stand to the Church, I have to look to the various classes of which society is composed, and I see very clearly that the Church of England must either come into closer contact with the working class of the country, or else her national position would suffer, and her leading position perhaps be ultimately lost. Whatever changes are necessary to bring us into closer contact with you, these changes we ought to be prepared to face. And one of the advantages of the suggested change of places would have been that I should very much have liked to have heard you say really what you want, what you think we fail in, and what you think are the proper remedies for the defects. I should like to say one or two practical words about the position of the working classes, and I will mention one or two facts which perhaps have not come before you. The income of the various classes of the country amount annually to a thousand millions, of which the so-called working class—but I hope we all work a little—receive £436,000,000, and the middle and higher classes, who are not dependent upon work for their daily bread, £564,000,000. Out of their incomes the working class—according to the same authority—Professor Leone Levi—spend 20 per cent. in luxuries, and the middle and upper classes about 14 per cent. I am not making this as a charge, but it is a fact, and it shows very clearly to my mind, and especially when I remember what we see in the newspapers about the sufferings of the working class, that they have a greater power in their own hands than they have as yet taken advantage of. Just look only at these figures as proving the expenditure of this country. The drink expenditure was in 1880 about £122,000,000, and at one time when the iron and coal trades were flourishing in 1873 it went up as high as £147,000,000. Now, that is a most portentous figure. But you will say it relates to the whole country. Well, as the incomes are about half-and-half, we will take only about half of the £122,000,000 and put it down to the credit—or the discredit—of the working class, and then we shall have £61,000,000 as spent by the working classes on that article of drink alone—I leave out the other luxuries—or in other words, about one-seventh part of the income of the class whom I am addressing is spent in drinking. These figures are perfectly enormous. Such figures have often been quoted before—they are indisputably exact, and they tell me plainly that if the class to which you belong would throughout practise the virtue of thrift, which I believe many of you do practise, the condition of the working men would be very different, and the condition of the working man's wife and children would be changed as from dark-

ness into light. I hate standing up here and lecturing you—I would rather talk it over with you—but if I must assume the attitude of a lecturer, my first advice to you is to consider the virtue of thrift, to consider those little bits of blue ribbon that I see in sundry button-holes, and to consider that they really mean the difference between poverty and comparative prosperity. I should like to speak to you now about quite a different subject. I have not made any enquiries as to whether you in Derby are chargeable or not in the matter I am about to speak of. I remember that when I was a young curate, I went down to the opening of an organ in a country parish, and preached a sermon about amusements. I drew a picture of what ordinary amusements were, and a picture of what they might be; and I was told twelve months afterwards that there had been a quarrel ever since between the clergyman and his parishioners, because I had drawn such an exact picture of the state of things in the parish that the parishioners could not stand it, and declared that the clergyman must have told me all about them. Well, no one has told me anything about the people of Derby, except that some of the workmen are examples of respectability, and are all that men and citizens should be. The advice I want to give you is advice that I have never heard spoken of in any sermon or lecture, and yet it relates to a thing that leavens society in this country as well as in France, in Russia, and in all countries from top to bottom. I do not know why people avoid speaking of the vice of gambling as they do, but I adopt as my own opinion what the chief constable in another large town states, that unless something can be done to stay the drinking and gambling in this country, the country must come to ruin. I want to say a few words of common sense about this question of gambling. In the first place, I say there is no such thing as fair or equal gambling. Well, we will suppose here are two men, and they have just received their wages. Each has £3, say, in his pocket, and they bet on dog races, or adopt some of those very intelligent modes of getting rid of their money, and one of them finds he has won the other's money, while the other, of course, has lost it. I say that is not an equal transaction. Of course they may be perfectly fair and honest, but one of them has gained £3 that he did not expect to have, and does not quite know what he is going to do with it, and the other has not only lost £3, but he has lost the food for his wife and children for the next fortnight. He has lost his own self-respect, and perhaps the good opinion of those of his employers who may hear about the transaction. I therefore say the man who has lost has lost a great deal, and the man who has won has won almost nothing. I have still another word to say to you on this subject, which is worthy of your consideration. It is supposed that if people play quite fairly and go on playing long enough the thing will right itself, and they will have lost or won just about as much, the one and the other, at the end of a year or two years. But, in the first place, a man who indulges in what he calls unlimited play, forgets one important factor in the calculation—he forgets that his purse has a bottom to it; that after a little time he will find that his last coin is staked, and his play is suddenly arrested just at the point when he needs to go on; and whatever his fine theory is about bringing the circle round, and all the rest of it, he cannot carry it out, because his money is gone; he is ruined, there is an end of him, and he and his

theory go into oblivion. I should like also to say that round about the associations of gambling in this country all sorts of rascaldom do gather; you have no chance of having fair play, because your play will bring you into contact with those you cannot respect, and whom in any other transaction of life you would most carefully shun. Why do not our pulpits teem with denunciations of this thing? Why is it not a subject of constant remonstrance between the pastor and his flock? It ought to be so. I think it is partly this, that there is an idea that it is a little difficult to make it plain to people why they ought not to gamble. A man says, "I am the best judge of what I can afford to do," and tells his pastor not to interfere with what is not in itself a vice, as he could not prove that the thing had been pushed to a vicious excess. Have you noticed that in the book of Holy Writ there are two kinds of love spoken of—brotherly kindness and charity—that our Lord says, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another." There is a new kind of bond that knits Christians together—it is the bond of mutual love. And what is the difference between that and the ordinary love which we are bound to show to Gentiles—which the whole human race owe to one another. The difference is at least one in degree, and the difference is also one as to the grounds upon which the two rest. We love Christians more than the Jew could love his neighbour, because we are under the better and a far higher and mightier love—the love of Jesus Christ for us, shown in His death on the Cross. And if it can be shown me that my action, whatever it be, however seemingly innocent in itself, is injurious to the faith, or prosperity, or good condition of any one of those whom Christ loved equally with myself, that thing I am bound to abandon. I am not to ride rough-shod over their consciences and their rights. I will desist from it, for if I cannot prove that it is wrong, I can prove that it is injurious. With regard to these two vices —drunkenness and gambling—I would say to you, what right have you to injure others while engaging in them? What right have you to take your children's bread and turn it into drink, or squander it in these foolish pursuits? Yes, I thank you for that response; for, depend upon it, the prosperity of the working classes and the whole future of this country, from the highest to the lowest, depends in a great measure upon our getting rid of those sins which deface society, make Christianity a bye-word of inconsistency before the nations of the earth who do not practise it. We can all do it, and we ought to do it. The next time you see boys playing at "pitch-and-toss," give them, in your own form, an idea of what you think of that transaction, and what it may lead to. Have done with these vices and put them out from among you. Make it a rule to think that, as to the drink, you had better do without it; and that as to the gambling, you must. The true key-note of our meeting to-night has been sounded by the right rev. chairman. We have not come here to address you in the strict form of a sermon, but we are come to ask you to embrace the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ, and believe in Him. And, after all, it is not a very hard lesson. Now, you are very kind fathers, and you have your share of human feelings; you want to do your children all the good you can, and you have excellent powers for doing it. In the name of all those you love—in the name of your wife and children,

given to you by God as a precious trust—do turn from your sin, and begin to walk and live by a stricter rule. When that takes place, the grace of God will help you to carry your better life very much further, and make you desire that all evil and offence should be put away from among you. You will then put down vice by the force of public opinion. The people want to better their condition; they do not sit down and dream, but they take hold of the next thing to them, and do that as well as they can. I urge you to bestir yourselves, and accept the great truths of the Gospel, and copy the example of Christ. So shall you be like Him, who is our pattern and our guide.

The Lord BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL.

I AM reminded to-night of a great divine of the name of Barrow, who wrote in the time of Charles the First a remarkable book on the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, which he did not allow. Charles the First, when he heard Barrow preach, said, "he was one of the unfairest men that ever got into a pulpit." And what was the reason? Simply this, that when Barrow preached he never left anything for the person who came after him to say. I feel very much in the same position in following my friend the Archbishop of York. "Long live the Archbishop of York" I would say. I am thankful, in common with His Grace, that we never have a Church Congress now without a meeting of working men. When the Congress first began at Oxford and Cambridge, the meetings consisted almost entirely of the upper ten thousand and the clergy, and it was not till 1866, when we met at York, that anything like a meeting of working men was held. I heartily thank God for it. It is now one of the most important elements in any Church Congress. The plain truth is that it gives the bishops an opportunity of speaking to the working men face to face. In the good old times it was thought that a bishop could never attend a meeting of this kind, but we have now happened on better times. The bishops, I hope, are practical men, and I trust we are really willing to meet the working men at all times, and to enter into their feelings. We of the Church of England are not entirely of one mind. Even bishops sometimes do not agree. But there is one point on which we are all of one heart and mind, and it is in our desire more and more to promote the best interests of the Church, and to make the Church of England more and more the Church of the people. We want no change, but we want improvement; our great desire is to meet the wants of the population. But we can not do so without helping one another. The Church can not possibly do without the masses, and if the masses once turn their backs on the Church, the days of the establishment will be numbered. Officers are all very well in their places, but the rank and file are quite as needful, and I want the bishops and clergy to have confidence in the working men, and when they are all working together it will be a grand day for the Church. I do not believe for one minute that there is more infidelity among the poor than among the rich. I believe that in the West End of London there are as

many Agnostics and Sceptics as in the East End, and I want to urge upon this meeting the vital necessity of not being shaken in your faith by subtle and specious attacks, which in the 19th century are being made on the Christian religion. There are three grand facts which it is always well to remember, however. In the first place, if you look at the map you will find that in those parts where the Bible is read—just in proportion as that is the case, so you will find everything that adorns human nature—most freedom, most morality, and most safety for life and property.

Then I ask you to bear in mind another fact, and I will ask you just to remember what the state of the world is now as compared with the state of the world before the Lord Jesus Christ came into the world. It may not be familiar to you all, but it is well known by my brethren on the platform, and no doubt some of you may have read of the horrid condition of the world before the Lord Jesus Christ came into the world —the total disregard of life and property—the bloodshed, slaughter, and crime—nothing could be more terrible—nothing could be more dreadful than the appearance of the heathen world before Christ came. And I ask you to account for any other agency that has accomplished a change as unlike as sweet is unlike to bitter, or darkness is to light, but of our Saviour. All this change comes from the simple fact of Jesus Christ coming into the world, and this alone will account for that marvellous change. The only fact by which we can account for it is the fact that one thousand eight hundred years ago the Lord Jesus was born of a poor woman—He was born without money, without weapons, and without followers, but, after working in the carpenter's shop thirty years, He went out to bring sinners to repentance. He went forward penniless, without money or arms, with nothing to frighten or bribe with, and yet—who can deny the fact?—this man coming from a corner of Palestine has made a mark on the world which has lived and still exists at the present day. He it is who has turned the world upside down, making it a very different place to what it was before. When men trouble you about Jonah in the whale's belly, and Balaam and his ass, do not waste your time in discussing these matters—here is the one great fact which it is utterly impossible to be accounted for in any other way than that it is done by the Lord Jesus Christ being born into the world, and that by His coming the world has been entirely changed from what it was in heathen time. I will tell you what happened to me once. Many years ago I was walking in Hyde Park, when I saw man after man preaching in the best way they could. At last I came by a tree where a down-right infidel, a man who, as they say, had the gift of the gab, as most such men have—was talking in that fluent way which very many people of that kind can, and he was asking what was the use of the Bible and the churches. He did not spare the dissenters, for he inquired what was the use of the chapels. And then he finished up by asking what good those people with white chokers were, and recommended them to have nothing to do with bibles, churches, or chapels. What they wanted was more fat pigs and fewer fat parsons. When he had concluded a working man came forward. Some people think that the working man can only be a man in dirty clothes, but I look at the hands, and nothing more delights me in administering the Holy Communion at Liverpool than to see the hands of the working men, grimy

as they are with hard work. Only get hold of the hands and they will tell you what the working man is. Well, this man came forward and said: "I can't answer all the arguments you have put forward, but I will ask you one or two questions," and he asked the infidel "whether or not it is a fact that the people in the world who have the Bible are not much better people than those who had it not; whether or not the country where the Bible is read, taught, believed, and obeyed, is not far better than those countries where the Bible, if they have it at all, is not allowed to be read? I will ask you also," he said, "as to our own country and whether or not in the parishes and streets where the men and their wives get out their Bibles and read them one to the other, teaching their children likewise to read and love them? And I challenge you to deny," he added, "that in these houses you will find more morality—more purity—more kindness, more charity, and more disinterested love, and more unselfishness than in those houses where the Bible is not to be found, and where drink is their God? And if this is the case, I challenge you to deny," said he, "that the Bible is such a bad thing after all." But others are coming after me, and as I shall have the opportunity to-morrow of again addressing some of you at the Midland Station, I will not further take up your time. What I would urge upon you is to stick to your Bibles, and not to be at the mercy of every fellow who likes to come forward. A Bible-reading people is the best defence you can have by any Church in the world. Then read the Bible, and become acquainted with the New Testament, and fight the good fight against drunkenness, gambling, and sabbath-breaking. Then, and then only, will the masses become more and more Christianized people, and then and then only will England become as she ought to be, first and foremost among the nations of the earth.

The Lord BISHOP OF BEDFORD.

I THINK I must begin by introducing myself. I am called the Bishop of Bedford, and I am very sorry for it, for I have nothing in the world to do with Bedford. I am simply Bishop of East London. The reason why I got the title is because there is an old Act of Parliament which says that suffragan bishops, as they are called—a suffragan is a sort of curate bishop—must take their names from a list of places mentioned in that Act of Parliament, and it so happens that there is no place in London named in the list, so I had to go to Bedford for a name. I fancy a good many people think that I am a bishop who has been tried at Bedford and failed, and who is having a fresh trial in East London. The Bishop of Liverpool said that there was a time when bishops went about in wigs and coaches and four. Well, some time ago there were a number of letters appearing in the *Times* newspaper under a very well known signature, which pleaded for "Gig Bishops," saying we do not want bishops in coaches and four, we want *gig bishops*, who will drive about in the country in a gig and one. Now I cannot drive about the East of London in a gig and one, for I should very likely get upset if I tried. But I go about my work in 'buses

and trams, and so I call myself a "'bus bishop." But now let us be serious, for I have got a very serious subject to talk about and very little time to talk about it in, especially as I have to go on to the other meeting and speak to the working men there. What I am going to speak about is LIVING FOR SELF AND LIVING FOR OTHERS. Now, supposing you take two men, one of whom lives for himself, and the other lives for others, there is not one of you who would not pass a just sentence on them as to which is the best of the two. And yet I have a great idea that there is a good bit of self in all of us. Shall I tell you one reason why you are sure to prefer the man who lives for others? Well, you know, we ourselves are part of these "others," and so the man who lives for others lives for us. So after all there is a little bit of selfishness in our very preference of the unselfish man. But there the fact stands. We do love the unselfish man. Now I am going to tell you a strange thing; I have heard Christianity accused of selfishness. Men say sometimes "You Christians only think of yourselves; you just want to get saved, to escape hell and to get to heaven, and that's selfishness." My friends, I know that God treats His children just as you treat yours—training them at first, when they are very weak and very ignorant, by reward and punishment. But to call that Christianity is about the same thing as to call a doorstep a house. Nay, what is the whole spirit and power of Christianity but this—*not for self but for others?* Look at the Master, look at His life, look at His death; was that for self or for others? The very secret of His grandeur as Man was His self-sacrifice. And I say this, that the more intensely human we are—you know the word *humane* means really the same as *human;* it means being that which man was made to be—I say the more human we are the more we shall glory in self-sacrifice, because the deeper and grander will be our love for our kind, and love is at the root of self-sacrifice. You do not want to go to the Bible, blessed as the Bible is, to get a proof that unselfishness—call it self-sacrifice if you will—is a grand and glorious thing. You have the testimony in your own hearts. Why, look within. What are your highest, purest, best enjoyments? The triumph of success? The tumult of self-indulgence? The slaking of the animal desires? No, no; I will tell you what it is. You have got a poor neighbour who has fallen sick, or has met with a misfortune, and your heart bleeds for him, and you go and sit up with him after your day's work, or you go and do a little bit of work for him after hours. Oh! I know how good and kind the poor are to one another. I say that that little unselfishness of yours will give you more true and lasting happiness than you ever got from the merriest evening you have spent with your boon companions in the public-house. When you find the testimony of your own hearts and consciences tells you the same thing as God's blessed word tells you, it is no light gain. Some people read God's word, but never set it side by side with their own daily lives. They put it on one side as belonging to one class of things, and they put their thoughts and feelings, their troubles and trials, on the other side as belonging to a different class of things. But you make a terrible mistake if you try thus to draw a line between religious truths and your daily life. And, if your own conscience tells you, as the Bible tells you, that self-sacrifice is a grand and glorious thing, you have learnt the truth in the best way of all. Oh! I wish I could tell you how hateful to God and to all true man-

hood is selfish sin! Look at the drunkard; is that not selfishness, when a man drinks (as who has not seen done?) the very food that should have been for his wife and little children; when the man brings misery, want, and often disease, debt, and ruin, into the house which he ought to have guarded as a home blessed by God, and on those whom he is bound by every bond of manhood and of religion to cherish and protect? Look at the sensualist; is he not a selfish man—a man, who with scarcely a pang, brings ruin and shame and lasting misery upon the poor victim of his selfish passion? Look at the cruel unkind man, who by careless selfishness, by the reckless indulgence of his temper or his tongue, keeps stabbing the heart he ought to have cherished and tenderly cared for. Yes, my friends, we hate these specimens of selfishness; and all the time perhaps we are each one cherishing some secret form of selfishness, less scandalous, no doubt, but none the less sinful in the sight of God. Mark how every good thing can be spoiled hy selfishness. Thrift is a good thing, but it can be spoiled by self-seeking. Sobriety is a good thing, but it can be spoiled by self-righteousness. Charity is a good thing, but it can be spoiled by self-importance. Yes, it is true, self in any form, coming into even the best and brightest and purest of things, mars and spoils them, and leaves upon them a stain which is very hard to get out again.

Now I want you to take a wider sweep, and to think about this—that the spirit which ought to animate individuals ought equally to animate a body of men. That which is true of man individually is true of man considered socially or politically. I know this is much harder to see, because a selfish action on the part of a body of men is, of course, intended to benefit the members of that body, and therefore often looks quite unselfish. Besides, it is very often redeemed by much self-denial and self-sacrifice on the part of individuals. For instance, a selfish war may be glorified by the self-sacrifice, by the devotion, by the valour and bravery, of the several individuals who take part in it. A selfish strike (and I by no means say that all strikes are selfish) is often dignified by the splendid endurance of those who suffer by it. I want to show you for a moment that I am not speaking mere words in saying that I do not consider all strikes as selfish. I have for several years been a member of the Committee of Clergy upon "Trades Unions and the Church," which has sought to show sympathy with the working men by recognising in all their movements the true and worthy elements which really do exist, and which has taken counsel with them with a view to lifting such movements higher up into the light of God and the purity of the true Christian conscience.

One of the most flagrant forms of what may be called social selfishness is *class legislation*. There was a time in this country—the time has not quite passed by yet in some other countries—when the rich, who had the power, exempted themselves from taxation and only taxed others. Now I call that social selfishness. Again, I call the enclosure of commons social selfishness. In my late parish there was a common enclosed more than a hundred years ago, and the common that was enclosed was allotted to the various persons living round about in proportion to what they had already. Do you call that justice? The rich man got his big lump, and the poor man got his little patch. Which had the greatest claim in the common

before? Which lost most by the enclosure? I call that class legislation and social selfishness. There is one matter of legislation about which I have had very great searchings of heart, and for a long time I could not see my way with respect to it. I am a great advocate of the temperance cause; I am myself a total abstainer, and I do what I can to promote that cause. But I have always felt a sort of hesitation about supporting the action of those who wished by legislation to close public-houses on Sunday, simply because it seemed to me a case of class legislation, and I thought it would be hard and wrong to shut up the public-house from the poor man, when the rich man's club was open, and when he could get up his bottle of champagne or sherry when he pleased from his cellar. But the other day I went to a large meeting in a great public hall in Poplar, and I said something of the same sort there, upon which the chairman said, "Will you allow me to put it to the meeting what they would like themselves?" It was a meeting of working men like you. So he called out, "All who would like the public-houses to be opened for a couple of hours on Sunday, hold up their hands." Very few hands were held up that time. So then the chairman said, "Now all who would like to have the public-houses closed the whole of Sunday, hold up your hands," and almost every hand was held up then. So I certainly have had my scruples very much removed. I do not think when a class wishes for legislation, that legislation is any longer open to the charge of being class legislation, because class legislation means a law imposed by one class on another. There is one more illustration I will give you, and then I think I have done. I think that a very strong case of social selfishness is to be found among the farmers of our country parishes, who grudge education to the working classes because they say they do not get so much work out of their men. I call that class selfishness. I suppose there is such a thing as national selfishness. We hear sometimes something about what is called "Jingoism." That is a form of national selfishness. And I suppose it means the seeking the glory or interest of one's own nation without any regard to the honour or interests of other nations. Once more, I think the forcing of the opium traffic on the Chinese is something very like national selfishness.

And, now, my friends, just a few words to conclude with. A body, whether a State, or a class, or a voluntary association, is made up of individuals. What the individuals are that the body is. We want this grand nation of ours, of which we are justly proud, we want this strong people of ours, who are capable of such great things, we want them to be unselfish. We believe that the future glory and greatness of England depend on this. The future of our people, for good or for ill, rests on this—whether they will live *for self or for others.* We want them to live not for self but for others, and, if we want that, then *you and I* must so live. If we would leave the world better and not worse, we, as individuals—as separate beings in the sight of God—must love others, and must live for others, and not for ourselves. And, God helping us, we will try more and more to carry out that grand old rule, "To do unto others as we would they should do unto us."

The Rev. Canon HOLE, Vicar of Caunton, Nottingham.

IT seems somewhat hard upon a country parson, "to fortune and to fame unknown," to be placed in such close proximity and contrast with an Archbishop and three Bishops, men of renown, whose praise is in the churches, each accustomed to bid "the Romans," and all other denominations, "mark him, and write his speeches in their books;" and I seem as one who, when famous bands have passed through the streets with triumphant music, is called upon to play the hurdy-gurdy, and fear lest my speech should sound in your ears like the feeble and ridiculous report of the rifle, which the volunteer recruit invariably fires five seconds after the regimental volley. But you may depend upon this, my brothers, however poor the instrument, you shall have the best tune I know, and it shall be played *con amore*, as the musicians have it; it shall be played with a loving heart. If I did not bring that with me, the Committee of the Church Congress would not have paid me the greatest compliment (as I think) in their power, in asking me to speak to you working men; and I should not have been encouraged to accept their invitation by happy recollections of meetings, similar to this, in which that love, relying on its sincerity of purpose, has gained the confidence and sympathy of those to whom it spoke.

Whence came it? I remember in "my sallet days, when I was green in judgment," I thought that all classes below my own were composed of an inferior order of beings; that no man could be a gentleman unless he had a large collection of silver forks and spoons, with a wild beast's head or an old helmet, or an arm or a leg, engraven upon them; I cared for none who did not share or minister to my amusements, and I talked about cads and snobs, quite unconscious of the fact that an idle man, living for himself alone, is the greatest snob in all creation.

Whence the change? From a great sorrow, which *realised* to me as to many who hear me, the religion which I professed, the religion which teaches that God is no respecter of persons, the religion of Him who said, "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one towards another." The religion of that Holy Spirit, of which the first fruit is love, the religion which explains to us the duty and the beauty of labour, which justifies the ways of God to man in His eternal law, in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread. The religion which, by the practice, precept, and presence of Him who revealed it, who worked with plane and saw at the bench of the carpenter, who never wasted a moment of His life, and by the Gospel which He committed to rough fishermen, unlearned and ignorant men, to preach to *every* creature, supports and sweetens, and sanctifies the dreariness and the weariness of hard work.

And I am sure of this, as I look upon this great assembly, and feel as oft before the very sad regret, that we meet so seldom as brothers and as friends, for society or for worship; as I think of the dark barriers, wide and high, which separate us as citizens and as Christians; remembering the perils of that estrangement, and yearning for the social unity which is a main source of national prosperity and domestic peace, and for the spiritual unity, which, when we worship together, is the nearest approach which we can know on earth to the eternal harmonies of heaven; I am sure that nothing can break down those partition walls between us, but

the religion which teaches universal love, and the dignity of honest labour in whatsoever form it is found.

Appreciating with a grateful respect all that has been attempted by Parliament, by municipalities, by education, science, and art, by the philanthropic and the benevolent, to promote equality and the happiness of the majority by a larger communication of those privileges, which have been hitherto restricted to the rich, I cannot see that much has been done to bring us into a closer unity. No statesman can enact, no philosopher can understand, no schoolmaster can explain the love which is for all—it is of the *heart*, and not of the head—it is only taught by the revelation, and communicated by the Spirit, of God.

II.—And I would ask you to observe that this Christian Love in its integrity not only comprehends all other kindly affections and gracious sympathies, but it presents them to others in their most attractive form. It exhibits them in action. It wins by example. It follows the Divine Master who went about, not only speaking but doing good. It obeys His injunction, "Let your light so shine before men that they *may see your good works*, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven."

It loves, and it works *for all*. It has no limit nor restrictions. It must be catholic. Wherever there is sin, or sorrow, or want, there it warns, and consoles, and gives. Don't you think we have had a little too much of class legislation, class lecturing, class associations? The working man has been specially selected for these interesting experiments. The rest of society being in the most perfect condition of religious and moral health, he has been pronounced to be in a galloping consumption, and all his friends and neighbours want to look at his tongue, and feel his pulse, and write him a prescription. He has been placed in a position which is commonly occupied in my village at home by one who has a sudden accident or illness. The bed on which he lies is surrounded by all the old women of the parish, each insisting on a different treatment, all groaning dismally, and predicting speedy dissolution. The first thing to be done is to show them the door, and then to open the window.

Open the window, more pure air and warm sunshine. The working man, supposing that he recognises his need of a doctor, must be inclined to say to such a concourse of physicians (to those especially who do not tell where their prescriptions are to be made up, or how he is to pay for their medicines), "Gentlemen, don't let me monopolize your attention, or absorb your valuable time. There are invalids elsewhere who invite your aid. For example, you say that I am suffering from a want of refinement in my diversions, that my sports are cruel, my amusements and pastimes silly or coarse, and you ask me to give them up, though you offer me nothing in their stead. Well, doctors, if you will go to Hurlingham, and elsewhere, I think you will find some urgent cases of this particular disease, 'sportsmen' killing and maiming pigeons put into a trap, with fair ladies admiring their prowess, and if these patients are too distant, you will find subjects for your consideration nearer home, when 1,000 pheasants, driven to and fro, will hardly rise before a dozen guns in the familiar presence of those who have reared and fed them.

"You tell me that my mind is injured by literature, which is ghastly, lascivious, or profane; by entertainments, by songs and dances, which are also more or less immoral and obscene. May I ask what course of treatment you pursue with those ladies and gentlemen who are suffering

from French novels, from plays, in which deadly sin is treated as a jest? You wisely warn me against betting and the racecourse, and bid me deposit every farthing, which I do not require for my necessities, in the Post Office or the Penny Bank. Pray, what are you doing for those chronic cases at Tattersall's and Newmarket? Have you discovered any ointment for those bad *legs*, which Holloway has no power to cure? How is it we never hear of £5 Banks for the rich, and that no notice is taken of those unhappy lunatics who give £2,000 for a filly, and £6,000 for an old cupboard?"

I'll tell you what sort of doctor I should have liked, had it pleased God to set me to work along with you. Not the man who said to me, "You're looking sallow and shrunk for want of a little more fresh air and exercise, and I wish you may get it—good morning," but the man who said, "You are getting rather thick on the ground here in Derby, 11,000 more souls added to your numbers since 1861, and I have bought some 20 acres of ground for an Arboretum for your refreshment and recreation." I should have liked as my doctor, not the man who said to me, "You ought to be ashamed of your ignorance. Why don't you buy a selection of well-bound standard works instead of all that penny rubbish?" but I should have liked the man who said to me, "I think, friend, you'd be glad if you had the opportunity to increase your stock of knowledge, and I have built you a Free Library and furnished it with a good variety of books to be always open for your use, and propose to add to it an Art Gallery, which I trust will please you and instruct you."

When Sir Francis Crossley presented a park to the working men of Halifax, he said—"I attribute the great success which has enabled me to make this gift to my fellow townsmen, to this circumstance, that when we first passed through the gates of the big mill yonder, my mother said, 'If the Lord prosper us in this place, the poor shall taste of it.'" How could the poor taste of it more sweetly than in a place of healthful rest and recreation? Ought not such places to be multiplied, not only by individual munificence, but by public combination? Surely one of the first anxieties of a Government should be the physical, as well as the moral, condition of the people. Surely the commercial man, the employer of labour, must perceive, in his consideration of profit and loss, if he have no higher motive, the prime importance of that power, which health alone can give, to see quickly, and strike strongly, and endure continuous work. How much more then should the Christian, who professes to regard all men as brethren, who has been taught that if one member suffer all the members suffer with it, how much more should he strive to brighten the lives and lighten the burdens of the sons of toil? As it is, is there not too much truth in the sorrowful sentence, "that the right to dwell freely in a grimy street, to drink freely in the neighbouring public-house, and to walk freely between the high walled parks and the jealously preserved estates of our landowners, is all that the just and equal laws of England secure to the mass of the population?" * Well may our Poet-laureate ask—

> "Why should not these great sirs
> Give up their parks a dozen times a year,
> And let the people breathe?"

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* Professor Stanley Jevons, *Contemporary Review*, October, 1878.

"Oh," it is answered, "they'll destroy everything." It is not true. Trust them, and tell them you trust them, and they will destroy nothing. Just a fortnight ago, I was walking in the grounds of one of the most beautiful homes in Great Britain, New Battle, near Edinburgh, the seat of Lord Lothian; and the gardener told me that the park and the gardens were opened to anyone at all times, and that great numbers availed themselves of the privilege, but they did no harm.

It is told that a clergyman, whose grave-yard was sadly overcrowded, except on the north side of his church, which being damp and drear, was not used for sepulture, went to a woman, who was very old and ill, and having explained to her that the dislike to the shady side was a mere fancy and superstition, asked her as a favour, and for the example of others, to give directions that her interment should take place in the vacant portion of the ground. The old lady took a few moments for consideration, and then made answer, "Well, sir, as you say that one part's as good as another, and that it's of no consequence whatever where we're put, p'raps you'll *gie us a lead*." I think that the working men may justly say to some of his counsellors, "gie us a lead." Think how few our amusements are, and if they seem to you not only few but evil, show unto us the more excellent way. "Gie us a lead" to a public garden, or a bit of garden of our own, a cricket ground, a fives court, a picture gallery, good cheerful rooms, where we can read book or newspaper, play games, and smoke our pipes, with accompaniments so regulated by rules as to keep all within the limits of becoming mirth.

Gie us a lead! Could you not come among us now and then, walk, and talk, join us in our sports, and make friends? We are told that in foreign countries there are beautiful promenades, where the rich and poor meet together, and listen to excellent music. "With all our vast expenditure on our Army, can't they spare us a band?"

It seems to me that these claims are just upon Government, upon employers, and upon men of means; but I do not think that they will ever be recognised and responded to in any comprehensive and continuous form unless it be from the spirit of true Christian love, which, unhappily, is too rare in our midst. Shams and counterfeits abound—any amount of that sympathy which talks about feeling, but never feels in its pocket. I heard the other day of a great professor of piety entering a cottage and remarking to a poor old woman, whom he found on her knees washing a cabbage for her dinner, "Ah, my dear friend, I'm sorry to see you in *that* position, only caring for the body, instead of thinking of your soul." Christianity has few worse enemies than these! A Christian would have said, "I'll be back again in a few minutes, and bring you a bit o' bacon."

III. And true Christian love not only seeks to teach Truth and to do good to *all*, and does it so persuasively that the gentleness of its method reconciles the learner to the severity of its restraint *—"the quality of mercy is not strained, it falleth as the gentle dew from heaven upon the place beneath,"—but it sets itself bravely against all evil, and, like the Great Teacher, yearns to heal *all* manner of disease—not only of the

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* "Clementer tamen, ut persuasionis humanitas asperitatem coercitionis excluderet."—*St. Ambrose.*

body, but of the soul. One might be led, by the writings and speeches of a multitude of good men, to suppose that there was in our day but one sin, the sin of drunkenness. It is a very fearful, fatal wickedness. It is not only that millions of money and centuries of labour are wasted by it; it is not only that the brain is diseased, and the heart weakened, and the limbs crippled, and the face disfigured, the man debased, and the home made wretched; it is not only that women are outraged, wives beaten and murdered, children untaught, starved, and in rags; not only that all which is high, and noble, and gracious, and brave, and pure, is destroyed by drunkenness; not only that it has tarnished our national honour, and enfeebled our influence, that our emigrants have brought a curse and not a blessing to those whom they have taught this vice; that our missioners are told, you hold in one hand a Gospel of Temperance, and in the other a cup of deadly wine; you tell us to devote all our faculties of mind and body to a service of self-denial, and then you stupify us with opium; it is not only that the body is defiled and destroyed, but souls, countless souls, are perishing around us.

But in our dread and detestation of this destructive sin, and in our attempts to subdue it, are we not in danger of forgetting that there are other sins, which are more universal and as deadly as drunkenness? Sins which present themselves to us at an earlier period of our lives, and in a more subtle form than the temptations of drink. Sins which are all the more powerful because they are done in secret. Sins which our Lord names foremost among the things which defile a man. Sins which steal away the brightness of boyhood, and which mock the incapable desires of age—sins of self-pollution, fornication, adultery. And there might be no such things as lying, covetousness, and stealing, blasphemy, cruelty, gluttony, and pride.

And why is Total Abstinence, which I revere as much as any man as a blessed and unique remedy for chronic disease, and as a preventive, though not the best, when there is danger of infection to be forced upon me? Why am I to take this medicine, when I am not only in good health, but fully persuaded in my own mind that I am a better man without it? If any one says to me, I must sign the pledge or I shall be overcome, I should say, Friend, sign at once, and I shall honour you with all my heart; but when you have done it, please don't patronize or pity me, or I shall be constrained to tell you that I find a great deal in the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who turned the water into wine at the marriage feast, and sat down with the publicans and sinners, about temperance, and against the abuse of wine,* but nothing about teetotalism; you will compel me to express my belief that it is better and braver to say, "I could, but I won't," rather than "I would, but I can't." "Madam," said Dr. Johnson to the Abbess, "you are here, not so much from the love of virtue as from the fear of vice." Drunkenness must be conquered by conviction, not by compulsion. Self-respect put a stop to the drinking-bouts of the rich, and to the common expression "as drunk as a lord." Self-respect, taught by Christianity and encouraged by Christian sympathy, and help, must emancipate from this tyranny the working man. Encouraged, I say, by Christian sympathy and help. Let those who have so many comforts and

* Ephesians v. 8; 1 Timothy iii. 8.

amusements of their own, provide them in some form for their neighbours. Let those who condemn the public-house help to build the Workman's Club (and I would remark, as having organised such an institution, that its influence is extended and the cause of sobriety promoted by temperance, that is, by allowing a limited quantity of drink), and, more than this, let them join in the amusements of the people. When the Queen of England gives a ball for her household, she goes to witness their enjoyment (what a beautiful picture that is of Her Majesty reading to an old man in a poor cottage as he lies sick on his bed!) and it would be happier for every home and for every city if there were more communion, in recreation as well as in work.

But the victory which delivers from a single vice does not make the victor virtuous—who supposes that there will be no more fighting because we have demolished Arabi? No one trusts a general who brags, and promises universal peace, because he has won a battle. How solemnly we are warned of the sudden destruction which comes, when we say, all is safe. Let me repeat to you the wise words of Samuel Wilberforce, spoken to the working men of Leeds:* "In so far as total abstinence, by reforming a drunkard, makes a spoilt machine more useful, the value of that movement is unspeakable. But the machine is finally ruined, if a man believes that he may rest contented in his self-righteousness, because he has conquered that one besetting sin. Never let him rest till you have made him understand that he has a great work to do in God's world, and that it cannot be done merely by his not being a drunkard, but that he must humble himself before his Maker, Redeemer, Sanctifier, and in His strength must try to be a blessing to every man with whom he may come in contact in this busy life." There is no character in the literature of childhood which I disliked so much as that little Jack Horner, who sat in a corner, eating his Christmas pie, and he put in his thumb, and pulled out a plum, and said what a good boy am I, and there is no more offensive person in real life than he who is continually bringing out the same text, or tract, or medal, or badge, and singing (trumpet obligato) what a good man am I.

I have never forgotten a lecture on use and abuse, sharp, short, and in my mind decisive, which I heard from a working man. I was waiting for a train, not far from Nottingham, when a labourer with a basket of tools on his head sat down on the bench beside me. Presently we were joined by a third person, who wore the dress of a workman, but had evidently been playing—playing the fool, by putting an enemy into his mouth to steal away his brains. He bored my neighbour with some silly, incoherent remarks to saying, "Just you leave me alone; you're drunk." On which he drew himself up, with a sort of injured, dignified air, and answered, "Now, just you listen to me. Do you suppose that a mighty Power would make the barley to grow in the fields, and the hops to grow in the hop-yards, and then put it into the mind of other parties to make 'em foment, and me not meant to drink 'em; why yer know noat." On which the sober man replied, "I know this: I like a glass of good ale now and then; I should like one now, for I'm tired enough, and I believe that it does me good, and that a mighty Power meant it so to do. But

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* See Report of Leeds Church Congress, p. 356.

I'm quite sure that He never made the barley nor the hops for you to take 'em and make a be-ast o' yoursen."

IV. This is a Church Congress, and I would ask to say a few words, in conclusion, concerning the Church and the working men. It has been my privilege for many years, having but a small parish of my own, to join in mission and other work with my brethren in different parts of the country from Truro to Newcastle-on-Tyne. I have the happiness to number among my friends men whose views differ from mine—Low Churchmen, Broad Churchmen—being myself, as I am told, rather High; and I want you to know that which this long and wide intercourse has proved to me—that the highest ambition, the dearest wish, the brightest hope now in the hearts of the most anxious and energetic workers, clerical and lay, in the English Church, is to make her, not in name, but in reality, the Church of the English people. They regard with sorrow and with shame those times of apathy and sloth—(I am speaking generally)—when the shepherds "ate of the fat and clothed themselves with the wool, but did not feed the flock," and the sheep wandered away to find what food they could. They have resolved, God helping them, to redeem the past. The shepherds have come home, and repaired the sheepfolds. There is hardly a village in the land which has not its pastor, and I appeal to you, working men, who come from these villages, whether those pastors are not prompt to offer their counsel, their condolence, their substantial aid, to all those who are afflicted and distressed in mind, body, or estate.

Much has been done, much is doing, but much remains to do. The parish churches of England belong to the parishioners, and they have a right to demand that those churches should be free and open. "I thought," said a working man, "that I would go to church; but when I got there all the seats were shut in with doors, and the people in the pit and the people in the side boxes looked at me as if I'd got in without paying; and after I'd been up and down, like a man on the platform when there's no room in the train, it occurred to me to go home."

The services of the Church of England are for the English people, and they should be adapted to their understanding, their taste, and their opportunities. We want additions not subtractions in our Prayer Book. We want simple, short, impressive services, in which all can join, and at times when all may come to them. What special good are daily services at 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. to those who cannot attend them? In February last, at the close of the Leicester Mission, we had a celebration of the Holy Communion at half-past six in the morning, before there was light enough for workmen to go to their work. We had 220 communicants, chiefly of the working classes. "Do you know what first led me to your church?" said a working man to a clergyman. "I met you going to your business when I was going to mine." He who teaches children to shake off dull sloth and early rise to pay their morning sacrifice, should have his blinds up betimes, and though he may not be called upon to preach, as St. Chrysostom did, "*Illucescente Aurorâ*" at daybreak, his matin service will be a good sermon. He has the best of example and encouragements: "*All the people came early in the morning* to Him in the Temple to hear Him."

The sermons of the Church of England are for the English people,

and should be intelligible, interesting, and impressive to all. I am convinced that they would interest and impress more generally if, as a rule, with allowable and necessary exceptions, they were spoken, *preached*, not read. To me the difference between reading and speaking is as striking as that between a horse feeding from a nosebag, and the same quadruped galloping in the fields. And this preaching should not be restricted to the churches nor to the clergy. In the words of our Right Reverend President, spoken at the Bath Congress, "the parish priest should be a street preacher, but he wants help; and there should be an order of missionary preachers established in every diocese for this particular purpose."

And as regards the moral, mental, and physical improvement of the people, the Church is making earnest and successful efforts by her schools and societies, not forgetting their amusements. The very word holiday tells us of a time when the mirthful sports and pastimes of the people were connected with the festivals of the Church. "Why should we fear our cup of joy, if pure, would sparkle less?" Three months ago (an ounce of fact is worth a ton of fancies) a goodly number of working men and women paid me the compliment of a visit from Nottingham, twenty miles away. They walked about my garden—the weather was not propitious for games—they had what is called a knife and fork tea in our village club-room, and then, by their own wish, we walked to the House of God as friends, and had a short, hearty, happy service.

To show you that these members of "*The Church of England Working Men's Society*" do not restrict their religion to holidays and mere formal church going, I may tell you that they have taken a house in Nottingham as a centre of Mission Work, at which there is to be a coffee and news room, a night school for men, free breakfasts for destitute children on Sundays, and cheap dinners for the poor. The Church cannot have a more powerful alliance, or a truer sonship, than this.

I must not presume upon your kind patience, and will only add my earnest entreaties, that you will respect our work, as we respect yours, that you will learn from us, as we learn much from you, that you will join your prayers with ours, that we may increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and remembering alway that, in the Day of Judgment, the Judge himself has told us that He will welcome to His glories those who, for His sake, have done works of mercy, and will reject those who have done them not. Oh, my brothers, not in mere words and wishes, but with heart and hand, let us "bear one anothers burdens," and so fulfil the law, and claim the promises of Christ.

The Rev. W. J. KNOX-LITTLE, Rector of St. Alban's, Cheetwood, Manchester, and Canon of Worcester.

I DO not know whether you are aware that the last speaker, whilst he understands as much about the wants and wishes of the working men of England as most men I know, also understands more about the cultivation of roses than perhaps any man in Europe. But there is one thing I am quite certain of, and that is, that he has not left me a bed of

roses upon which to lie to-night. I think when any speaker follows my dear friend, Canon Hole, he has a very difficult task before him; and, therefore, I feel that I owe you some sort of apology for addressing you, and the apology is this—I address you, to-night, first on the principle of disobedience, which implies courage; and then on the principle of obedience, which implies a habit of due submission. Now, here is a paradox. I doubt not, that some of you, if you go home, after a questionable transaction, are brought face to face with a great authority with whom you have to reckon in the domestic circle, and when I left home to-night, the last expression from that supreme authority as to my conduct in coming to Derby amounted to a declaration of belief in my proximate lunacy. I am, so far then, acting on a principle of disobedience. I do not wish to encourage it. There is another principle which governs me to-night; the principle of obedience. There is a power which I recognise as a very solemn power, and that power is represented here by one deserving of very deep respect. I was all but commanded to address this meeting to-night by the Bishop of Lichfield, and when I remember the antecedents of the bishop of this diocese, when I remember his great work, his great humility, his earnestness of purpose, and his spirituality of character, and his unusual fairness of temper and respect for justice, then I speak without flattery, in the face of domestic objection, and say there is no choice. My brothers, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, that I got out of my bed to come and speak to you to-night, and as to what I am to say, you will not forget that my subject of address is circumscribed by the same authority who besought my presence. I am not able to speak to you on large questions, but I am commanded by the Bishop to speak to you upon one that is important, and I am very certain, from your attention and earnestness, that I shall not speak in vain. My friends, when some of us were boys at school, we learnt one phrase amongst the many important sayings of the ancient Latinists, which embodies a useful hint for conduct, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, which, being interpreted, means "mind your own business," "stick to your own trade," and I shall try on this occasion to stick to mine. I have not the slightest knowledge of yours, such is my ignorance of the special industries in Derby, but I quite understand that the object of my special trade is this—to advance the Kingdom of Christ. And I have to speak to you to-night on one subject that belongs to that kingdom, and if I may help in its advancement, I speak to you with delight. With delight to myself, but perhaps not to you; but I hope you, at least, will bear with me. I cannot conceive why it is—except by his kindness and friendship—that the Bishop of Lichfield should ask me to get up from a bed of sickness to speak to you. However, my subject, though not for purposes of amusement, has claims upon you. I do not know whether you have heard of a certain young lady who was travelling to Australia, and on board the ship there were twelve gentlemen and no other ladies. It was an awkward position, and the gentlemen who were present desired—as it is said in ordinary phrase—to improve the occasion, and, consequently, they fell to what, for the want of a better expression, I must describe as "courting." There is certainly a difficulty when twelve persons are courting one, but the difficulty is not so much with the twelve persons but with the one. I dare say it is not a difficulty

which often occurs, but it did in this case, so history says, and I do not wish to contradict it. The lady then being in difficulty, appealed to the only available authority from whose dispassionate judgment she might fairly hope for guidance; she went to the captain and said, "Which of these twelve persons am I to marry?" His reply was of this kind—tell each one, if he loves you, to go overboard, and whichever one does so, that one is true and deserves your hand. She spoke the word, and over went eleven of them! Well, my friends, the position became still more embarrassing, did it not? Again, she could only turn to the friendly captain, and she said, "What am I to do now?" upon which he advised, without the slightest hesitation, "Marry the dry one." Now, I presume, having heard the speech of Canon Hole, and those of archbishops and bishops, and other dignitaries who have addressed the meeting, that the only principle upon which I can plead for your unflagging, short, final attention, is of this practical character, "attend to the dry one." So being "the dry one," let me speak a few plain words on a matter of serious importance. I pass out of the region of amusement and enter into that of duty. I am a minister of Christ, and I speak to you to try and advance the cause of my King.

I want to say a word that may help you, and I speak to each, on a subject which in some sense touches us all, on which, therefore, we take counsel as man to man—"The morality of the workshop." It is impossible for me to *deal* with the subject in ten minutes; but I will try what I can do to remind you of salient points of duty. My friends, what is morality? Morality touches each of us, because each has the capacity of man. Morality has to do with the free choice of the creature—his unfettered power of choosing good or evil, choosing right or wrong. The science of morality is the science of conduct, the power of choice, how to *act* upon such knowledge as we possess, with reference to what is evil and good within the inner soul, in the heart, in the intelligence, as well as in the outer world. But why the morality of the workshop? I remember being struck with a phrase of a great philosopher, with whose general conclusions I do not agree. He said what amounted to this: "Ideas are powerful only under favourable conditions; for if they conspire with circumstances then they effect great things in the world, but not otherwise." The idea of a true morality of choosing right instead of wrong is a powerful idea, but its effective results depend in some considerable measure upon the circumstances under which it finds play.

Your special circumstances giving seriousness to your social choice is your place in the workshop. That is your opportunity. I use the word morality of the workshop, and restrict my advice within such limits only because I am guided in doing so. The moral power of a working man extends, of course, far beyond the workshop, but what the working men of England—be they engaged behind the counters in our ordinary shops, be they artisans in our factories and works—what they need to realise is this: That in their workshop, in their scene of labour, they have a great opportunity in which to exercise morality—to choose right or wrong. Let us examine for a moment how they may succeed and how they may fail. Now there are three thoughts about your workshops which I know from experience. Among the working men of several great cities there are some of my very dear friends, and I know by their testimony, which

is quite unimpeachable, that what I am about to say is true. I see before me the working men of Derby, and it may be, of course, that you are different from the London, Manchester, New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago working men, for those are the places I know best from experience. It may be that you are different, it is, however, scarcely practicable, for human nature is human nature; and I think you will find, anyhow, some grain of truth in what I say. I say there are three thoughts on which your minds should be fixed:

1. First in the workshops; any honest man has a great opportunity for witnessing to the value of honesty and truth. Now tell me what you think of such a case as this: A lady goes into a shop and asks for some article of dress; she is shown *one* example of it out of a large stock; she considers it rather old looking, slightly shabby. "Not at all." She is "much mistaken," it is "a sweet thing," "just arrived from Paris," the whole stock has been sold off with unexampled rapidity! Such is the shopman's refute. As a matter of fact it is a slightly damaged specimen of an old stock, which has lain for some time in unhonoured isolation in its lonely drawer, nor had it at any time any sort of connection with the capital of France. Even if *money* come, can any *good* come of such abundant falsehood?

I remember a young fellow coming to a clergyman, and saying, "If I were to write the truth at my desk in business correspondence, my master would dismiss me;" and he added, "you are a parson, what do you say I ought to do? "Refuse to be false," was the answer, "and even if you are sent about your business, then, in God's name, go about your business. Do your best, and trust God." I should like to say a good word for that master, however; when the young man said, "I cannot be untruthful," the man cursed and swore, indeed, and called him a fool, with a qualifying and profane expletive; but he did not dismiss him: that master venerated truth, respected him for his honesty, and he holds his post. The workshop is an opportunity for testing and strengthening truthfulness of character. You, all of you, may gather a passing popularity by falling in with the public opinion of a class or clique; may make life easy for the moment by being carried away by the crowd; but remember, dear fellows, you who have to work with your hands, as some of us have to work with our brains, remember that if for faithfulness to principle you ever have to face trouble, if you have to face sorrow, if you have to face contempt—remember that the day is coming when the Lord of all of us will recognise your work, will recognise and reward. I say, then, as to the morality of the workshop, it is an opportunity to be true.

2. Again, the workshop is a place for forming friendships, and, therefore, an opportunity of influence. In the hard-working life of men there are many struggles, and there are ups and downs; but in his workshop he has opportunities of forming friendships, and exercising influences which will last when time is no more. Think, for example, of this: Fancy (and this is no fancy picture) a lad going into an English workshop; fancy the condition of that lad who has to learn his trade from the skilled workmen; fancy the price he has not infrequently to pay for learning it. He has sometimes to break rules laid down by his master. He has to bring in beer, or tobacco, or other contraband, in breach of the authoritative regulations of the house. If he refuses, he is reported

for some real or imaginary fault to the head, and there is no redress. He is dismissed as a stupid or a fool. What sort of influence have *you* in such cases? I do not say that these things happen in Derby, but I know that such things *do* happen in some places in this country, and that lads coming forth from honest homes, trying to do their duty, get under the influence of a bad public opinion, and are morally ruined in English workshops. I appeal to you to use your influence to guard against this.

3. And, further, the workshops afford opportunities for speaking good words. Have you ever thought of the responsibility upon you involved in the use of words? I have thought of it many a time. There are few of us who have not known what it is to hear a hasty thing said on a platform at a meeting, or in ordinary talk, for which we have been sorry afterwards, because when we knelt down to pray we felt we had wronged someone, or backed up someone in wrong, and there has been a voice within that has said to us, "You had better have left such words unsaid." Have you not felt the same thing? I feel a keen interest in you who are sons of toil, for I have many friends among workmen, and I know working lads who are as dear to me as if they were my own children, and I am sure that vital injury is done in our workshops by the immorality of language—by bad words. If, as we ought, we hate shams, let us try to make our Congress real, by making a fresh start in fundamental duty. Many of our working lads try to serve God and be honest and pure and true, but they may say, and with good reason, "How am I to keep down my passions and restrain my tongue when half-a-dozen people are either jeering at my religion, or in their conversation outraging decency, are talking either beastliness or blasphemy? How am I to keep my imagination unpolluted, and my thoughts reverent and unstained? How am I to hold my ground?" How, indeed? It is often our duty, as God's ministers, to give an answer: to point out the possibility of perseverance, and the power of victory; but I should like you to remember the responsibility of those who create such difficulties for the young—the responsibility of such words. If in the workshops of Derby there are men who use words with double meaning, the expression of base thoughts, filling the mind and imagination with evil images, and leading to the destruction of lofty human character, I say to them stop, think of the responsibilities for the morality of the workshop, choose the right, do that which is good; resist the wrong; despise what is bad; restrain your words. restrain and guide them; and when you see a young lad coming among you with the simple habits of his country home, or improved by better influences in his Sunday School, who desires to be true, who wants to do his duty, stand by him in his need. Some of you say (yes, I know how a human heart feels), "It is precious hard." So it is, I grant you. How are you to do it? I will tell you in a few words. I remember, many years ago, a young man sitting down on a doorstep in a Continental town in the darkness of a lonely street. I remember the same man lying one Sunday afternoon on the top of a breezy Down. Neither darkness nor sunlight oppressed or cheered; the cry of a heart in great perplexity was, "What *is* the truth." And the voice that brought relief said this—"Never mind about the doctrine, true or false, for the moment, He will guide you as to that; but remember it is always better to do *right*. It is always Christ-like to

conquer self." That is the path that leads to the light. That is a principle for life. On that principle I hope *you* will act. You find it very difficult in a world of contradicting voices to catch the truth. *This* will be overcome if a first difficulty is faced and fought, the difficulty to *do right*. It is better to do what conscience says is right than to do wrong, and in the end it brings happiness and peace. You may say, "It is all very well, but *how* is one to act up to that principle?" I answer, remember three great words. First, the word "duty." It was said by a great English Admiral, and it has been repeated a thousand times, "That England expects that every man this day will do his duty," and I say, what is more, *God* expects it. I say this from experience, paraphrasing the thought of a great American, "There are many enemies that we find it easy to face or easy to flee from, but there is one we dare hardly face, and from whom yet we cannot flee, and that is a sense of duty disregarded." My brothers, in your workshops I ask you to remember the priceless value of a sense of duty. My second word—catch-word, if you like—is "sin." Remember, it is is a terrible thing to lose your fortune; it is a terrible thing to lose your friends; it is a terrible thing to feel your health failing, while apparently your work is but half done; but there is one more terrible thing than all, and that is to feel that you do knowingly what is contrary to the law of God. Put your foot upon mortal sin when it arises. I say to you as I have said to lads on entering a public schoool, "If there comes a tempter tempting you to do what is dishonourable and wrong, give him one straight from the shoulder, and it will do him good and you too." Then, my last word is "Christ." Ask God in Christ to help you in your workshops to be true, to use right influence, and to stand by those who are in difficulty. You may ask "*how*," this is the answer, "*Christ*"—Christ, the head of His Church—Christ the intercessor in prayer, and Christ the strength of the sacrament—Christ, the friend nearest and dearest, the most lasting and the best; Christ who helps you to stand popularity, to be brave before contempt; and Christ who is with you in your lonely moments, who gives you courage in danger, and in weakness strength. He is not a dream, He is a great reality. Christ is the central power of regenerate human life, and when you have and use the power of Christ, then you can conquer.

I love the working men of England, and feel for the temptations of their toil. We all of us enjoy times of quiet and of rest, and yet at such times some of us count the hours until we are back among the workers in our great cities such as yours here, such as mine—in dear smoky Manchester. Oh my brothers, you and I have to work, thank God. Let us remember by religion to sanctify labour. Do not imagine that anything will take the place of the ancient faith or of the ancient Church of your forefathers. Be sure of one thing, you may not be so well educated, you may not have such opportunities as the clergy, but each has his place, and we want to help you. Anyhow, take this piece of practical advice, I do not think any soul is likely to be lost if that soul prays; say your prayers—ask for forgiveness, ask for strength, it will not be denied. If you live in the province and presence of eternal things, you will conquer in your strength in the things of time. Not long ago, I was standing by the bed-side of a dying man who had worked hard; I had known his circumstances, his trials and his sorrows;

and when he came to die, by his own wish and desire I knew, what I had not known before, many of his sins. I sat by his dying bed, and in that solemn hour when the frontier between life and death; between time and eternity; between work and rest is attenuated to the finest line—after he had told me many of his troubles and asked for prayers and expressed resolutions, and sought the mercy of God through the dear Redeemer, he said this, "Ah dear friend, if my boy could only feel for five minutes what I feel to-night, surely he would live for eternity." Yes, that is it, we must struggle to lift the thoughts and affections to eternal things, then shall we live and act for eternity. When you go into those workshops where you have to labour, will you remember, my brothers, the dignity of man? will you remember that you are born for better things, and strive and pray to rise above, to conquer, sin? will you remember your responsibility? will you remember that the hour is coming, coming quickly, when we shall none of us be judged as parson or as workman, as bishop or as labourer, but as man—man who has had the opportunity to live in Christ? will you remember that you and I shall not then be asked to appraise and value the thoughts of our neighbours, of our teachers, of this one, or that one, but we shall have to give an account of ourselves? In fact, I have not lost my time, nor wasted yours, if by these words I help you to remember that in your workshop there is a great opportunity, and that each one of you in that workshop by God's grace may live for Christ.

AN OVERFLOW WORKING MEN'S MEETING was held at the CORN EXCHANGE, addressed by the Lord Bishop of Winchester (chairman), the Ven. Archdeacon H. W. Watkins, Rev. Canon Venables, Rev. R. C. Billing, Rev. J. W. Randall, and J. C. Welldon, Esq.

The speeches were not reported, but the Editor is glad to be able to give the two following speeches:—

The Lord BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

THE few words I wish to say will perhaps not seem exactly in accord with the purposes of this meeting, because the Church—and this is a Church Congress meeting—is supposed to have to do with another world; but what I will venture to say rather concerns this world. My impression, however, is that this world and the next are very close the one to the other. We are always in the midst of this world and of the next world at the same time: that is my creed. A brother of mine some twenty years ago was governor of a colony, to which a great many of our people went out as emigrants, New Zealand; and I remember that brother saying to me, "Don't send out a number of young men to us here who cannot do anything. These will all be sure to go to the bad. Very likely to get to drink or something else bad. Don't let anybody come out here that has not got hard hands, hard head, and hard cash." That was my brother's recipe; but he did qualify it a little. "At all events," he said, "let him have two out of the three. Any one of them won't do alone." Now, I think

that is true as regards success in life here at home as well as abroad. The question I am going to propound is, how could we manage to have two of these qualifications, and if possible three of them,—hard hands, hard head, and hard cash? I think this concerns us all. If we are to be successful in life, we ought to have hard hands, power to labour; and hard heads, skill and intellect; and hard cash, by which I mean capital. No business can succeed without these three are united. They are not always united in one man; and that is the reason why capital and skill and labour combine. How should we secure hard hands, power to labour? That is good health. The great secret of good health is temperance. I don't mean temperance in the merely technical sense of the word. If a man wants to have good health and ability to work he must be temperate in all things; temperate in eating as well as in drinking; temperate in amusements; and, above all things, he must not give his body to sensual lusts. And thus, under God's grace and help—we could not do without that, for this world and the next are closely connected together; but by God's grace and help—we might keep our bodies "in soberness, temperance, and chastity." If, unhappily, in our youth, we have given way to sins of lust and intemperance, it is a difficult thing to escape the consequences of sins in our body; but, possibly, even if we have given an inheritance of evil to our children—and we always do that if we indulge in sensual sins and intemperance—still, by bringing them up in the fear of God, and to live sober and godly lives, we can do a great deal for them, even if we are past doing much for ourselves. Many a man who has lived a bad life in the past, if he repents earnestly and strives to live a steady and sober life, not only gains in his soul, but in his body too. Good health is much dependent upon what we are born with; and I want you especially to think of that with regard to your children. And so it is also with regard to "hard head" to the brain. It is astonishing what a man of limited powers may do for himself by training his intellect. But at all events we can endeavour to do this for our children, and we should give them a good education. By education, of course I mean a Christian education; because I am very certain about this—and I am talking that you may remember about this world as well as the next—that Christian education strengthens the intellect as well as the soul, better than mere secular education can. I have heard people laugh at "the man of one book," but in the experience of a long life and a long ministry, I have known poor people—dear friends of mine—who could not even read, but who knew their Bible, and who, notwithstanding the defect of not being able to read, became sensible, intelligent, and refined in their intellect. I am sure the Bible is the very best education a man can be trained up in. I have had the blessing of a good education, and I read perhaps more books than is good for me, but if I were asked if I would have the Bible to teach my mind, or all the other books I have read put together, I would say the Bible. Now I have spoken of these two things: hard hands and hard heads; but what shall we say about hard cash. Some men were born with a silver spoon in their mouths, and to many it was much the worse for them. But if we use our hard hands and our hard heads we may to some extent gain hard cash. But I particularly wish you to notice that we have not only to gain hard cash; the principal

point is how to keep it. There is nothing my fellow countrymen suffer from more at the present time than from their inability to keep the money they earn. The French are an example to the English in this respect. We are very apt to look on the French with some contempt, and as our enemies; but it is good to learn even from enemies; and it is certain that the French peasantry, though so much poorer than our own, yet by greater thrift and prudence, live on the whole more happily, and are able to meet difficulties when they arrive, as was shown so clearly after the Franco-German War. Whereas our people when they get good wages, spend all recklessly, often in self-indulgence, and are all unprepared for the rainy day. In conclusion, I will remind you that blessing on our labours and peace of mind can come only from trust in God, who will bless the labours of those who serve and trust in Him. And once more I say, that a blessing comes down on those who help others in their troubles. "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord." This I believe. First, because the Bible says so. But secondly because through a long life I have seen those most blessed in their own means, who were most liberal to others. It is not only the rich who have the privilege of being able to help the poor. It is just as good for the poor to help those of their neighbours who are more in need than themselves. I know that the working man often does this at great personal self-sacrifice; and I know a case of a former parishioner of my own, who gave nobly from his scanty earnings, week after week, to a sick man in a neighbouring street, who did not even know the name of his benefactor.

The Rev. Canon GEORGE VENABLES, Vicar of Great Yarmouth.

I HAVE suggested to the Church Congress Committee on two or three occasions that they should secure for these meetings one or two addresses from working men, being, of course, *bona fide* members of the Church of England, who should stand upon the platform and tell the clergy and others what I am sure we much desire to know, *viz.*, anything they wish to say, touching the feeling of working men in reference to the Church and Christianity.

By "working men," I mean persons from amongst yourselves, although I do not think that the term exclusively belongs to you, for I believe that I myself work more hours each day than most of you. If ever you succeed in getting a nine hours bill, I hope that you could include the clergy in it. I have no objection to a bill compelling every clergyman to work hard nine hours each day, but I trust it would also forbid our labouring twelve hours daily, as I, and many besides me, are now in the habit of doing. I wish you to understand who I am. As I started to-night from another part of Derby, I enquired the way to the Corn Exchange, and a good natured but wide-awake working man, while directing me which way to take, informed me that there was to be an "overflow" meeting there, and the "big chaps" from the other hall would come over to speak, but that in case of accidental delay, two or three "little chaps" would be at the Corn Exchange "in fear" (that was the term) they should be required. Well, I am the "little chap," and in great fear too.

Something is terribly wrong somewhere. Something is very wrong

here in Derby amongst yourselves, and amongst other people too. Something is terribly wrong all over Great Britain and Europe; and I want to know what is amiss, and where the evil lies. If those amongst you who try to live a life of Christianity are right; if you who pray daily to God, who often worship in Church, who attend to His Word, who frequent the Lord's supper are right, how as to those who altogether do otherwise? Indifference to God; indifference to Godliness. This is the characteristic of the age. Why is it? I will mention two often quoted declarations which greatly help to produce it, and if you will bear with me, I will try in my own way to meet them. The first of these objections is that (they say) "*Prayer is of no good.*" To which I reply by the question: My dear fellow, do you know that? Have you tried? Is there here or elsewhere a man who can come forward and declare that, after being a really, truly, and regularly praying man for years, *he* has arrived at the conclusion that prayer is useless? I have heard many a man declare that prayer was of no good, but not men who had been praying men, and up to this moment I have never found a man of habitual reverential prayer who supported such a declaration. And next, I go much further. I say that it is a reasonable thing and a natural thing to pray. It is natural, for men do it by their very instinct upon the sudden emotion of a terrible alarm, and the man who for years has abstained from supplicating Jehovah, bursts out in exclamations which, however irreverent and however sudden, do bear witness to the natural feeling, that after all there is a God to go to, and a God who can hear and can help. And, I say, that prayer is a very reasonable thing. Is God my Father? Most men confess the Fatherhood of God, whatever else they may deny. Well, a child who wants some gift or favour, a child who needs some counsel or advice, goes to his natural father, and, in simple language, begs the gift, or seeks the favour, or entreats the counsel or direction he requires. You know that. You have done it yourselves. You like your children to do it towards you. And you always attend to their requests. You love them to come thus to you. You hear them, and sometimes, because you love them, you refuse what they ask, and they, though disappointed, recognise that you know better than they, and submit. Sometimes you give what they ask, sometimes in a manner different from their expectations. But you love to be enquired of by them. What then? Am I to believe that God, the great Father, all wise and all knowing, and all powerful, has made Himself the slave, or is the slave of rules and regulations so rigid and inflexible, that He cannot do to me that which every human father can do, and many fathers do, to their entreating children? It is an arrogant declamation, at once unnatural and unreasonable, which tells me that whatever a father may do for his child, God our Heavenly Father can neither hear us, nor grant us what He sees to be best in answer to our prayers. And, if you will let me proceed a little further, there is the other common utterance which I have heard asserted, that "*When we are dead, we are done for.*" Now, first of all, I am strong in the suspicion that this declaration is often wished, but very seldom believed. There be few, indeed, who are confident that there is no responsibility hereafter. However, let us suppose there be some who really think so. That there are men who verily think that the death of the body is the end of the individual, and that "When

he is dead, he is done for," and that there is no future state. Is this declaration of his true, or false? I say, in the first place, that he cannot prove that there is no future, or that he loses responsibility. He cannot prove it. Can he make it probable? Let me consider what I am required to accept, in order to my believing this creed, "Dead—done for." For mark you, a creed it is. The declaration requires belief, as much as does our belief in the resurrection. Well, what is required of me in order to my acceptance of it? In every age, there have been some profound and deep thinkers about, and writers on, a future state. Aided by writings which they deem revelations, they have advanced greatly in their views and expectations concerning the state after death, and have made known the conclusions to which they have been brought. What is their future? They assert that it will consist of an entire absence of everything that causes pain, sorrow, woe, or misery. That what we term sin will be utterly banished; that there will be the presence of every pure and holy joy, and of all that the well regulated heart can wish for. That there is an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. That it is kept or reserved for us, and that we are reserved for it. That there is the absence of all that is bad, the presence of all that is good, and that this future state of glory is for us. And, now what is required of me ere I can accept the creed of "Dead—done for?" I must cast aside all hope of every one of these tremendous and unceasing joys and glories! I must conclude that this creaturely being which I am, is capable here of holy, high moral thoughts, yearnings, longings, and desires, which are but empty shadows, and which can never be realised. All that is best, all that is happiest, all that is highest, all that is holiest in me, is a phantom! Hopes are to be banished, and the loathsome degradation of believing that I am incapable of realising these anticipations is to become my only expectation. Oh! I can feel for and with the thinking man who has his doubts and difficulties, but it demands far more of me to credit this creed of annihilation, than to believe that there is a God who, having implanted these hopes within me, will of His infinite mercy and wisdom, enable me to enjoy them. It is an insult to my reason, and a degradation of the most contemptible character to my moral forces, when any one would persuade me that these aspirations are without foundation, and can never be realised. Account for them if they be untrue. No; I find it much more reasonable to believe "in the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting," than to give credit to the degrading, low, and contemptible utterance of the creed of the infidel—"When we are dead, we are done for!"

TEMPERANCE HALL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 4TH.

The Ven. Archdeacon Sir LOVELACE STAMER in the Chair.

THE CHURCH AND MORALS.

(*a*) MORALITY IN TRADE.
(*b*) MORALITY IN POLITICS.
(*c*) MORALITY IN PRIVATE AFFAIRS.

(*a*) MORALITY IN TRADE.

PAPER.

The Rev. GORDON CALTHROP, Vicar of St. Augustine's, Highbury, London.

THE subject assigned me in this evening's discussion is "The Church in its Relation to the Morality of Trade." I propose to restrict myself to one branch of the subject, and to consider the duty of the clergy—*in their public ministrations*—with regard to the morality of trade.

It is the impression, I believe, with many persons, that the sole business of the clergy, when they stand in their pulpits, is to preach what is commonly called the "Gospel of Christ"—that is to say, to speak with what power they may about the love of God, as shown in that stupendous sacrifice offered upon the Cross at Calvary, and about the power of God as manifested in the life-giving and life-sustaining influences of the Holy Ghost. But when we go beyond the inculcation of these high themes—we are supposed to have wandered out of our province, and in all probability to have degraded our office.

Now, I venture to affirm of the clergy of the Church of England, at least of those of them who are worth anything, that it is their joy and boast to preach Jesus Christ. We have each of us, of course, our own way of doing the thing. Our divergences of opinion and of practice in this respect are far from being inconsiderable. But, surely, we do honestly endeavour, after that fashion which we consider best, so to place the Saviour before the eyes of those entrusted to our spiritual superintendence, so that He shall become a felt necessity to them all, and that they shall all be led up to the point of hearty consecration to His blessed service.

But although we begin here, and thus follow the Divine order of laying the foundation first, we do not think that our commission allows us to stop short at this point. If we understand our duty rightly, we have to deal with the principles involved in the facts which it is our business to announce, and then we have to enter into the practical questions connected with the application of those principles to an ordinary life. I find suggested here a line of thought on which I should like to enter. If we would satisfy our consciences with regard

to the question of morality in trade, we must be decided in the inculcation of principles; and we must also not shrink, on fitting occasions, from a fearless grappling with details, and especially with what we may consider to be the blots and blemishes of commercial practice.

As to what I call principles, we shall have to affirm constantly that there is no department in human life which is not covered by the jurisdiction of Jesus Christ. You have heard, of course, of the common saying—"Business is business." From one point of view, a very harmless truism; from another, it is the expression of a feeling which exercises a painfully powerful influence over the lives of many men, and has led, in innumerable instances, to incalculable mischief. "I like religion very well in its way," said a merchant to a well-known clergyman, "but I cannot tolerate it when it intrudes itself out of its proper sphere into one to which it does not belong." The obvious answer was—"Tell me what part of our life religion does not enter into, tell me what part of our life the Lord Jesus Christ does not claim, and then I may coincide with your view." But the merchant in question expressed a very common sentiment—I do not say an universal one. God forbid! There are amongst the ranks of the great commercial community multitudes of men of stainless integrity, and of the highest Christian principle—men whose word is as good as their bond—and to whom the very thought of a mean or unbrotherly action would be absolutely revolting. But the commercial body is very large, and very multifarious; and it is no lack of charity to affirm that not a few members of it are influenced by the sentiment to which I have referred, and who hold that business is one thing and Christianity altogether another, and that the two things are to be kept resolutely and unmistakably distinct.

The laws of Christ, it is thought, are well enough for certain circumstances; well enough for the Sunday, for the time of sickness, for the hour of death, and well enough when any endeavour is to be made to bring spiritual influences to bear upon the heathen, or upon the "lapsed" masses of our own home population. But when we come to business transactions, why then these laws are too unpractical to work, and indeed were not intended by the Divine Lawgiver to have any real and appreciable authority over human affairs. Very urgently then, very plainly, and very persistently must we insist upon the great fundamental principle—that we all belong to Christ, to Christ and not to another master; and that whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, all is to be done to the praise and glory of God.

We shall find it necessary, also, I think, in our public ministrations, to be plain and significant in claiming—not only the *man* for Christ, but the *world* for God.

Said a friend to me once, when I was urging upon him the grave importance of becoming an attendant at the Holy Communion—"I cannot come; I wish I could." And on my begging for an explanation, he told me that in his line of business—which, as I may say in passing, was a most respectable one—there was so much evil in which he was compelled to be a sharer, so many inevitable violations of the strict law of rectitude perpetually occurring, that he dared not do what yet he felt to be his duty with respect to the dying command of his Lord. And since then I have been assured, not once or twice, but many times,

that in the large centres of industry, where the drive of business is the greatest, and the competition is the keenest—it is simply impossible to maintain a conscience void of offence towards God and man. Men must, it is averred, connive at some wrong, and even practise some wrong, if they would not be swept off their feet by the rush and go to the wall. This is the creed of not a few. *We* see into the fallacy of it We detect it to be, in its essence, an enthronisation of Satan, side by side with the true God and Lord of our life. And surely it is our duty most earnestly to oppose this fallacy. Surely we have to proclaim in unfaltering tones that God, and not the Devil, is the owner of the world; that God will not consent in any way to go shares with the Devil; and that it will be well, in the long run, with all those who can make up their minds to put their trust in God and to do the right. It is true enough that "whatsoever a righteous man does shall prosper." Scripture tells us that the life of the righteous man will be a success, and not a failure. But yet not necessarily a success that can be registered in hard cash, or in honour, or in position, or in the esteem of men. A man succeeds if he preserves a stainless manhood, and submits to no conscious self-degradation, and refuses to bow down before popular idols, and keeps a pure conscience. Above all if, by self-surrender to Christ and submission to the guidance of the Spirit, he makes all life a seed-time, of which he is to reap the full harvest in the coming Eternity. On this we may, nay, we *must*, most strenuously insist.

It will be proper enough to point out that the qualities which a true Christianity sustains—if it does not engender in the soul—qualities such as honesty, uprightness, truthfulness, industry, perseverance, and courtesy, tend in the direction of worldly success. This is all we can say, but we must not exalt integrity as if it were sure to pay—in the worldly sense. The follower of Christ may get on, or he may not. On this point he must learn to be comparatively indifferent. But most jealous must he be to preserve his Christian integrity, and to keep himself unspotted from the world. Let him do that, and his life will not be a failure, either in this world or in the world to come. We have to say all this, and to say it out as boldly, and plainly, and emphatically as we can, but who will believe us? John may cry and shout in the wilderness; but even if his life is in accordance with his crying and shouting, the greater number will flow past him with a sneer or a smile. They have something better to do than to listen to a preacher's fanatical ignorance of the true conditions of human life, for they are engaged in the mighty business of getting on in the world. *But John's business is to cry and shout just the same!*

I pass on to the second point. There are few things that we preachers learn sooner, or feel more painfully, than the powerlessness of these general statements. Possibly even our Lord's own warnings as to the peril which encompass the possession of riches, fall pointless on the hearts of many of those who ought to be affected by them, for who admits himself to be really rich? This condition of the powerlessness of mere general statements drives us to the use of details, as an indispensable weapon of our spiritual warfare. We find that we must in many cases come down to particulars, if we would carry the truth home to the hearts and consciences of our fellow-men. In

opposition then to the views which would restrict our evolutions to the upper air of general principle, we feel that if our work is to be honestly done, we are compelled to descend occasionally into the arena of daily life, principles in hand, and show what bearing these principles have upon men's ordinary conduct. This being so, let us urge, in self-defence, the following considerations.

In the first place our business is, God helping us, to make men feel and apply to themselves the truth of God. It is hard to do this; in some cases it is impossible to do this unless we may deal with practical details.

Again, we are, we know, very poor, feeble, unworthy successors of the prophets, and of the first inspired teachers and preachers of Christianity. No one feels this more keenly than we do ourselves. But for all that our ministerial office has in it, unquestionably, much of the prophetic character. We are called upon to declare the whole counsel and mind of God, so far as they are revealed to us; and we remember that the prophets of old and the writers of the New Testament, when they had laid the foundation of solid, Divine principle, proceeded invariably to the discussion of details. Then as to the invalidation of our judgment. We submit that a man is not necessarily a fool because he wears a white neckcloth and a black coat, and prefixes the word "Reverend" to his name. It is quietly assumed by many that the clergy are incapable of forming a judgment on matters of business. We are put quietly but decidedly aside. The unexpressed thought is—"These men don't know what they are talking about; let them stick to the Gospel." Now we do not accept this treatment as altogether just. To say the least of it, we are accustomed to read the human heart; and it is conceivable that, being outsiders, being in the position of cool and impartial spectators, not flurried and confused with the hot pursuit of success,—we may really see and comprehend more of the moves of the game, and the motives of the players than even those who are engaged in playing it.

I plead, then, for a legitimate handling of details. Perhaps we clergy of the Church of England are in the habit of shrinking too much from this. We are afraid of turning our pulpit into a "Coward's Castle," by attacking those who seem not to be in a position to defend themselves. But that fear, I believe, may be a snare from which it might be well to set ourselves completely free. Why, the laity have their opportunity of reply, and are not slow to avail themselves of it. Those who "sit under" us on a Sunday (to use a phrase more graphic than refined), take it out by "sitting upon us" during the six remaining days of the week. The Press is often ready to open fire, and in some cases is not over friendly to us parsons. And speakers at the Congress, if we happen to let fall an unpopular sentiment—*say about theatres*—are likely enough to hear of it, in a succession of newspaper articles, for five or six weeks after, until we are dropped as being thought worthy of no further notice. I do not object to this. Fair play is a jewel. It would not be well for us to have all the talk to ourselves. And besides, again, we ought to know what the world thinks of us. I do not complain of being criticised. I simply say, that under the conditions of our modern life, the feeling about making our pulpit a "Coward's Castle" is, in many cases, neither more nor less than a bugbear that

we might afford to despise. And yet, on the other side, ought we not, when we grapple with this particular branch of our ministerial work, to be careful, most careful, most anxious how we set about the task? Modern business is a complicated thing. In some cases—cases of simple dishonesty and untruth—our way is plain enough. But in others it is not so. Indeed, occasionally I fancy it is difficult even for an earnest, devout Christian man, engaged in business, to know what he ought to do; and he will have much need for the guidance of that wisdom that cometh from above. We must recognise this. We must have sympathy with our brother—deep sympathy. We must try and put ourselves in his place. We must not speak hastily without examining the matter all round, and really understanding it. We must not draw hard and fast lines, but whilst standing up sturdily for righteousness and truth, yet remember that sometimes circumstances alter cases. We must be wise and loving, we must be strictly fair—fair to all classes alike—to buyer and seller, to capitalist and labourer, to employer and workman, seeing the faults of all and the excellences of all, and speaking of them, when called upon to do so, without fear or favour.

Above all—need I say it in an assembly like this?—we must be ourselves unworldly: not even suspected of grasping at our own advantage, or making it our aim to "get on" in our own calling, if we would give force to our monitions, and win men to the side of the integrity and righteousness of Jesus Christ.

Mr. Herbert Spencer, in one of his works, lamenting the decay of trade-morality amongst us (real or supposed), proposes as a remedy the elevating of the tone of public opinion. Doubtless he is right, so far. But two questions naturally occur. How is public opinion to be raised except by the wider and deeper infusion of Christian principle? And what chance is there that this infusion will be brought about, if the ministers of religion hold themselves, for any reason, aloof from the work?

ADDRESS.

WILLIAM B. FORWOOD, Esq., ex-Mayor of Liverpool.

IN obedience to the invitation conveyed to me by the Committee through the Lord Bishop of Liverpool, I rise for the purpose of saying a few words on this important though difficult subject. The question, as stated on the paper, suggests to us three considerations:—What is morality in trade? Has the standard of morality deteriorated? How far and in what way can it be promoted by the Church?

Perhaps there is no sublimer homage to man's faith in man, and to the integrity and uprightness of mankind, than is afforded by the spectacle of the world's commerce. I would ask you for one moment to pass before you in mental vision, the majestic procession of our commerce; see its argosies covering the mighty ocean expanses, its freight trains flitting hither and thither across kingdoms and continents; see it peopling the bowels of the earth in the search after hidden wealth; listen to the music of its countless spindles and looms which cluster the valleys and hillsides of Lancashire and Yorkshire; see how its iron furnaces illuminate the skies in England, Scotland and Wales; or, trace the story of that piece of calico from the cotton seed

through the hands of the planter, merchant, shipowner, manufacturer, wholesale dealer, and retail shopkeeper, until it reaches the consumer: think of the countless agencies called by it into action; or again, see the crowds of thoughtful, eager, anxious faces who throng our cities and towns, and ask yourselves what it all means. It is commerce—it is the growth, manufacture and distribution of food and raiment. Consider the intensity of competition, the manifold temptations with which men of business are surrounded, and I think you cannot fail to recognise in it a remarkable demonstration of man's integrity and good faith. Well might Dr. Chalmers exclaim —"I do not think either the renown of her victories or the wisdom of her counsellors so signalises the country in which we live as does the honourable dealing of her merchants; all the glories of British policy and British valour are far eclipsed by the splendour which British faith has thrown over the name and character of the nation."

This, then, is the broad view presented to us of the morality of trade. There is, in short, a well merited confidence in the honesty of others prevalent amongst men, and were it not for this all the interchanges of trade would be at an end; this confidence is the very soul and life of commercial activity, and there can only be one standard of morality from which such confidence can take life and form—the constant striving after truth, honesty and uprightness.

It is, I know, fashionable to proclaim against the immorality in trade, and therefore it is necessary to bring into prominence its general integrity. I cannot now enquire how far this is due to the dictates of high moral principles, or how far to the recognition that "honesty is the best policy;" and I am far from wishing to defend many recent innovations, but we have before us the fact of a considerable decrease of what I may call commercial crime—forgery, fraud, embezzlement, false weights and measures, etc., and there has also been a sensible decrease in the number of bankruptcies, which may be taken as an indirect evidence of the prevalence of sounder principles of trade. The average number of bankruptcies in the nine years 1862-70 were 12,800, and in the nine years 1871-79 less than 9,000, so that as far as statistics are available for evidence, there has undoubtedly been some progress in commercial morality.

While thus asserting on behalf of my fellow traders a desire to maintain and perpetuate a high standard of morality in our dealings, and claiming some measure of success, I am not insensible to many shortcomings and a certain deterioration in moral tone. There may be less crime, fewer bankruptcies, and though the honour of the British merchant still stands conspicuously in the foreground, but within this we can trace an increase of speculative feeling, and men in pursuing wealth, openly adopt practices which, though not criminal, are certainly not moral. Many of the recent forms of speculation known as "*syndicates*," "*rings*" and "*corners*," which have reached us from America, are too frequently merely conspiracies to defraud, and for which our criminal law, in its anxiety that the innocent shall not suffer, affords great scope. Continental nations compete with us in our great manufacturing industries, and the severity of this competition has too often led to the adoption of processes in manufacture, which in plain English would be called adulteration; these practices, though they may be as ripples on the great ocean of our trade, and do not interfere with or effect its general solidity—yet it is these ripples which are seen, which men look at, and which take hold of men's minds and produce an impression that our principles are less fixed; and that we excuse to-day what yesterday we should have condemned; the result is a certain lessening of confidence, and a consequent desire to

make men honest by Act of Parliament, to look to a man's collaterals rather than to his character, and to prove by analysis what should be accepted on the good faith of a brand or trademark. The working of this changing system of trade tends to deteriorate the moral tone of traders, and also to intensify competition. Character is the growth of years—collaterals are at the disposal of any successful adventurer; a trademark obtains its name by long use—analysis is indifferent to the manufacturer.

Speculation is not in itself immoral—indeed it is to the speculation and adventure of our traders that we owe our commercial greatness—but an excess of speculative feeling has a distinctly demoralising influence. It unfits men for quiet, steady business pursuits, and too frequently its votaries seek the reward which should flow from the exercise of a calm and sound judgment, rather in the combination or "*ring*," the object of which is to circumvent their brother traders. It is also noticeable that the love of truth is less marked than formerly. We see this in the misrepresentations contained in the invitations issued to the public, to subscribe for capital in new undertakings, and which has forced the legislature to make specific enactments for its protection.

The increase of speculative feeling is due to two causes: excessive private expenditure, and the loose, desultory education which so many of our men of business receive, which indisposes them to the continuous mental exertion and labour necessary to achieve success in ordinary business callings. This loose system of education has also another evil tendency—it fails to train youths in the habit of exactness, and begets a certain carelessness in thought and action, which I fear is too frequently the parent of untruth. It is a remarkable fact that in this commercial country so many of our young men destined to deal with those mighty weapons for weal or for woe, capital and credit, receive an education inferior in its gymnastic power upon the mind to that which the State now places at the disposal of every ploughboy. This brings me to the last point, which time will only allow me to mention very briefly: — The deterioration of our artisans, not in skill nor in ability, but in their willingness to render an honest day's work, and their disregard for the obligations entered into with their masters. It is not so much the advances of wages, as the decrease in the productiveness of our daily labour, which handicaps us in our competition with foreign countries. This scamping of work and the continued strife in regard to wages, have doné much to destroy that identity of interest and that feeling of sympathy, which at one time so happily subsisted between employers and employees, and which contributed so largely to the welfare of the country.

I have now brought before you certain distinct tendencies to deterioration which, if not checked, threaten to undermine our national character for honour and integrity. The cry of the day is for Acts of Parliament. We have laws for the punishment of crime and for the protection of property; the call is still for more legislation, until our thirst for legislation as the panacea for all evils, threatens to rob us of that liberty which has so long been the pride of Englishmen. Already the factory owner and the shipowner conduct their business by Act of Parliament, and the moral responsibility which should rest on their shoulders is now assumed by the Board of Trade. This is not the way, however, to raise the standard of morality. Men are upright and honest in proportion as they realise their responsibilities; morality can be promoted by bringing home to men's minds these obligations, not by transferring them to others. Where legislation, however, must fail, the Church must succeed if true to her mission, for just in proportion as the love of God abounds, so will man's integrity to man prevail.

There was a time not very far distant when the Church enforced religion from her pulpits by the fear of Satan and the fiery furnace. Happily to-day a juster appreciation of the mercy of the Almighty prevails; we have more light and more sweetness, and are taught that the love of God constraineth us from evil, and this by appealing to man's noblest parts, has lifted him into a higher life, and we have in consequence a great growth of religious life and thought and activity. What has been done for religion can be done for morality, if men are brought to realise their responsibility to God in their week-day avocations, as they recognise their duty to Him in their observance of the ordinances of the Church. Unfortunately the tendency in religion is towards emotionalism, the narcotic influence of which deadens the sense of responsibility, without which morality becomes a matter of profession rather than of practice; thus, I fear, the profession and observance of religion on the Sunday has greatly outstripped the practice of its precepts on the week-day. Why is this? Is it not partly traceable to the neglect of the power of the pulpit? Is it not becoming the fashion to look rather to the beautiful rendering of our unrivalled liturgy, to give point and completeness to our Church services, and to attach less and less value to the sermon? True, our sublime liturgy is full of teaching of encouragement and consolation, but its lessons require enforcing; are they always enforced from the pulpit with that power and directness which a deep sympathy and knowledge of our daily life and its surroundings alone can give? Are its words of warning and encouragement carried into our hearts so as to lead and support us through the week with its many temptations? All the eventful epochs of our life are interwoven and hallowed by the familiar words of our liturgy—now intermingling with the merry music of marriage bells—now as the voice of one that comforteth when reft and riven hearts gather round the door of the house appointed for all living; but while they thus speak gladness to those who rejoice and comfort to those who mourn, they are equally full of strength and help to those who amid the hum and bustle of the Exchange, mart, or workshop are fighting the battle of life. But do we hear in our daily round of busy toil, the still small voice ever whispering to us that grand moral precept, "Do unto others as you would be done by"? I fear that this great practical out-come of a religious life is not enforced with sufficient frequency and power. It is eminently the duty of the Church to bring home to her sons and daughters the duty of man to man, to teach us our individual responsibility—

> "To thine own self be true,
> And it must follow as the night the day,
> Thou can'st not be false to any man:"

and to realise that we are God's stewards of the talents committed to our care.

There is also a duty incumbent upon us laymen: it is in our power to check the weakening of the moral fibre in trade. The old proverb, "nothing succeeds like success," is very true of our day; the successful accumulation of wealth covers a multitude of sins. We are too ready to forget the means by which fortunes are made, provided they are large enough to dazzle by their splendour, or buy our homage by their sumptuous patronage. The heritage of "good faith" which has come down to us from our forefathers is a gift of priceless value; it has done more to build up this great empire than all its fleets and armies; it is a trust which we hold for our children. Then let us as patriots cherish the trust; let us as fathers hold it dear as the best inheritance we can leave for our children and our children's children.

(*b*) Morality in Politics.

PAPER.

The Rev. Harry Jones, Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral.

I have no doubt but that some have been perplexed, if not pained, by the title of the subject set before the Congress this evening. Seen in some lights it suggests a division between the Church and Morals, across which one could treat with the other. It looks as if there were two powers, to be counted as independent, between which an alliance is desirable, though not always realised. Surely, however, they cannot be independent. As they are separated they are both maimed or spoiled. A church without morality is a dead corpse, which may be ecclesiastically galvanised, but is unable to discharge the functions of true spiritual life. And morality severed from the laws of the kingdom of heaven is inconceivable, at least to Christians, after the revelation of that kingdom. Seen in their reality, the Church and Morals are inseparable.

And this truth is conspicuous in respect to politics. Trade and private affairs are only branches and twigs of the political trunk. The relation of the Church to politics, and its influence upon political morality, is of the closest, widest, and most deeply radical source. It is true that in these days we sometimes hear men speak of the union of Church and State as forced or unnatural, but it is their separation which is unnatural. As they are healthy they must draw their blood from the same heart, and their severance really involves an amputation which cannot be performed without a draining and dismembering of the body to which they belong. Of course, in an unhealthy body, dangerous operations may be necessary; but the highest ideal of Church and State presents them as virtually united, sharing the same principles of action. I do not forget that this ideal is grievously marred by the narrow formulated views taken of the Church and State by some of their friends and enemies. Still we are called to look high and aim high, in all our estimates of and dealings with Church and State; and we must all admit that as the State is pure, as the motives of those who bear rule in it are noble and unselfish, so much the nearer does it resemble a church whose focal principle is self-sacrifice, and that as the Church is devoted to the following after truth, righteous ministration, and the generous recognition of diversity of spirit which marks Divine guidance and true catholicity, so union with it is more needful to the State. It is only when the Church comes to mean the clergy, and the State the administration, that we can realise their division. It is only as the Church and State are diseased and unlovely that we must talk of their separation. Good couples do not think of divorce. But though every honest man would desire and help to promote such a healthy union as I have spoken of—and more is wrought by suggestive germinating individual effort than this committee-worshipping world knows of—we must look at things as they are, and see what attitude may best be taken by the Church in its corporate capacity and by individual action. In respect to its corporate way, I, for one, venture to think it much to be deplored that the bishops, who are said to represent the Church in the Legislature, take so small a part as they do in

general political questions. By their absence or abstinence, when these are debated, they encourage a belief in the virtual separation of the Church from the State. The best reply to those who deprecate their presence in the Legislature would be supplied by their continuous and obvious usefulness in promoting morality in politics; by the Christian tone given by them to questions of universal interest. Again, I think that more should be attempted by Convocation. That venerable body —be it said with all respect—should strike wider-sounding, deeper notes, and ring fewer ecclesiastical hand-bells. It would be no despicable contribution to the advancement of political morality if the chief representative body of the Church of this powerful nation were, for instance, to record and widely publish a plea for international arbitration. There are other ways in which it could plead for righteousness as between nations. We are too apt to accentuate the charm of the blessing asked for in the petition, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by God's governance, that His Church may joyfully serve Him in all godly quietness. Might not the Church contribute more to the godly quietness of the world?

I will not dwell over this aspect of corporate Church influence, but, contracting the field of vision, ask you to look with me at the attitude of the individual Churchman in respect to politics. That of the layman, as he is called, need not occupy us long. Though his political interests be sometimes highly coloured by zeal in a passing strain of ecclesiastical legislation, he is expected to have, and takes, great concern in general questions of national policy. No one thinks that he thereby loses caste as a Churchman. And as he is a good member of so large and comprehensive a body as the Church, as he realises what is involved in Church membership, he seeks after righteousness rather than sectarian victory in all his public and private political work.

But it is not altogether thus in respect to the clergyman. A feeling has crept in amongst some that a clergyman had best abstain from what are called politics. They would, perhaps, say that he does well to support morality in trade, as he finds occasion, and certainly to do all that he can to promote it in private affairs. There, some would assert, he works plainly within his limits, but at the risk of his legitimate influence he engages in political strife. It would be difficult to point to a more radically mischievous mistake, or one that, according to the measure of its influence, has done the Church and the State more harm. Surely an officer in the kingdom of God should feel the keenest interest in the conduct of the world on its largest lines. Is he to take no concern in the great historical and history-creating movements of a people, and confine himself at most to the crises of a vestry? Is he to content himself with the manipulation of a parish, the culture of a penny bank, the harmony of a choir, and the annotating of a "Speculum Gregis?" Is he thus to sit still in his study, and walk calmly about his pastoral fields, while the great world debates, trades, and fights? Surely, in so far as a parson has a liberal or "University" education—and this catholicity in the very terms of his old studentship should suggest something—as he is anywise conversant with the greater pulsations of the past and present, there is little in which he will take more interest than "Morality in Politics." Here he will feel that he has need of the exercise of his sacred office. Here, specially, he asks and uses the grace of the

kingdom of heaven. Political and international morality are only right and wrong on a grand scale, and it would be grotesquely strange if the laws of the kingdom of heaven belonged to the retail and not also to the wholesale of human intercourse. Are politics degrading? Have they anywhere acquired such evil reputation that the man who would have clean hands must touch them with gloves? Then it is because they have been severed from the higher influences in the government of God. It is part of the clergyman's duty to protest against such degradation, not as one who scolds over the hedge of a field which he does not enter, but as a man who is personally concerned in, and affected by, that which is being done, and bravely mixes in the crowd. And any reader of the New Testament might see that it is not alien to the character of a minister of Christ to find himself in the midst of a multitude while he is discharging his ministry well.

So much for the general attitude of the clergyman towards politics. I believe that these are the principles upon which he should carry himself in respect to them.

But there are particular modes in which these principles may be applied, and to a consideration of these I now invite your attention.

In promoting political morality, one practicable leading duty of the Church, speaking by great or small, is to affirm constantly that there is such a thing. It seems hard that this lesson should be needed. But it is needed. Even some of those who are moral in trade and private life are lax in politics. In political business we have to do with parties rather than individuals, and it seems as if directly men began to deal with corporate issues their moral sight became dimmed. They accept, not merely as a reproach to their adversaries, but as a guide for themselves, the delusive and degrading formula that a corporation has no body to be kicked or soul to be damned. The sense of responsibility seems to be dissipated if it cannot be put on particular shoulders, or as if a fractional fault involved its own absolution. In politics, moreover, men are committed to distinct battles, and then another mischievous proverb comes tainting their souls with the words, "All is fair in love and war." So they back the Buffs and hate the Blues. They hold to the one and despise the other with a vehemence which obliterates the nicer shades of righteous perception. Again, in the bustle of political business there is an inevitable loosening of social conservatism; and, as men innocently help themselves from the table when a house is over full of guests, say, at a wedding or a burial, so in a political crisis the greedy soul guiltily lays his hand on any pickings which seem to be loose. There are so many plausible excuses for common mischievous departures from political morality, that it is too likely to be lost sight of even by ordinarily decent people. Thus, the clergyman is imperatively called to affirm its very existence, and to show that it is impossible for individuality to be lost in corporate action. Let him teach that no one is obscure or unimportant. The attainment of victory depends at last upon the courage and endurance of the private soldier, and that which exalteth a nation is the righteousness of the individual, whether he work in company or alone.

And the clergyman will do more than talk. He will not let his colours hang limp from the mast during indifferent calms, and haul them down when the wind rises, but he will fly them when the political

gales blow. He will not wince at a crisis, and try to make things pleasant to old women of both sexes by then falling out of the ranks of men. The clergyman might not infrequently do more than he has dared, and they might be just such deeds as call out and fix the moral character of a place. There is nothing which, in its way, sends a more wholesome draught through a parish than the perception that the parson has the courage of his opinions. Though as a prominent man, with influences vaguely conceived to be occult, he might be pardoned for not taking a side when the parish is sharply divided, if he simply but plainly says what he thinks, he sets forward, not himself, but the cause of political morality. Cordially as he may dislike the sneaking safety of the ballot, he will not only vote for his man, though with his head in a box, as if he were pawning his individuality, but he will plead on the highest grounds with his fellows that, in the simple discharge of their duty as Christian citizens, they are bound to exercise their rights as electors. The people are, in these realms, mainly responsible for the fabric of the Legislature, and thus for the legislation of their country. It is to be regretted, for the credit of the Church, as well as for the good of the commonwealth, that, as there is a distinct political interpolation in the catechetical summary of our duty, some reference is not made to the Christian responsibility of the citizen as well as to his obedience. Anyhow, as the clergyman desires political morality he will plead strenuously for its existence and observance, especially at political crises, and by a fearless exercise of political rights. He will not be afraid for the sneer that in so doing he takes a lower level than his profession directs, or steps beyond the limit of his calling. On the contrary, he is in strict discharge of his duty when he reminds his fellow-citizens of theirs, and helps them to perform it. Thus he makes religion to be with them a real thing, not to be thrust aside in periods of political eagerness, but needing then to be specially employed. It is at these times that men eminently require to be reminded that their religion calls and helps them to keep good faith in controversy, and to resist the moral malaria which then is sure to rise. Just in so far as a clergyman realises that he has cure of souls, he will then be found on the paddle-box of his parish, helping to promote its true course, lustily protesting against all underhand procedure, and the imputation of evil motives; pleading for fair play, and a brave, unselfish discharge of political rights.

There is one other point on which the minister of the Church is bound to insist, and that is, liberty for a man to change or correct his political views. Some men so fear being twitted with subjection to expediency, that they are checked in honest learning. But, remembering that we know only in part, there is no greater Christian law than that we should seek for and apply fresh light upon any matter in which we are concerned. It is true liberality and true conservatism to acknowledge and accept this from whatever quarter it may come. There are, indeed, people smart in raking up their old sayings against prominent politicians of all so-called parties, and sneering at them for a desertion of principle, if they do not always sing the old songs to exactly the same old tunes; but there is no deeper principle upon which to go, no surer bottom on which to stand, than a willingness to learn, and, if necessary, to alter an opinion. To keep his current political morality

sweet, a man must dare so to carry himself before a sneering world, and it is surely the work of a Church which is promised a spirit guiding into all truth, to help him in this course.

(*c*) Morality in Private Affairs.

PAPER.

The Rev. Canon Farrar, D.D., St. Margaret's, Westminster.

The subject assigned to me is difficult, both from its breadth and indefiniteness, and because it has never yet been dealt with in a Church Congress paper. On the other hand, it is also difficult from its familiarity; for among the tens of thousands of sermons yearly preached in England, an immense number are (I suppose) devoted, in one form or another, to the treatment of this theme. It cannot, of course, be intended that I should speak of flagrant violations of the moral law—of dishonesty, of drunkenness, of the evil passions which fill the streets of our great cities with multitudes of the living dead. Of these I will only say that if ever a Christian—still more, if one who bears the vessels of the sanctuary—should be entangled in any such crime, his guilt is doubly great; doubly, because standing in a fuller light he casts a deeper shadow, and because the fall of such an one is "as when a standard-bearer fainteth." His guilt breaks down men's confidence in the power of religion; it deepens in them that secret conviction, which we know to have been held by some of the basest of mankind, that there is no such thing as virtue, except in name; and that the semblance of holiness means nothing but the perfection of hypocrisy. But it is a solemn question for us all, whether a tendency to despair of good, and to acquiesce in evil, may not be produced on a yet vaster scale by unfaithfulness, of which all but the very fewest are guilty, by the *aggregate* failure of Christian men to show in their true development the virtues which the world secretly honours, even when it openly persecutes. In old days the most striking and irrefragable argument of Christians as a body was, as Tertullian states it, "*Nos soli innocentes sumus.*" All the world could see that their life, their conduct, their ideal was indescribably more pure and heavenly than that of the pagans around them. The brightness of their example struck into their enemies a deeper panic than the splendour of their Labarum. This it was which added to them a—

> "Grace
> Invincible. Abashed the Devil stood
> And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
> Virtue in her shape how lovely."

To a certain extent this was also true amid the confusions and corruptions of the Middle Ages. They still produced multitudes of men who were true saints—men who, not in empty conventional metaphor, but in most literal fact, gave up for Christ's sake father, mother, house, lands, home, and all things. Such were the sacrifices which gave to weakness that irresistible might which shook the world. This it was—the proved reality and intensity of faith, as an absorbing motive, as a determining power in the life of man—which gave to the Church that strength which

humbled Henry IV. of Germany before the feet of the aged Pope at Canossa, and which forced Barbarossa to—

> "Take his mantle off
> And, kneeling, on his neck receive the foot
> Of the proud Pontiff."

Wherever the faith of Christ has been sufficiently real to inspire an absolute unworldliness, a genuine self-denial, and not the mere talk of it by men who live in the very ease and plentitude of a comfortable domesticity—there the Gospel has lost no iota of its power. Compare the numberless and illustrious examples of self-sacrifice in those earlier ages with the general condition of the Church in the eighteenth century. How could the Church be strong in days when leading ecclesiastics thought nothing of enriching themselves and all their families out of her spoils; when her rulers left all over their dioceses the fatal traces of their nepotism, greed, and pride; when many of them were only startled out of their faithless somnolence to oppose every great moral and spiritual effort for the amelioration of mankind? We may be humbly thankful that the wind of God has breathed over these slain. But in the days when religion still "walks in silver slippers," we must all be on our guard lest we too be suffering good and evil to be lying flat together side by side in amicable neutrality instead of being locked in the grip of deadly struggle. If men see that we who call ourselves Christians are as hard as others are to drive a bargain; and as keen to resent an injury; and as bitter to cherish a grudge; and as cowardly to express an opinion; and as anxious to grasp an advantage; and as eager to join in hounding down an unpopular name; if men can ever fairly charge us, the clergy, with a timid and time-serving conventionalism which is afraid to face truth, and, from fear of loss or trouble, is eager only "to steer through the channel of No-meaning, between the Scylla and Charybdis of 'Yes' and 'No':" if, in fact, we show that we are not really better than the world in general, but only profess more loudly that we ought to be so—so long will morality in private affairs be but a κάλλος κακῶν ὕπουλον—a surface iridescence which does but film a stagnant pool. Let us all beware lest we should take ourselves to be not what we *are*, but only what we *profess* to be; as though a drunkard should go about with a soiled blue ribbon in his button-hole by way of persuading himself and others that he is still an abstainer. The words we use are fraught with awful significance. We call ourselves sons of God: it is "an immense pretension." He who is in Christ is καινὴ κτίσις—"a new creation." How many show to the world any indisputable proofs of this new nature? How many do we know whom we could call saints of God? And yet "*In vacuum gratiam Dei recipit qui in Novo Testamento non novus est*"—"He receives the grace of God in vain who in the New Covenant is not a new man."

1. But, to descend from generals into particulars, let me take one or two illustrations of what I mean.

And first, let me touch on the subject of *money*—its acquisition and its use. We all know how all but universal is the degrading worship of wealth; the ignoble love of pleasure; the senseless extravagance of display and luxury. Thousands of men make immense fortunes; and, as they make them, they go on adding house to house and field to field; they keep daubing themselves with thicker and ever thicker clay, and if it so much as occurs to one or two millionaires—without the curtailment

of a single luxury, without the result of a single perceptible inconvenience —to render with their superfluous thousands some conspicuous benefit to their fellow men, we greet them with a burst of admiration, as though such virtues were rare as the phœnix. And a simular line of conduct is followed in its degree by multitudes who are not greatly wealthy. They do with their fifties what the rich do with their thousands. They cannot rise, as our Offertories show, so high as the martyrdom of half-crowns. As has been so inimitably said by the great Nonconformist preacher, they will shout at the top of their voices—

> "Were the whole realm of nature mine,
> That were an offering *far* too small;"

while all the time they are fumbling in their pockets to see that they do not make the irreparable mistake of giving a fourpenny piece for a threepenny! How few there are who show their conviction that there are nobler means of investment than in the Three per Cents! But ought it to be so? To me, I confess, that when I read even the lowest estimate of our national wealth, the sum total of our vaunted charities furnishes, not a proof of our self-denial, but a measure of our indifference. And when I see on every side the weary waste of men's souls in the sordid struggle to get and spend, I think of nothing so much as of that pitchy lake in Dante, with the bubbles on its restless surface which were the escaping sighs of the multitudes who lay weltering beneath. How many, who, if they have neither sinfully got nor sinfully spent their money, yet being of those who have sinfully loved it, will have to join in that wail of penitence in the Purgatorio: "My soul cleaveth to the dust; quicken thou me!" How few men prove by shining example that they have had the courage to break up this base and gilded idol of the market-place and to call it Nehushtan. I know that this scraping up of money is excused as not being due to personal avarice. I am quite aware that it is often due to that domestic selfishness which has originated the terrible proverb that "your ordinary father of a family is capable of anything." But after all this *egoïsme à plusieurs* is but a thin expansion of the *egoïsme à soi*. At the best it is "right earth." And when we remember what our Lord said, and what St. James said, and what all Scripture says of the peril and worthlessness of riches; when we remember that once only throughout all the Epistles of St. Paul does the word "riches" mean earthly wealth, but always the possession of spiritual gifts, as though to a Christian no other conception of wealth were possible —ought there not to be more Christians, who, even when they might be rich, prefer for Christ's sake, the beatitude of self-chosen poverty; more great souls who are content to live in small houses; more of the magnanimity by which we may make of straitened circumstances and mean details "the field of endless nobleness and fidelity" to ourselves, to one another, and to God?

2. Again, in private affairs, even in what is called religious society, how grievous and glaring are the evidences of *pride*. Humility, as it is the most Christ-like, so it is quite the least common of Christian virtues; the rarest of violets which, as one has said, can only be plucked at the foot of the cross. Till the Gospel came, the very word humble (ταπεινὸς) meant "abject, contemptible;" but our Lord and His Apostles as they altered the meaning of many words, degrading some from their applauded

pre-eminence, uplifting others from undeserved contempt—so they glorified this word by applying it meekly to themselves. Pride—pride of heart—pride of life—pride of bearing—has come, even in the Christian Church, to call itself "proper pride." Elevated by the inch-high distinctions, which alike in Church and State are quite as often the prizes of accident as of merit, do we not daily see how—

> "Man, proud man,
> Drest in a little brief authority
> Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
> As makes the angels weep?"

So universal, indeed, is the spirit of pride and self-assertion that perhaps you will hardly even recognise the right of humility to take its place in "the Morality of Private Affairs." And yet the lack of humility among Christians is the cause of half our moral impotence. Pride and vanity, this sin of many names—the consequential bearing—the easily irritated sense of self-importance—the conceit of knowledge without the reality—the supercilious assumption of greater intellect and wider learning—pride and vanity and conceit observable in the mere look and gait of men whom we meet in the streets—the pride which breathes so naturally through our literary, social, and religious criticism—pride expressed by "the insolent epithet, the insolent and intolerant contempt, the insolent claim of superiority and strength"—leaves its evidences through the whole of society:—

> "And what with spites and what with fears,
> They cannot let a body be;
> It's always ringing in their ears:
> They call this man as good as me!"

But of this we may be sure, that when pride thus lies like a worm at the root of the tree, that tree may be richly covered with the glossy leaves of profession and of hypocrisy, but it will produce no fruit.

And if, at this Church Congress, we are discussing "Morality in Private affairs" as a thing which bears directly upon the influence of the Church, let me remind you of the deadly damage inflicted on the English Church in its very earliest days by the unconscious pride of St. Augustine of Canterbury. At his first interview with the British bishops he rebuked them with "increpations." At the second interview an old hermit advised them to accept Augustine if he were a man of God. "But how are we to know," they asked, "that he is a man of God?" "The Lord hath said," replied the hermit, "'Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.' . . . . If instead of being meek, Augustine is a proud, haughty man, it is clear that he is not of God. If he should rise up to meet you as you draw near to him, accept him for your leader. If he should treat you with contempt and not rise to meet you, let him be by us contemned." They came. Augustine continued seated. They were alienated; they would concede nothing, and Augustine again lost his temper. The story contains a stern moral for us all. "Happy," adds the historian of the Archbishop of Canterbury, "happy is the public character who has not been hurried by party feeling into violence which he has afterwards regretted; happier still the man who has never damaged himself and a sacred cause by giving way to the ebullitions of temper." Every one of us as Christians—but most of all

those who hold any office or administration in the Church—should ever bear in mind the rule of St. Peter—"Be ye clothed with humility;" tie humility about your loins as with a girdle of knotted cords.

3. I turn to one more sphere wherein "Morality in Private Affairs" is grievously lacking—I mean in the *use of speech*. If religion lies neither in ritual scrupulosity nor in technical orthodoxy; if the end of the commandment be love out of a pure heart; if it be to edify one another, to think of all our brethren as one in Christ; each to esteem other better than himself; gently to correct the erring; to instruct the ignorant; to raise the fallen; and to do all the good we can to all—then it is one of the worst blots on the religion and therefore on the morality of this age that it is an age of universal gossip, scandal, and spite. It is simply impossible to estimate the anguish which has often been caused, as by the poison of asps, to the defenceless victims of this social serpentry:—

"Calumny, sir (says the well-known passage in a modern play), you hardly know what you are despising. . . . . Believe me, there is no sort of wickedness you cannot make idlers believe if you set the right way about it. First a little humming sound, skimming the ground like a swallow before the storm. . . . . *Pianissimo*, *pianissimo*, murmuring and buzzing, and spreading the poison as it goes. A breath catches it up; *piano*, *piano*, it glides into your ears adroitly. The harm is done; it takes root; it climbs; it travels. . . . . Then, all at once, you hardly know how, you see it raising its head, hissing, swelling itself out, growing monstrous under your very eyes. It rises; takes its flight; whirls round you; clutches you; drags you along; bursts forth and thunders, and becomes, Heaven help us! a general shriek; a universal chorus of hatred and proscription."

If, as the Rabbis said, the daily incense of the tabernacle was meant to atone for slanders spoken in a whisper, then what clouds of incense could suffice to purify our slander-poisoned air? And, has the so-called religious world much less need of the thurible than the secular? Do clergymen always speak and write of one another with charity? Have the numbers of Christian sects and Christian cliques no need of the exhortation μὴ στενάζετε κατ' ἀλλήλων, "groan not at one another"? May we not see in party newspapers how these Christians can hate one another? If we wish to read judgments dictated by the spirit of faction and not of truth; if we wish to know how religious professors can revel in a systematic misrepresentation which is not only without chivalry, but without the commonest courtesy or the commonest candour, need we go farther than the anonymous writings of men who not only pose as champions of the cause of Christ, but even as the exclusive representatives of transcendent othodoxy?—

"Fagot and stake were desperately sincere;
Our cooler martyrdoms are done in types."

Do such writers imagine that there is in such matters *no* Morality in Private Affairs? Do they deem that their sins will never find them out because hand joins in hand? Do they imagine that the mask of the anonymous is a screen from the eye of God?

I have time but for one word more. Reams of criticism have been written of late about the Salvation Army. Men have asked the secret of its success, real or imaginary, vast or exaggerated. The secret of its success, so far as there has been any reality in its success, is not far to seek. It lies in a less conventional standard, and a more thorough self-denial. "They ask me for secrets of the Christian life," said St. Francis de Sales: "for myself I know no secret save to love God with all our

hearts, and our neighbour as ourselves." There is no magic about that success; but it may perhaps prove to us that we need a revival more deep, more searching, more absolute, not only in the world, but among professing Christians. It is in vain to ask "Where is the Lord God of Elijah?" The Lord God of Elijah, of Nehemiah, of John the Baptist, of Savonarola, of Luther, of Wesley and Whitfield, is where He was, and where men like these His servants are; His arm is not shortened; but there are lacking, among His prophets and His saints, men in whose heart His fire burns. It is not a nominal orthodoxy, it is not a fussy activity, it is not a party organisation, it is not a hallowed or venerable shibboleth, least of all is it a veneer of sanctimonious profession over lives radically worldly, which can ever in any nation elevate Morality in Private Affairs. It is only when the mantle of Elijah is wielded by the prophet's hand, and with the prophet's faith, that the opposing flood of immorality will be parted for the feet of those who, like Baxter, "desire to go to heaven every day," and who, even in this life, would fain see in the world at least some faint adumbration of the City of God.

To conclude. The hypocrisy which is so habitual and so profound that it does not even know itself to be hypocritical; the religion which is so false that it partly takes itself for truth; the championship which, as though it were exempted by zeal from moral restrictions, complacently uses the execrable weapons of falsity and hatred—the evil tempers and fierce quarrels of rival forms of bigotry—these constitute a worse danger to religion, and therefore to morality, than that speculative atheism of which the extent is greatly exaggerated. The man who, with the Prayer Book always in his hand, and the Bible constantly on his lips, is yet untrustworthy in his dealings, selfish in his aims, uncharitable in his judgments, envious in his habit of incessant depreciation; the man who, claiming the name of Christian, is fawning and cringing to his superiors, indifferent to his equals, a tyrant in his home; the man who, elevated by some petty rank, looks down upon his betters from the whole height of his inferiority; the man who, caring only to seem and not to be, hides the heart of the worldling under the cassock of the priest—that man knows nothing of what we should all mean by "Morality in Private Affairs." For by the Christian standard of such morality I do not mean such a conventional and decorous respectability as satisfies the world, but I mean that perfect simplicity and sincerity which in its most secret actions—yea, and down to the very depths of its personality—remembers that it lies ever naked and open to an Eye which is ten thousand times brighter than the sun. The great rivers of India are fed by the Himalayas, which uplift into the aerial ocean their eternal snows; even so the highest morality can only be derived from one Divine source, and can only consist in the imitation of one Divine example. It requires nothing less than the whole swing of the sea beyond the harbour-bar to give its few inches of advance to each separate wave; and the papers of a thousand Church Congresses, and the lives of a million conventional Christians, cannot give either to morals or to religion one tittle of that intense inspiration or that irresistible impulse which it may derive from the weakness of one hated and persecuted saint. "*O God!*" exclaimed Lacordaire, "*O God! give us saints!*" Give us men who are dauntless, humble, self-sacrificing; men who are not pale in goodness and faintly dyed in integrity; men who aim at something

higher and more heroical in religion than conventionalism affecteth; men whose lives pour silent contempt on gold. Such men are the strength of Churches, the bulwark of creeds. But where are they? If once a Church cease to produce these, no matter how magnificent her revenues, no matter how splendid her Offices, no matter how numerous her nominal adherents, her candlestick is doomed sooner or later—and sooner, I fear, rather than later—to be removed out of its place.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. GEORGE EVERARD, Wolverhampton.

I SHRINK from speaking at any length after that eloquent oration to which we have all been delighted to listen; but allow me to say a few words on immorality in trade. Two merchants are sitting together at the dinner-table. The glass of wine is passed freely round and the tongue of one is loosened, and he begins to speak of how cleverly he has wrapped goods that pay customs in goods that do not, and so has passed them through the Spanish Custom House without paying a single farthing on them; and he goes on to say how easy it is to get rid of goods that are not altogether perfect to certain customers whom you can easily deal with in a clever sort of way. His friend at the table patiently waited till he had finished, and then said, "I think I may say I have had as large transactions in business as you have, and I can honestly say before God that I have never wilfully cheated the Custom House of a single farthing, or dishonestly dealt with a single customer." I think, dear friends, that is the sort of morality we want, and it seems to me that we want to be careful in trade in many directions. It is not in the greater matters of trade, but in the lesser matters that there comes in this immorality. The business lie to cover some defect in goods, the bribe, it may be to a rival's servant, to tell a business secret, and a thousand other little matters of common trade transactions are known by all who are much connected with business—and I have been connected with business myself. May I mention another matter which has not been touched upon to-night; I mean the immense harm done by persons willingly leaving for months or years debts unpaid. Oh, the misery of numbers of small tradesmen on account of those with ample means leaving the bill, which has been sent in perhaps a year or two before, unpaid; though again and again requests for payment have been made. I was once much struck with a clergyman's boldness. He once had before him a large assembly of wealthy people, and amongst them a great many ladies with very handsome bonnets. He was speaking of debts, and he said, "I see a good many handsome bonnets here; are they all paid for?" I think, sometimes, if, to our congregations, we spoke out more plainly on these practical matters of daily life we should do a great deal of good. There is another trade matter of great importance; I mean the Bankruptcy Court. What numbers and numbers of persons pass for wonderfully good Christians; but what are they? Thieves. "Thief" is written on their backs. They have got white-washed by the Bankruptcy Court; but they have robbed widows and tradesmen of thousands of pounds, and never, for a moment, think of paying their old debts. It is a strange thing, but it is looked upon as an act of self-denial, if a man, after passing through the Bankruptcy Court, made a fortune and paid his back debts. It is the duty of every man to do it, though he may have escaped the legal consequences through the Bankruptcy Court. Then, may I add, that we must be careful in our preaching to maintain morality in trade and private affairs and all else. There are thousands and tens of thousands of books about Progress, containing wonderfully grand ideas of what is to be in the future, but when we come to study them, their morality is of the earth, earthy, with nothing at the bottom but utilitarianism. I say if we want to preach morality, and to preach it with success, we must ever take care to show that it rests on Revelation; if it does not rest on the truth of Revelation we shall find it has no strength, it has no power. There are several reasons why I feel we must have Revelation as the basis of morality. We have *no right pattern* otherwise, the pattern of the day is constantly changing. The fact of a book scattered broadcast, it may be, has a great effect in raising or lowering the standard of morality. The court of a Godly or an an immoral sovereign—and thank God for the moral tone of our own court—has a tremendous effect on the standard of morality throughout the

country; and unless we go back to the written law of God, back to the pattern of our blessed Master's life, to the teaching of the sermon on the mount, and whatsoever is given in the Word of God, we have no fixed standard, and every day we are at the mercy of a thousand accidents to lower the standard of morality amongst us; neither have we, nor can we have, the *right principle* or sufficient power: the right principle—the fear of God and the love of Christ; the right power—the mighty power of God's Holy Spirit in the heart to overcome selfishness, envy, avarice, and the various evil passions of the human heart. I shall close with one incident, and I have done:—A man, a blacksmith, has a drinking wife. He is a godly man. He goes home one morning to his breakfast and finds the fire unlit, and everything in discomfort. He loses his temper; he takes up a weapon, and as he was a strong, powerful man, in a moment could he use it too successfully. He raised the weapon against the wife of his bosom, but as he lifted it his hand fell, and he ran into the other room, fell upon his knees, and besought the Lord to keep him from murder. He then went out without his breakfast, and to the first lad he met he said, "My lad, dost thou love Jesus Christ." I don't know what the lad answered, but the man said, "Jesus Christ to-day has kept me from being a murderer." This incident led the lad to his Saviour.

The Rev. WM. RANDALL, Rector of Handsworth, Staffordshire.

So much has already been said on this subject that I intend to say but little, and shall not delay you long. I understand the question to be the dealing of the *Church* with Morals; and I may be excused if I say that the interesting papers to which we have listened with so much attention have dealt principally with the duties of the clergy with regard to morals; and I may be permitted to repeat what is a truism, that the clergy do not constitute the Church. They are only a part of the Church. It is our duty to teach morals and to practise morals, but it is the duty of the laity to hear our teaching and to practise these morals also. The subject is the most practical one in which we could engage, from whatever point we look at it. Undoubtedly, the immorality spoken of to-night exists to a great extent among small merchants and tradesmen, but I want to know if it is worse than that of a large manufacturer who, for instance, sends out his goods, melted and nearly destroyed, to the trusting Indian people, in order that he may add to his own profits. I feel that there is a great necessity that such customs should be stopped, and a great degradation that it requires a law of the land to stop them. I have myself a very interesting document in my possession. Some time ago my milkman brought to me his bill for milk. I had used one of those lactometers, and I said to him, "Why, you have actually put as much water as milk to my supply." "No, Sir," he said, "not as much." "Oh, then," I said, "you acknowledge to some." He said, "Yes." I have that man's receipt, in which he himself wrote across it, "Allowing for one-third water being added (so much)," being one-third of the bill. Such is the state of morals in this our Christian country—in this our land of churches and chapels and Board schools—that I do not think that man felt he had done at all wrong, but was much aggrieved by the sharp parson. Coming to the matter of morality in politics, I think there is great room for improvement on all sides. I cannot understand, for instance, why it is allowable in a statesman to do such things in his public capacity as would be dishonouring to him in his private capacity. I agree with and endorse the remarks of a former speaker, that the true source of morality lies alone in God's Holy Word; that we cannot have any proper morality other than that which is derived from the great Author of Christianity; that we cannot have it in schools from which that teaching is excluded, and if we neglect our children and people in this respect, we shall have a morality that may, perhaps, be like that of the Zulus or Chinese, or that of some other heathen people, but not the morality that should commend itself to Christian people. I cannot understand why anyone should suppose that the Church does not perform her full duty when every Sunday she sets forth God's commandments; and I only wish the people who hear these, and say, "Lord have mercy upon us and incline our hearts to keep this law," would go home from their Sunday service and practise on the week-day the morality thus taught. So, again, in our Litany we ask the good Lord to deliver us from those immoral things against which both Church and all true Christians lift up their voices; and I think it only remains for the members of the Church to call to mind in their week-days these prayers which we hope they have offered up with sincerity on the Sunday.

The Rev. E. B. BIRKS, Cambridge.

I DID not intend to have spoken this evening, but it occurred to me, while we were on politics, to say that there is a certain danger in the clergy introducing politics into their sermons, because we generally take one or the other side in politics; and though we be clergy, we are not perhaps quite exempt from the same passions which govern other people, and we are ready to think our own side in politics is moral, and that the other side is immoral, and of course we are equally ready to say so in our sermons. Then, perhaps, some of our hearers might be of a different opinion, and it may not be important that they should hear our view on a question which does not much concern them. We must be very careful if we are to speak of morals as concerning politics in our sermons, that we keep our remarks clear of party politics, and not misjudge others. But I think there is room for laying down political principles from the pulpit in such a way that politics shall be treated apart from partizanship and faction. I rather, however, meant to speak of morality in private life. Here, I think, our difficulty arises in a great measure from the fact that we are in a Christian country, and that most of us were christened in our infancy; faith and obedience are not things for little children, but baptism is also a sacrament of repentance. We have not been called upon to make the great renunciations that are made by those who come out of Heathendom, or say by the converts of the Salvation Army; our world is a Christian world. You will find some professed atheists of high, pure morals, and the reason of this I believe is, because they have made real sacrifices for the sake of sincerity; of not owning that to be true which they do not in their hearts believe to be true. I believe that devotion to truth is in itself a devotion to Him who is the truth, though they do not know it, and therefore it is needful for us, who have happily been allowed to believe for ourselves in Him who is the truth, to show that our faith is a free faith, and to show it by a determination to be true in all details of our daily life, which would bring upon us constant little sacrifices. Our present state of society is very complicated, and it blinds our eyes to very many plain realities. We take other people's opinions instead of looking out opinions for ourselves.

The Rev. T. BENNETT, Bepton Rectory, Midhurst, Sussex.

I AM to speak on three subjects, and I shall take first that of Morality in Trade. I think the want of morality in trade may be traced to Mammon worship. It is curious that Mammon is worshipped in all lands, though Mammon has not a single temple; and it is also worthy of remark that there is not one single hypocrite amongst all the worshippers of Mammon. Some care not to speak against immorality, but the clergy, I maintain, ought to stand up and show people their transgressions and the house of Israel their sins. We clergy have been denounced for belonging to co-operative societies. I say we were driven to them because others would not be satisfied unless we went into debt. "Out of debt, out of danger," and, therefore, I go to co-operative stores, where I can keep out of debt. I shall now tell you two anecdotes given by two speakers with regard to morality in trade. One of these was told by a bishop at Wolverhampton Congress of a poor cobbler—he was so poor that you could not call him a shoemaker—who, when he had a job to do, did it well. He put the best leather in and the best nails in, because he recollected that the eye of God was upon him. Let the tradesmen of Wolverhampton and elsewhere recollect the same. Another bishop, when in Sheffield, said, "I think of Sheffield every day, because," he said, "every day I shave, and I shave with Sheffield razors which were given to me forty years ago. They must be good razors to last so long, and let many in Sheffield recollect these razors, and act accordingly, and send out good workmanship." These two anecdotes supply excellent lessons in commercial morality. With regard to politics, a noble peer once said to me, "I do not think you clergymen have any right to vote." I do not agree with that. I think we have a right to vote as well as any other man. I asked Mr. Harry Jones, "What are we to say about bribery?" He said, "Denounce it," and I do denounce it. It was a great pity there should be so much bribery. Even now seats in Parliament are bought and sold. I would wish to see a stop put to bribery. I think public opinion is now setting in against it. With regard to morality in social life, I was pleased to hear what Canon Farrar said about it. I once heard a statement made, "Before you make a bad remark about a third person, ask, Is it true? Is it kind? and, Is it necessary? and if it be neither true, kind, nor necessary, leave it unsaid."

The Rev. J. H. GIBBON, Vicar of St. Luke's, Bolton.

I ASK your kind indulgence. Though I have travelled many miles, and attended several Congresses, I have never before spoken at one. I wish to add my mite to this discussion by infusing a little new blood into it. I think we are inclined to believe—I myself *do* believe—that we English people are the *most* honest and straightforward men of business in the whole world. People of other nations like to deal with us on this account. But let us not be tempted to do as Gehazi did, first despise Naaman, "this Syrian," and then to cheat him. Now, as to morality in private affairs, old Franklin said, "It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright." And so it *is*. It seems to me that people too often live right up to their incomes; the bag is very often empty, and they are obliged to go on borrowed capital. Another source of immorality in private life is our ordinary social phraseology. It has a great deal more to do with it than we think. I once went to a door, and the servant said, "Master is *not in*;" although I saw an *arm* of the gentleman drawing the blinds upstairs. The servant after consultation, had been told to say this, and she said it. When I called by and bye, the gentleman said, "I am sorry I did not see you before." This was a kind of apology, I suppose. But the servant had been taught a lesson of practical immorality. There are other phrases, such as "sowing wild oats." Why don't people say at once, such and such a young man is leading an immoral life? But they say he is "fast," or "gay"; which terms promote social and private immorality. I was very much touched the other day, when I thought of the battles our children have to fight when they go out into life. A very little boy for his age, after our parochial mission, when filling up his little paper, said he would like to be confirmed, as he had "had serious thoughts during the mission." A few weeks ago he was put into a lawyer's office. It appears that the solicitors of the town are allowed to have a halfpenny newspaper daily from the publishers gratis. Sometimes the clerks sent him for a second one. He went, and was met with the reply—"No, you have had one before." The clerks told him to go again, and, if not given, he was to *take* one. When the boy went home, he *cried* over it. I am sorry these little ones have these things to do. As a remedy, our teaching should go deeper than it does. We should aim at the very root whence all corrupt fruits spring. And let all know that they must be "bathed" (as the new version has it) in the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness; and, also, that they need the daily washing if they would keep their feet in the paths of virtue and morality.

J. P. HARGREAVES, Esq., Birkenhead.

I HOPE I shall be pardoned for my presumption in addressing this Congress, but as all the speakers to-night except one have been clergymen, I wish to say a few words from the point of view of a man of business. I think an impression may go forth that men of business do not like to hear of the faults and sins of business from the pulpit. I can assure the clergy, that though some men of business may find fault with them for speaking of sins of business, the majority are frank, and wish to be told their faults. At our Liverpool Mission, Mr. Aitken delivered mid-day addresses at one of the Parish Churches, and it would have done your hearts good to see two thousand merchants, and other men of business, and their clerks, assemble there from 12.15 to 1 o'clock, to hear sermons on Commercial Morality. I think that meeting proved that men of business are anxious to hear what the clergy have to say on the matter. Two grievous immoralities which I find among business men day by day, and minute by minute almost, are, first, fearful blasphemy, and second, an awful amount of gambling, gambling I mean not in business, but outside business. Many men can hardly speak a sentence without bringing in hell, or damnation, or Satan. You cannot expect men to be honest in business, if they have not the fear of God before their eyes. How can they have the fear of God, if they speak lightly of such solemn things as I have mentioned. In Liverpool, gambling is frightfully prevalent. There is hardly an event which is not made the subject of a bet. There is hardly a race of any importance, for which almost every member of a business association will not join in sweepstakes. Now I have heard many practical sermons, but I do not believe I have ever heard from a pulpit anything said to respectable Church-going people of the sins of blasphemy and gambling. May I say for Liverpool, that I believe there is a generation of men, especially young men, who wish to be honest and are striving to be honest—men who wish to give a better tone to Liverpool. May I, in conclusion, ask the clergy not to forget in their sermons to refer to those awful sins of blasphemy and gambling.

The Rev. JOHN MARTYN COLLYNS, Rector of Daventry.

WHAT is the one great cause of immorality in politics? Is it not the slavish adherence to the much-lauded—I venture to say over-lauded—system of government by party; is it not that a man gets rid of his own responsibility by putting off his own conduct upon the leader of his party; and is it not that he considers himself absolved from considering public questions, from the point of view of public morality, because he feels bound to support that party which, on the whole, he considers most useful in conducting public affairs? How seldom do we find an instance of a man breaking away from his party, and when we do, I venture to think that man is often respected by the great majority of his fellow countrymen. We may agree or disagree; we may think him right or we may think him wrong; but there is not one of us who did not approve the action of Mr. John Bright, when he left the Government because he could not approve of the Egyptian War. There is not, again, one of us who did not approve of the conduct of those members of the administration who resigned office rather than take part in, what seemed to them, the spoliation of the property of the Irish landlords. You may ask why I come here to speak on such subjects? When I was sitting in the gallery, without the least thought of intruding on the Congress, what moved me to send in my name? To answer the question, I must make a confession, which is that I come from the county of Northampton. This confession may prejudice you against me, for I know that it is a very prevalent mistake to confound the county of Northampton with the borough of Northampton. Connected with the borough of Northampton there is at present an unfortunate circumstance. It is represented in the House of Commons by but one member. There is another member, but he cannot take his place in the House; and why? So many of the electors of Northampton have lost sight of the morality in politics, and even professors and prominent members of Christian churches have in times gone by—I believe, for the most part, they have found out their mistakes—voted for a man who has no belief in God, rather than that their votes should be lost to the leader of their party. I am not so bold as to suppose that we shall see any great change in this matter of government by party in the great council of the nation, but I think we may do something for political morality by discouraging government by party in our municipalities throughout the land. Why should government by party be considered necessary in municipal affairs? We find that a man who has passed through the Bankruptcy Court, a man who is altogether an unbeliever, one who has no respect or authority among his fellow men, is voted for, in preference to a true Christian, whether a Churchman or a Dissenter, because he belongs to this or that party. Surely we of the clergy may do something to teach our people that in such matters they ought to look out for the honest man, the Christian man, the man of truth, and vote for him without troubling themselves too much as to which party he will for the most part support. And if we thus gradually educate our people to take a higher line in matters of less importance, we may hope that in time they will be actuated by none but the highest motives in their choice of representatives to the great council of the nation.

Meeting on "THE LEGAL AND SOCIAL PROTECTION OF OUR GIRLS," held at the TOWN HALL. The report of this meeting was not received in time for insertion here. It will be found at the end of the Report.

DRILL HALL.

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 5TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

THE CHURCH AND OTHER COMMUNIONS.

(*a*) THE CONTROVERSY WITH ROME.
(*b*) THE DEFICIENCIES OF DISSENT.
(*c*) POSSIBILITIES OF RE-UNION OR INTER-COMMUNION.

(*a*) THE CONTROVERSY WITH ROME.

PAPER.

The Lord BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

WHEN I was in Ireland about fifty years ago, in the City of Cork, I went into a bookseller's shop and purchased a copy of a book which I hold in my hand; and which has probably made more converts to Romanism than any book in the English language, Dr. Milner's *End of Controversy*.

This book made an impression upon me which I shall never forget. I had received then as much training in theology as boys commonly did at a public school and in their under-graduate days at college, and I confess that when I had read through this book I was quite bewildered. And in that state of perplexity I continued for some time, till at length, by dint of study and the help of kind friends, I was delivered from it; and having passed through a process of doubt, and finding my difficulties removed, and my principles settled, I felt thankful to Dr. Milner for being an instrument in strengthening my attachment to the Church of England, and for enabling me to give some reasons for that attachment.

Having been requested by my right reverend friend and brother, our President, to read a paper on the Controversy with Rome, I have thought that it might be of some little use—not to the more learned among you, but to novices such as I was then—to give a brief sketch of the arguments in Dr. Milner's book, and of the process by which I recovered from the shock which it gave to my religious opinions, and by which I was established in those principles on which—and on which alone—the Church of England can be successfully defended against the Church of Rome, and by which she can rescue those who are in danger of falling away to that Communion.

Dr. Milner's first objection is this; Protestants can have no certainty that the Bible is the Word of God. "How do you know," he asks, "that the Bible is inspired?" "You read in the Bible," you reply, '"that all Scripture is given by *inspiration* of God'" (2 Tim. iii. 16). "But no book can be allowed to bear witness to its own inspiration. The Koran of Mohammed professes to have been dictated by an Angel.

Do you accept it as such? Surely not." The Protestant being driven from his first position by Dr. Milner, next answers, "Well; but I *feel* that the Bible is inspired; I have the testimony of the spirit within me to its inspiration." "But stay," Dr. Milner answers, "are you sure that this ground of belief is safe? Suppose I take your Bible and the Apocrypha (which you say is not inspired, and which for argument's sake I will allow to be not inspired) with it, and suppose I mix up their chapters together, do you think that by your own feelings you could separate the inspired parts from the uninspired, and construct a Bible for yourself? And if the feelings of individuals are to be the test of the inspiration of the Bible, is it not certain that you would soon have no Bible at all? Your great Reformer, Martin Luther, said that the Epistle of St. James is an 'Epistle of Straw.' His German fellow-countrymen have followed in his steps, and there is scarcely a single book of the Bible which has not been rejected by some celebrated critic in the land of Luther; and if the inspiration of the Bible is to depend on the feelings of individuals, even of learned men, the Bible will soon cease to be regarded as the Word of God, and will take its place by the side of the works of Homer or Livy, or Shakespeare or Bacon, and perhaps in the minds of some will be of less esteem than any of these."

My first discovery, therefore, in reading Dr. Milner's book was that by arguing logically from certain Protestant principles he had deprived me of my Bible. This made me miserable, and it led me to retrace my steps. I found it to be true that many Protestants, and even some Protestant communions, in their public Confessions of faith put forth in the sixteenth century—such as the Helvetic, Gallican, and Belgic—had grounded their belief in the Inspiration of Scripture—not on anything *external* to Scripture—but either on the testimony of Scripture to itself, or on the witness of the spirit in their own hearts to that Inspiration. I found also that in those Protestant communions the belief in that Inspiration had now almost vanished away like a dream. And how could it be otherwise? If one man's persuasion that Scripture is inspired is to be a sufficient argument to him for *accepting* the Bible, why should not another man's persuasion that it is *not* inspired be a sufficient reason to him for *rejecting* it?

But how, you may ask, did I recover the Bible? I found out that while other Protestant communities had grounded their belief on such principles as you have heard, the Church of England had adopted a very different course. Other Protestant societies resolved their faith as to its Inspiration either into an attestation of Scripture to itself, or into the inner consciousness of individuals. But the Church of England appeals to an *external* authority. This she has done in her Sixth Article, which, in my opinion, is worth many hundreds of volumes of some popular theology. She refers to the Church Universal as the divinely appointed Witness to the Inspiration of the Bible. And in appealing to the Church Universal, she must be understood as appealing to Christ the Divine Head of the Church, who promised to be always with her (Matt. xxviii. 20), and as also appealing to the Holy Ghost, whom He promised to send to "abide with her for ever" (John xiv. 16).

Her words in that Article are as follows:—"In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand these Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was *never any doubt in the Church.* All

the Books of the New Testament, as they are *commonly received* (*i.e.*, by the Church Universal), we do receive and account them Canonical."

In applying this principle we must begin with showing, as we can do from *external* testimony (and as has been done by such writers as Lardner and Paley) that the Gospels are historically *true narratives*, that consequently there was such a Person as Our Lord Jesus Christ; and that He proved Himself by His words and works, which are related in the Gospels, to be a *Divine Person*; and that He acknowledged the *whole* of *the Old Testament* to *be inspired*; and that He promised to send the Holy Spirit to inspire His Apostles and Evangelists; and to enable them to write what they did. We then proceed to show that the Church Universal—to which He promised His presence, and the guidance of the Spirit "to teach her all things and to lead her into all truth" (John xix. 26, xvi. 13), has *received* the Books of the Old and New Testament as inspired.

In receiving therefore the Bible from the Church Catholic, as the Church of England in her Sixth Article teaches me to do, I receive the Bible from the hands of Christ. The Son of God Himself sets His own Divine Seal on the Word of God.

Here let me add, that I do not disparage the testimony of the Bible to its own Inspiration, when the Bible has been *previously proved* to be the Word of God. Nor do I undervalue the testimony of the Spirit within us to its Inspiration. Heaven forbid; but what I assert is, that we need something preparatory to the acceptance of that testimony; and the preparation to that acceptance is Christ's witness in the Church Universal to the Inspiration of the Bible.

But to proceed, Dr. Milner will not let me escape thus. "Well," he says, "suppose you have at last got a Bible; but you must allow that only *the true sense of the Bible is the Bible;* and how do you know that you have got the true sense of it? Let me look at your Bible. Yes, I see it is an English Bible—a copy of King James the First's Bible—which made many thousand alterations in the Bishops' Bible; and which (Dr. Milner might now add) has itself been changed in 35,000 places by our recent Revisers of the New Testament alone. How, let me ask, do you get at the *true sense* of the Bible." The Protestant's answer is—I feel satisfied that I have the true sense. "Well but," replies Dr. Milner, "then it follows that the Bible, which you say is the Word of God, has as many different senses as there are Protestant societies. Many of you see the doctrine of the Trinity in the Bible, but the Socinian sees no such thing; the Calvinist sees one thing in it, the Arminian sees another; you see Original Sin in it, the Pelagian cannot; you see Infant Baptism in it, the Baptist is unable to do so. Which of you am I to believe? and what certainty have you as to your own belief? As the Poet Dryden says,—

> " 'Your airy faith can no foundation find,
> The Word's a weathercock to every wind.' "

Here again, let me confess, Dr. Milner made me feel uncomfortable; especially when he went on to assure me that there could be no safety for me from a shipwreck of the faith except by following his guidance into the so called bark of St. Peter.

But here again the Church of England came to the rescue. The Church of England, I found, not only appealed to the Church Universal—that is to Christ Himself and to the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church

Universal—as *Witness* of the Holy Scripture; but she appealed to it also as the *Keeper and Interpreter* of the Bible in all matters of doctrine and discipline. I found in the "Reformatio Legum," drawn up by Archbishop Cranmer, that she received the *three Creeds* (i. 3 and i. 6), and ordered her preachers to have those creeds ever before their eyes in expounding the Bible, and never to teach anything contrary to them; and that in her Ninth Article she affirms that these creeds are thoroughly to be received and believed; and I found that the creeds have been received by the consent of the Church of Christ Universal, and therefore may be regarded as avouched by Christ Himself, and by the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church, and that therefore in expounding the Bible, in matters of faith, I am not left to be swayed by my own caprice, or by that of any man, but am guided by divine authority in the reading and hearing of Holy Scripture.

I found also that in her Canons of 1571 the Church of England had solemnly charged her preachers never to teach any doctrine but such as is found in Holy Scripture and such as the "*Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered from Scripture.*"

Dr. Milner having thus failed to rob me of the Bible, and of the true sense of the Bible, next tried to deprive me of the Church. Here again I found that the strength of his arguments lay in the weakness of Protestants. He quoted the sayings of some very zealous, but not very wise Protestants, who said that the Church of Rome was so corrupt that she could not be called a Church of Christ at all; and that therefore those good men, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ridley and Latimer, in the sixteenth century after Christ, found it necessary to set up a *new Church* with *new Holy Orders* of ministers deriving their authority from the English Crown. This being so, added Dr. Milner, what right have you to complain that, when you have broken away from Rome, others should break away from you, and should set up new Churches, and that you should now be reaping the harvest of which you sowed the seed, and be distracted and assailed by the more than a hundred and fifty sects in England which are multiplying themselves *ad infinitum*, and are the natural offspring of your Reformation? With such a chaos of confusion produced by your own acts, how can you claim to belong to the Church of God which our Lord prayed might "be *one*, even as He and the Father are *one*?" (John xvii. 11, 21, 22).

But here the Church of England came again to my aid. In the preface to her Ordination Service, framed at the Reformation in the sixteenth century, she declares that the Three Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are of Apostolic origin; and that no one is to be allowed to minister in her communion who has not been ordained with that form, or has not formerly received Episcopal Ordination; clearly acknowledging thereby the validity of Orders received in the Church of Rome, before that Ordinal was framed. She traces her Apostolic lineage downwards, by uninterrupted succession, from Christ Himself; and though in its transmission that lineage passed through the Church of Rome, it was not vitiated by that transmission, any more than the Baptism instituted by Christ was vitiated by being administered by the hands of a Judas. And in the seventeenth century the Church of England declared in her 30th Canon that it was not her purpose to "forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, and Spain," in any such things as

they retained in accordance with Christ's Will and Word; and the Church of England affirms that her separation from Rome was not a voluntary act (she knows well from St. Paul that all wilful schism is carnal [1 Cor. iii. 1—4], and that to be carnally-minded is death [Rom. viii. 6]) but that it was due to Rome herself, obtruding and enforcing anti-scriptural and anti-catholic terms of communion, especially at the Council of Trent; which has now been followed up in our own age by the novel and heretical dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility; and by making the acceptance of those anti-scriptural, anti-catholic, and heretical dogmas to be essential to communion with herself, she has been, and is, the greatest cause of schism that ever existed in Christendom.

If the Church of England—which is the Ancient, Scriptural, Apostolical Church of this country—is chargeable with imposing any such articles on any one, and with making them to be terms of communion with herself, then separation from her is not only justifiable, but necessary,—but not otherwise.

I hope, therefore, that notwithstanding Dr. Milner's arguments, I may be allowed to enjoy the privileges of the Church of God as well as blessings of the Word of God.

And now in conclusion let me say: Many things around us betoken the nearness of a great outbreak of Anti-Christianism against the Church of God and against civil society. These are not days for strife among Christians, but for the Unity of all in the One True Faith. To our Romanist brethren let me say: "Be Catholics—not in name only—but in deed. Withdraw all unscriptural and anti-catholic terms of communion by which you have separated us from you; be content with the Catholic faith as it was preached by Christ and His Apostles, and was professed by the ancient Catholic Church. Then the controversy between us and you will be at an end, and we shall be one with you in truth and love."

And to our dissenting Protestant brethren let me say, in words of heartfelt affection,—"You speak lightly of schism, and you speak strongly against Rome; but suffer me to say that the strength of Rome lies in the schisms of Protestants. Reconsider your position. Return to the Unity of the Church of God as founded by Christ aud His Holy Apostles—the Church of Primitive Saints and Martyrs; and to its doctrine and discipline. Then Rome will be powerless against us; you will be one with us, and we with you; and we shall be able, with God's help, to withstand the assaults of Unbelief, which are now threatening to involve us in confusion and ruin."

And lastly, to our brethren of the Church of England, let me say, in all brotherly love,—Let us be more thankful to God than some of us are, for the inestimable blessings of the Church of England and of her Reformation. Let us try to understand her better; and we shall love her more.

And, My Lord Bishop, while my heart's desire is that this Church Congress under your Presidency may be instrumental in removing any proved blemishes, and in supplying any defects in her system, and in giving it greater expansion, especially in the increase of her Episcopate, particularly in our two Dioceses, let us endeavour, with God's help, to defend her on her true principles—the principles of Evangelical doctrine, of Apostolical Order, and of Catholic love.

ADDRESS.

The Rev. Dr. NEVIN, Rome.

THE Controversy with Romc. What is it to-day? Thanks to the Vatican Council, it has been narrowed to one really great point of issue; but it has also been made a war to the knife, in which neither party may yield without perishing. There was a time when it was spread over a long and exceedingly confused line, along which the contest raged almost at random—often, indeed, most fiercely, in contest for points which were really non-essential, or at least in no way decisive of the general combat. The Vatican Council, however, has changed all this. In promulgating the dogma of the Papal Infallibility, it has established a base about which the whole controversy must hereafter turn for all thoughtful minds. After saying all that can be said for the Reformation of the sixteenth century, we must admit that it moved very blindly. Few among its supporters—I do not speak of its leaders—were moved by any very clear convictions of theological truth. Very few indeed had sufficient knowledge for this. The sixteenth century Reformation was rather a revolt against usurpations of authority and corruptions of practice that had become so gross, that even the most unlearned could feel that they were to be resisted in the face of any authority. But feeling this, it was not fully competent to prescribe for their best cure. It took offhand such remedies as seemed to it most potent, often without careful examination as to whether they might not, in the long run, prove as dangerous as the diseases which they were designed to cure. What was wanted was some medicine—any medicine—and lucky it was if nothing worse than bread pills was tried. There was no general understanding among the people of the fundamental principles at issue. The Pope was a foreigner, who threatened the liberties of the nation—away with him. In accomplishing this, ignorance and prejudice played a larger share than self-abnegating love of the truth. Men tried to get rid, not only of the Pope and all things belonging to him, but of all things in any way associated with him, forgetting that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; and as little the Pope's as the world's or the devil's. Many ceremonies thus, like the use of incense, altar-lights, ornamented vestments, the sign of the cross, all of them things not only innocent but beautiful in themselves—never having used myself any of these things, I can speak with the less reserve in the case—became for many fundamental points of the "Controversy with Rome;" and one is forced to see that there really are yet good men living who imagine that these things have a great deal to do with the "Controversy with Rome," and that they themselves are doing good service to God in fighting over them furiously, even to the point of neglecting that supreme service to, and honour of God, which lies in charity to brother men. But the times of such ignorance and prejudice have past, and no party can continue to make capital much longer of such matters of contest, without showing itself to have reached a state of both intellectual and spiritual dotage, and to be no longer fit to be trusted with the guidance of thought in this living nineteenth century. There is nothing to do with the men who cannot get beyond these things but to leave them behind, and let them chatter and scold to one another to their hearts' content.

But to-day, the vital controversy with Rome has swept away not only from the field of ritual, but to a large degree also from the theological ground which has been fought over again and again in the last three centuries. It is almost as much waste of

time to-day to battle hotly over questions like confession, prayers for the dead, purgatory, good works and invocation of saints, nay, and even over that of the Mass—as over the points of ritual above noticed. The doctrine of the Eucharist, which for three centuries was the really serious point of struggle, has ceased now to hold its master position. The controversy with Rome turns no longer first on it. In all these questions there is of course precious truth to be contested for, but even if the Papacy abandoned all that could be proved as false in its teachings in regard to them, it would still remain the Papacy, and as dangerous a foe as ever to the life of Christianity, by its claim of absolute dominion over man's conscience, which Christ not only set free, but endowed with sovereign powers. The bitterness, the dust of long and uninterrupted controversy over these things has magnified their importance, has sometimes blinded our eyes, I fear, unduly, so that we do not see the full truth in regard to them. Take the illustration of our common thinking in regard to the Holy Communion. Hatred of the Roman teaching on this point has made some of us more tolerant of heresy in this matter, far more deadly to man's spiritual life than the Roman teaching of transubstantiation. I have not the least hesitation in saying that, if by some misfortune of inheritance or training a man's mind is so materially constituted that he cannot receive the truth of Christ present to heal and feed in the Eucharist, without explaining it to his dull mind by the erroneous and low notion of transubstantiation—it is still a thousandfold better for him to hold such erroneous opinion than not to believe at all in the spiritual grace promised in the Blessed Sacrament. And those who make the benefit of the Sacrament turn only upon the faith of the recipient ought, if they are logical, to be the first to admit this. We allow in this matter, without much criticism, a teaching in the Lutheran Church which is just as erroneous, and scarcely less material than the Roman. Ah, in all these theological questions, as well as in the matter of ceremonies and matters of ritual, we can all of us be far more tolerant of those who differ from us without in any way weakening our position in "the Controversy with Rome."

The declaration of the Papal Infallibility has distinctly removed the controversy from questions, not only of ritual, but also of theology, to that of certain facts in history, just as distinct as those of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of our Lord. Is the Pope the Vicar of Christ on earth? Has he received from Christ an absolute authority over the world's conscience by any patent which he can show us, whether of succession or of fruits? If he has, all the rest must be yielded to him. If he has not, then all the corrupt teachings which have grown up about him go overboard with him. To-day it will be our wisdom, then, if we hold the controversy strictly down to this one point. When one comes to look at it as a question of historical fact, it seems at first as if the Papal pretensions in this respect must be received rather with a smile than with any serious consideration; but, for all this, the claim is made and seriously contested, and is supported by a following which, by weight of numbers at least, threatens to swamp the Christian world. We need not marvel long at this, however. The far greater following, which support Buddha and Mahomet, in claims almost as extravagant, and quite as unfounded-as those of the Papacy, should be a lesson to us as to how far the average man is capable of weighing evidence, or establishing the truth of facts in any case beyond his immediate ken. The controversy to-day has become an ecclesiastical one—a political one. To the Church of Rome, at least, the theological controversy has become wholly a secondary one.

But our controversy with Rome is now not only narrowed down to the one radical question of an infallible Papacy; it has also been made more decisive. It is no longer a controversy merely. It is a conflict for life or death. The days of that toleration on the Roman side, which made a John Inglesant possible, or which blessed a marriage between a Romanist and one who yielded no obedience to the Papacy, are past, and never can return. A Catholic, one who does not hold the two latest dogmas of Roman development, can no longer honestly receive the Sacrament in the Roman Church. Should he do so by concealing his unbelief, or by the connivance of an unfaithful confessor, he has been warned by the earnest and thoroughly consistent head of the Roman schism in this kingdom, that in so doing, he commits a sacrilege to his own condemnation—and this on the authority of Papal Encyclicals, which set forth that if any persons presume to think in their hearts otherwise than these last definitions require, they have suffered shipwreck in faith and fallen away from the unity of the Church. No, there is no place left longer in the Roman communion for those who would hold the old faith. In the words of Döllinger—"They have made a new Church"—the Roman Catholic Church has been supplanted by the Papal Church, and this has declared war with Catholicity *a l' outrance*. During the Vatican Council the Pope cut off Cardinal Guidi's appeal to tradition with the reply, "*I am tradition*"—and by the Vatican Council he has been put in the position to answer every appeal to the Catholic Church with the reply, "*I am the Church.*" This is to-day everything—ends everything. It is a life and death struggle between the Papacy and the Church. I have no question in my mind which will survive—which will prove itself the fittest. The principle of authority on which the Papacy is built up—an image more wonderful than that which Nebuchadnezzar saw—puts it in deadly antagonism, not only with the Catholic Church, but with everything which the world has been able to reach as best in the way of enlightenment and liberty, and it is certain that the enfranchised race will give itself back into spiritual slavery, as little as it will into bodily slavery.

But *how* will the Papacy fall? by itself, or so entangled with Christianity in the world's thinking, as to carry the latter down with it into its own certain destruction. For if Romanism be the authoritative exponent of Christianity that it professes to be, then is Christianity itself *doomed*. This, then, is our controversy to-day, to save Christianity from the ruin into which Romanism is drawing it. I hold the controversy with Rome *therefore* to be to-day the first one, the most vital one, for the Church to deal with, because Rome is giving over Christianity to doubt and unbelief; because Rome, by her travesty of the teachings, and even more of the spirit of Christ, has been and is to-day the greatest obstacle to the advance of Christ's kingdom among civilised nations. I hope that no one will understand me as speaking or feeling bitterly, or even severely, towards persons in the Roman communion. God forbid such Pharisaic hardness. Among those dead in Christ, whose souls live for me in the reality of dearest, and most frequent, and most thankful commemoration, one at least died in the most unreserved submission to the Church of Rome; and among those who are alive and remain, I count many friends—souls of the highest purity and devotion, in the same communion. Nay, I have in mind one at least, to whom in any matter pertaining to the spiritual life of my individual soul, I would freely turn for ghostly counsel with as much confidence as I would to any priest in our own communion. But for all that, while respecting the sincerity of such friends, and admiring

the devotion of their lives to what they believe to be the cause of Christ, I believe that they are blindly, but in all reality, ranged in ranks, which to-day are threatening the life of Christianity. If such judgment seem hard or improbable—ah! remember, my friends, how all of us, at times in our lives, have unwittingly hurt and stood against the true interest of those most dear to us, when we thought, perhaps, to serve them. So every day we see men who do love the Lord Jesus dearly, often in the outward result of their life's work doing injury to His cause, and withstanding Him as really as Peter withstood our Lord, while loving Him, when he met the rebuke, "Get thee behind me, Satan." So with all charity to the members of the Roman communion—more sinned against than sinning—I can still firmly believe, and do most firmly believe that to-day Rome is not only the responsible author of the great schisms which rend the Church, but as well the great Infidel-making power among civilised nations; and this in proportion to the degree in which she has been able to obtain full power among them. Witness the melancholy rejection of Christianity to-day in Papal Italy and Ultramontane France, a rejection more radical and blasphemous than anything that the history of Protestantism has shown anywhere.

We have come in our day to the root of the controversy with Rome. The fight *visibly* lies on the question of fact: Did the Bishop of Rome receive from Christ or His Apostles any such world-wide commission for himself and his successors as is claimed to-day by the Papacy? Did he in the early days of the Church ever exercise such a power? Let Rome show this; we yield all the rest. But if the Papacy cannot make good her claims in this respect as a matter of historical fact, then she is an impostor—and this without regard to what truth she may teach or not teach in other respects—far wickeder than Mahomet, and is to be destroyed as the chief rebel that has tried to usurp the royalties of the Son of David.

But at the back of this visible field of controversy lies a deeper one; not outward, but inward, not theological or ecclesiastical, but spiritual—having to do with the spirit of Christ rather than even the words of Christ. Our Reformers, perhaps, cut off in the sixteenth century well enough the outward badges and fruits of Rome, her manifest corruptions of doctrine and discipline; but were they as thorough in cleansing the inside of the cup and platter—in ridding the Church of the spirit of Rome, the spirit of fear, of hatred, of dependence on outward authority—which remains with us to-day as a baneful inheritance from Rome, and Rome's earthly conception of Christ's kingdom. Those who would force conscience to accept their views of truth by persecution or any outward coercion, show themselves the children of Rome—are the real Romanisers in the Church to-day. God Himself guards most jealously the prerogatives of that inward conscience which He has implanted in man. God Himself never constrains man, even to good, except by the soul-persuading influences of love. Man must himself *will* to receive the truth, if the truth is ever to make him free. And he who takes from his neighbour this divinely given and guarded prerogative, by outward coercion or bribery of any motive lower than the love of truth, destroys his neighbour's only opportunity of raising himself Godward, and does him an irreparable injury. No; even were the controversy with Rome clearly gained on the field of historical truth, this would not end the struggle between us—would not heal the wounds of Christ, or restore peace, unity, to His Church.

The recognition and the frank proclamation of the simple faith that Christ Himself taught—those substantial and sufficient truths that we teach our little children, before we dare to profane their pure minds with our party divisions—that we remember by the bedside of our dying, when the solemn peace of the life to come silences for the moment the childish discords of the present—the better knowing of the personal Christ—the everyday sinking of self in Him, until our spirit is swallowed up in His—by such measures only will the end of controversy with Rome, and with every other power of this world, be reached, and the full victory of Christ be won. After all, no creed formulated by any Fathers or Council so fully defines the being or workings of God, so clearly reveals God to our spiritual consciousness, or is able to bend us so powerfully to Him, guide our lives in His ways, and strengthen and comfort us so well in times of weakness and sorrow, as that most Christian of all given us by the disciple who leaned on Jesus' breast. "Beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God, and every one that loveth is born of God, and *knoweth* God. He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love." We know and believe that, by the working of a law far deeper and more universal than that of gravitation, every effort that we make in this sphere will be no lost force, but will certainly tell in the fulfilling of Christ's mission in the world, and will be so recognised by Him also in the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed; while, on the other hand, every infraction of the Christ-taught law of charity to our brother—than which there is *no higher* law—will be a real injury to Christ, will oppose a real obstacle to His progress, which cannot be made up for by any vaunted jealousy for His honour or the purity of His teachings. Highest of all His teaching is this: that God is love. and that he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen. And if any of us to-day walk uncharitably toward our brother—despising him, persecuting him, for what we may be pleased to call ignorance of God, superstition—the time will surely come to us when we in our turn shall be judged—judged and condemned—by the rule of orthodoxy which the divine Apostle had from the Judge Himself—"He that loveth not *knoweth* not God, for God is Love."

(*b*) The Deficiencies of Dissent.

PAPER.

The Rev. G. H. Curteis, Canon of Lichfield, and Professor of Theology in King's College, London.

My subject is "The Deficiencies of Dissent;" but it would have been more to my taste had I been called upon—in addressing a Congress of Churchmen—to dilate upon the special *merits* and *advantages* that attach to the various Christian bodies by which we are surrounded, rather than to call attention to their defects. But on these occasions one's own personal preferences must give way to the superior orders of the Subjects' Committee. And, moreover, I am not sure that a kindly and courteous endeavour to indicate the points which seem to us Churchmen defective in the various systems of Nonconformity may not be welcomed with some

interest even by Nonconformists themselves. For they, no doubt, echo as heartily as we do, the poet's wish—

"O would some fay the giftie gi'e us,
To see ourselves as others see us!"

And no effort can be ill-timed or ill-spent which may help, by some painless extinction, to put out of the way that fruitful parent of all controversy, dissension, intolerance, persecution, and war—a mutual misunderstanding.

First of all, then, I must call to mind that there is such a thing as a common *Christendom*, to which Dissenters and Churchmen alike belong. "Grace be with all those that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity!" To that Apostolic prayer, I am sure all here will heartily say "Amen." Nay, we shall agree to far more than that. All *honour* be to those who, even by means which we think to be defective, endeavour to preach Christ amid the teeming myriads of this country! I dare not address myself to the task of picking holes and finding "defects," till I have made that acknowledgment. The grand system of the Church built up in this country during the last 1,200 years may seem to us to be the King's highway to heaven. But it does not follow there are not many byways—more devious, perhaps, and more narrow—which point in the same direction; and some of which will issue upon the highway before long. For, as that devoted Churchman, Dr. Pusey, once publicly preached at Oxford, "The lover and father of mankind has not one way only of bringing home His lost sheep. Ask any tolerably instructed Christian person, 'Will any soul be lost, if in good faith he was what he was, living up to the light he had and repenting him where he did amiss?' All Christendom would answer, God forbid!"

Addressing myself, then, to my task, I notice that there are around us in this country three main types of Dissent.

I. The first is the *Puritan* type, which in its earnest zeal to make and keep the Church *pure* from worldly debasements, tries to supersede the ancient traditional system by a new ecclesiastical polity. Its wish is to liberate English Christendom from two things—the (supposed) trammels of excessive organisation, and the (real) trammels of entanglement with the State. The effort has been well meant. But in process of time many evils and defects have come to light which were not noticed at first.

(1.) For instance, the very *object* of this modern "independent" system appears, on reflection, to betray a defective grasp of our Lord's purpose. The complaint is that, by our extensive spread of elaborate mechanism, we allow impure mixtures within the Church. Well, what did our Lord do? He compared His kingdom to a net with all sorts of fishes in it—good, bad, and indifferent. He likened it to a field with tares inextricably mingled with the wheat. Surely we are not going to be wiser than our Lord. His Church was meant to be a *school* "to bring men to Christ." What would a school be worth which turned everyone away but doctors of divinity? His Church is a *hospital* for sick and wounded souls. Who would subscribe to a hospital which took in no poor creatures to nurse, and emblazoned over its portals, "No diseases admitted here"?

Is there not, then, some imperfect conception abroad as to what the Church was meant to be; some confusion between the attributes of the Church militant on earth and the Church triumphant in heaven?

(2.) Another defect, we think, is this—The proposed remedy is a dissolution of the Body of Christ into a vast aggregate of independent molecules. The Koh-i-noor is not to be polished, to be cut, to be reset. No: the "mountain of light" is to be liberated from its cohesion, to be deprived of its setting, and to be broken up into its ten thousand constituent crystals—in order to improve it for the Saviour's crown! In plain words, we do not see it. We Churchmen think a high and elaborate organisation better than a low one. As Englishmen, we have no fear whatever of a complex, vast and skilfully differentiated polity. And we hold that the Scriptural metaphor of "the Body" of Christ abundantly justifies us in facing all the acknowledged perils of a bold handling of organisation. Some of these perils—for instance, that of a Government by caprice or by alien dictation—may possibly be escaped by small religious republics. But possibly they may not. And some of us learnt long ago, in our boyhood, how much more tolerable is even the martinet prefect of a public school than the big independent bully of a private academy. Indeed, there are many curious indications that our Puritan brethren are gradually coming to see with us on this question. And Independency has surprised us all, of late years, by a rapid evolution into something else—a "Congregational Union," with a national style and title, with synods twice a year as ordered at Nicæa, with an annually elected chief, with property in trust, and with virtual power to adjudicate on questions of doctrine and discipline. "For," said the Chairman in 1881, "if against any community such solemn charges can be preferred as that it persistently sets at naught the will of the Lord as we have learnt it, that it turns the grace of God into lasciviousness, that it denies our only Master and Lord—then there is no alternative. The decision is absolute and imperative. We may not join with it nor wish it God-speed." In all this we see, of course, nothing but a return to sound good sense. But the principles involved appear to us, not those of Congregationalism, but those of the Church of England.

(3.) A still more important deficiency comes into view amid the various interesting controversies which are now going on between Churchmen and Dissenters. It seems thought that these controversies are to be settled off-hand by an appeal to Scripture texts; and so the Bible is degraded into a sort of arsenal for missiles. Puritanism, in short, has altogether placed itself in a false and untenable position, by forgetting that the Lord left no New Testament behind Him—no, not one written word—but only a Church, and that he who stands on two feet, the Bible and the Church, stands safer than he who stands on one, the Bible only. Amid the coming storms of literary conflict and of scientific discussion, the future is not for those who stand on any defective foundation. Happy the communion which, like our own, can gladly welcome every conceivable investigation, and can say, "The Bible is but the great lesson-book of the Church; its canonicity is unquestioned; nothing will ever move it from our lecterns; while each ray of new light that falls upon it only renders it more radiant and more precious in our eyes."

(4.) Owing to this defective conception of the Bible, but also owing to another deficiency (as we Churchmen think), a most exaggerated objection is raised by Puritan Nonconformists to establishment by the State. They think it perilous to the Church; and so we do. They

think it involves considerable losses and surrenders; and so we do. No Churchman (so far as I am aware), during the Church and State controversies of all English history, has ever denied that the task of carrying our Master's banner on high betwixt the world's conflicting hosts is a most dangerous and difficult one. No Churchman pretends at this hour that the call to leaven, by the visible presence of a national Establishment, the highest places of this mighty Empire is not a call to the post of consummate anxiety and risk. But that is not the point. The point is, whether it be not *worth while* to undergo that anxiety and to incur that risk. The question is whether courage and enterprise are admirable only so long as missions to savages are concerned—and lose all title to respect when they are directed upon the strongholds of the highest modern civilisation. Honour to the Salvation Army and to our own missioners for carrying the Gospel among rude men in their own rude way; but honour also to those who, sitting on benches of dignity, or managing vast and striking rituals, or preaching on official occasions to the highest in the land, carry the Cross where its sanctifying presence is indeed most urgently needed, and in the only manner which (in such quarters) commands attention and insures respect.—"I will speak of Thy testimonies even before kings, and will not be ashamed."

(5.) Meanwhile, the total inability of Nonconformists to understand these views of Churchmen indicates another deficiency commonly met with in small and fervent societies. There a perfect mutual agreement quickly becomes a perfect mutual admiration. All the geese evolve into swans. And the perpetual iteration of uncontradicted statements generates fixed ideas. Now fixed ideas are impervious to argument. You drag them before a syllogism, and feel like Dr. Newman when he looked at himself one morning in the glass, and was appalled to find nobody there; or as a Professor of Logic might creep with doubt as to all the "laws of thought" when lecturing, amid suppressed derision, at Hanwell. For instance, you meet the reiterated assertion that "the clergy are paid out of the taxes" by ocular appeal to the estimates. Your proof is smiled at as a harmless delusion. Or, reading in a Dissenting pamphlet that the Church parties are "more bitterly divided" on Eucharistic and other questions "than any of the Protestant denominations," you might stand up here and challenge the disproof—"is there one Evangelical Churchman here who does not at Holy Communion feel the near presence of the Lord, and desire, so far as he thinks the Church allows, to do Him lowliest reverence? Or is there a single High Churchman here who cares one straw for all the ritual in the universe, except as honour done to the same Lord Jesus Christ; and who would not (with Mr. Mackonochie) celebrate to-morrow in his shirt-sleeves, if the Church so ordered it?" Well, you might thus publicly show how massive and real is our unity, how our irritations are but as ripples on the surface of the deep; but you would not convince one chapel-goer from Berwick to the Land's End. They have all made up their minds. And in such an atmosphere disproof dies,—like a mouse in an exhausted receiver.

II. I pass on to the second type of Nonconformity—the *Wesleyan* type. And here we stand on perfectly different ground. For Methodism is the daughter of the Church of England; and, so far as I can see, there is no reason whatever why every Wesleyan class should not be enrolled

to-morrow among the religious societies of that Church, except that their own ministers do not desire it. Their objection is a very natural one. They have become a numerous and important body, and they are highly—sometimes even Episcopally—organised. They held, only last year, an "Œcumenical Conference," the records of which are both interesting and instructive. And they have large and loyal congregations scattered throughout the land. It is not in human nature to hold lightly to successes so honourably and so hardly won. And when offered by us the external Apostolical commission, they reply that they already have the internal one—"The seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord."

Well, I think the time will come when they will see that it is nothing but common sense and brotherly love which makes us desire to offer them an external link also with the religious ancestry of the Church. Possession may be nine-tenths of the law; but the absence of the remaining tenth creates a flaw—unfelt by the ignorant, but felt by the intelligent—and this "rift within the lute" our communion is able to make perfectly sound. How infinitesimal an infusion of Christian charity and humility would restore this mother and this daughter to friendly relations again! There are positively only two points that would need mutual explanation—on our side the meaning of *Sacraments*, on their side the meaning of *conversion*. They suspect we mean by Sacraments a superstitious system of external observances, leading towards formalism; whereas we mean only symbols armed with Christ's own power, and singularly conducive to fix attention on *Him* as the sole agent in our redemption, and to make mere human instrumentalities—preachers, class-leaders, presidents, bishops, and every sacerdotal intrusion—stand aside out of His way. That is the "sacramental system" of the Church —the method of Christ in contrast with all defective Methodisms, placing us beneath the Cross instead of the pulpit, and bidding us regard the living WORD, enthroned at God's right hand, above the written Word in the hand of some poor faltering man.

On the other side, the Wesleyan doctrine of "conversion" (I take it) simply means this—that redemption cannot possibly be a matter of mere words, and sacraments, and rituals, but must be a soul-transforming *reality*. Now, is there a single Churchman here who does not, from the bottom of his heart, agree to all this? Why, then, erect this truism into a banner and try to claim it as an exclusive possession? Why we are all teaching it, as hard as we can. Only in the Church we hope we are faithful to our Master, and to the "little ones of His flock," by remedying a great Wesleyan deficiency. It is this. The Wesleyan doctrine seems to acknowledge no redemption till it shall have blazed out into full consciousness and exuberant feeling. The half-lights, the tender growths, the gradual prolonged dawnings of the truth unto the perfect day, the sweet work of Christ in children's souls, the settling peace and blossoming joy of myriads who have never sat on an "anxious bench" in their lives, and neither can nor will shape their growth in grace into a definite "experience," to all these delicate phenomena of spiritual renewal, the Church has abundance to say; Methodism has nothing. It seems to have but one groove for Almighty God to work in. "Wesleyan Methodism," says one of their writers, "is conversion; without it, Methodism has no existence;" "conversion, whenever it occurs, produces remorse of conscience and alarming apprehensions of danger;"

and "for a sinner to die without *conversion* is to perish for ever." Well, all reverence to men who, even in this crude form, carry so bravely into action that banner of the Gospel, "the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." Yet we think they would do well to supplement their defective half-truth of "conversion" by the Church's whole truth of "renewal." They would then begin to see the beauty of her conception, "the *family* of Jesus Christ;" would refrain from pouring scorn on the baptismal birth thereinto, and on subsequent tranquil growth therein; would hesitate to plunge all, without discrimination, into paroxysms which undermine the powers of self-control, and so would make their half into a whole, and the Wesleyan doctrine into the doctrine of John Wesley and of the Church of England.

III. The time remaining to me is far too brief to do any sort of justice to the third and deeply interesting type of Dissent which calls itself *Unitarian*. The name is wholly misleading. For their claim is simply this, within the lines of a heart's loyalty to Christ, to enjoy an unrestricted freedom of the intellect. Their defect is surely here: that they fail to see how the Church's counter-claim to authority is a purely educational one, and is not meant to fetter thought in any way. Those that come to school with her must, of course, submit to her system, learn by her catechisms, get by heart her Creeds, form themselves to pray by her Liturgy. This sort of submission is the ordinary demand of every teacher in the world. And even when the teaching is over and the pupil goes forth free, is it very much to ask that he shall remain loyal to his old school, and shall forbear to express scorn for the methods pursued there? So long as there are "babes in Christ"—and that is always—*must* they not be taught by formula and symbol? What cupboard would be too dark wherein to bestow the boy who wrecked his sisters' nursery because *he* had outgrown it? What discipline too sharp for the lad who preached a revolt against lexicons and grammars, because he had got a Balliol scholarship? Surely there is a lack both of good sense and of charity here; and the Church of England has been too lightly abandoned by men who ought to have placed their intellectual strength at her disposal, and who would have been repaid a thousand-fold in warmth of worship and in enlargement of heart.

In these days, thousands of good men are weary to death of sectarian strife. Thousands are seeking a haven for their storm-tossed souls, and a loving shelter where their children shall be tenderly welcomed and gently won to God. And among men of science, God alone knows how many yearn—as for a restful paradise—for a communion reformed from gross superstition, yet still lovely with beauty of worship, peaceful with holy order, and powerful (by symbolism, rather than by preaching) to draw men to Christ, while leaving them intellectually free. And such a communion we maintain the Church of England to be. Let us, then, be loyal to her and repair *our own* deficiencies! Let us cease both from coquetting and from quarrelling with other religious bodies; but honour their services, acknowledge their political and social rights, and try to supply their deficiencies. And let our sole retaliation for any evil be this—to make our communion a blessing even for them that hate her and, for all our countrymen, the boldest, grandest, and most helpful expression in this land of their best thoughts and their highest aspirations.

ADDRESS.

The Rev. Chancellor ESPIN, D.D.

CANON CURTEIS began with a distinction. I, too, whilst confining myself, as he did, to the Puritan types of Dissent, take for my own purposes another distinction—a distinction which must to a Churchman appear more broad and deep than it evidently does to Dissenters themselves. There are those among them who have been baptized with proper matter and form, and those who are not so: whether because they reject the Sacraments altogether, as the Quakers in effect do, or because they treat baptism as a mere appendage to conversion, as do the Baptists. The latter group—the unbaptized—is in many of our northern districts very numerous; and surely it exhibits one deficiency, which should be noted at the outset. The Church deems it to be fundamental, for she forbids us to use the Burial Office over such as die unbaptized. And surely this is right; for Hooker declares:—"As we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth; nor, according to the manifest ordinary course of Divine dispensation, new born, but by that baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians" (*Eccl. Pol. V.*, lx. 3). Nor let anyone say this is a technical point. On the contrary, the refusal to recognise the little ones as already entitled to become true members of Christ, and treated thereupon as children of grace, stamps its character upon their early education and training. I forbear to endorse as my own language which has been used about the tone adopted by some Dissenters concerning children—adopted in consequence of defective views about baptismal privileges,—as for instance, that a certain progress in wickedness must be looked for as an usual, if not necessary, preliminary to conversion. I forbear myself to allege, what yet has been alleged, that the young are thus elaborately trained to heathenism. Many men are better than their principles; and there are Baptist Sunday-schools in which, illogical though it perhaps may be, valuable Scripture knowledge is certainly imparted to the young who are unbaptized.

Turn we now to the other much larger group of Dissenters. These, broadly speaking, have been rightly baptized: have received baptism worthily, for they have been baptized in their infancy, and never cut off from the Church. They must, according to ecclesiastical law, be treated, when it comes to the last offices, as members of Christ's Church. Of these we must say, as of ourselves, "By one spirit are we all baptized into One Body," the Body of Christ; and where Christ is, there is the Catholic Church. The language which Churchmen have sometimes permitted themselves to use about those known as "Orthodox Dissenters" seems to me not only harsh and unbecoming, looking at circumstances, looking at the history of Nonconformity in this land, but likewise quite unwarranted by Church law and sound theology. No doubt the canons of 1604 (which, by-the-bye, ought to be thoroughly revised and reconstructed) speak in sufficiently stern language about "maintainers of conventicles." But when certain persons are in those canons ordered to be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated, that does not mean, as some seem to think, that the persons in question excommunicate themselves by doing what the canon forbids; it means merely that when the schism is proved in the ecclesiastical court the sentence shall be excommunication, and nothing else or less.

Nor let it be said, "This is a dry style of treatment; this is mere theory." On the

contrary, it is surely great gain, it begets more hopeful thoughts, to believe and affirm that the large majority of our Dissenting neighbours—and amongst them are some of the most quiet, orderly, and religious families in the land—must not on strict principle be regarded as outside the Church of Christ, though we may not think that they act in all matters as members of Christ's one Church should act. I am sure there is more to be done by working from that which is common to us and them than by waging truceless war on the debatable land.

And so, thankfully remembering the common ground beneath, I go on to note some of the more striking deficiencies in Dissent, as it presents itself to us in English life as a working system.

And, first, there is the lack of mission. On whose authority does the Dissenting minister take in hand to minister publicly the Word and Sacraments? Does he claim an extraordinary commission—a commission direct from the Divine Head of the Church? Where, we ask, is the sign and seal of it? Where are the miracles by which, as the Irvingite truly affirms, a new commission should be accredited? Does he claim an ordinary warrant? Why, that can only come through the existing Church of Christ in the land. If a man cannot ordain himself, neither can he be ordained by those who have no authority to ordain him. It is hard, *e.g.*, to see what better the Methodist ministers became after 1836, because in that year the Conference directed the president, ex-president, and secretary to lay their hands upon the candidates for the ministry, though in 1794 the Conference had voted that the Scriptural ordination consists in being "wholly devoted" to the ministry. It seems an awkward thing that a committee of human creation should vote backwards and forwards on a business so solemn. There is no getting behind Charles Wesley's sarcastic lines on his brother's ill-advised proceeding when he went through the form of consecrating Dr. Coke to be Bishop in America:—

> "How easily are Bishops made
> By man's or woman's whim!
> Wesley his hands on Coke has laid,
> But who laid hands on him?"

I forbear to pursue the inquiry which here opens out about the validity of unauthorised ministrations. It is a painful subject, especially when we advert to the Holy Communion. I must note, however, the destructive effect which this hitch in the particular of mission has upon Dissenting teaching. It is this which eats out all the heart from their doctrine about the Sacraments. Why do the Dissenters—almost all, if not all—treat the Sacraments as mere memorials—mere badges or tokens of Christian men's profession? Because if the Sacraments be this, and no more, any pious man may properly transact them. But if, as we believe, the Saviour did not ordain mere types and shadows, like the ordinances of the law, but effectual instruments of grace, means that give spiritual life and strength to the faithful, then at once comes in quite another set of questions. Instruments of grace must be God's instruments—must be ministered as He has appointed, and not otherwise—else their virtue is lost.

Then there are other ordinances. Confirmation bestows on those who rightly receive it a gift perfective of baptismal grace—a resistive strength not to be had without it. The Methodists are said to be devising something which shall serve them as a substitute for Confirmation. Doubtless they feel to need it. But the laying on

of hands which shall certify Apostolic grace to the recipients ought surely to be by those who have Apostolic warrant for what they do.

And then there are absolution, benediction, holy matrimony. It is not, surely, for nothing that the Church limits the performance of these to presbyters. Can absolution and benediction be wanting without injury to the spiritual life? Is marriage just the same before God whether it be solemnised by priest or layman?

My predecessor has dealt with the subject of unity. I remark only that the faulty ecclesiastical position of our Dissenters appears to deprave their interpretation of Scripture in this matter. They argue continually that the unity urged in the New Testament is an inward and spiritual unity only. And yet when St. Paul, in last Sunday's Epistle, speaks of endeavouring to keep the "unity of the Spirit" he assuredly means that outward and visible unity which the Spirit, the Holy Ghost conferred. "There is one body," he says in the next words, "and one Spirit." One body—a visible thing surely—just because there is one Spirit, and only one. So again of our Lord's great prayer for his disciples, "that they all may be one." It is doubtless a visible unity that is intended, because the reason for the petition is annexed, "that the world may believe that Thou has sent Me." How shall the unbelieving world be convinced by a thing that it cannot see? Is it not the fact that our missionaries are again and again met with the taunt, "When Christians are agreed amongst themselves, then come to us?" In a word, the idea of the Church as a visible organised society seems almost lost amongst Dissenters. Their notion of the Church Universal seems to be that it is a sort of sectarian ant-hill, swarming with a number of small independent existences.

In the same line of thought we come on another deficiency, which I briefly mark thus:—When earnest persons, especially the young, quit the chapel for the Church what do they often, in a well-served parish at any rate, count their greatest gain? The constant ministration of spiritual nourishment in the frequent services of the sanctuary; the venerable offices which hallow every crisis of life from the cradle to the grave; the sacred round of fast and festival, following the steps of the Saviour's most holy life.

National Obligation as regards Religion.—Here is another particular in which the notions of the modern Dissenter, at any rate, are sadly deficient. He will have it that the state must be merely secular; that everything national shall be dissociated from religion. And yet, if there be any principle in downright antagonism to the Bible, surely it is this. The Old Testament from end to end is pervaded by teaching that is plainly against the modern Dissenting doctrine. So also are the writings of their own divines up to the last half century. And what can be more inconsistent than their notions on this matter? A man must serve God personally; a family must be religious; but a national religion—oh! that is "adultery betwixt Church and State." The individual must serve God with all he is and all he has; the father must use his authority for God; but for a Christian Prince to defend the faith or promote the religious welfare of his people, that is impious. Is God, then, the God of the man and of the family, but not of the nation? Are there not such things as national interests, aims, aspirations, and duties, and will you, as regard these, consign the Almighty, "without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy," to a sort of honourable exile? It is nonsense to say that national religion consists merely in the piety of the individual citizen. You might as well say that family

prayer takes place when everybody in the household says his prayers in his closet.

Surely, then, the conscience of the individual has a right to respect and toleration if it jump not with the creed of the nation; but has no right to unchristen that nation. And I say not this because I should fear very much for the particular or denominational interests of the Church were she disestablished. If I could forget that I am an Englishman and think only of myself as a presbyter of the Church, I could very easily reconcile myself to the change. No. I should shrink from the change because I should have misgivings about the State and its rulers. There were some stern words addressed by John Owen to the Long Parliament:—"If it shall come to this that you shall say that you have nothing to do with religion as rulers of the nation, God will quickly manifest that He has nothing to do with you as rulers of the nation."

And yet mark how far this secular spirit has won its way. In several of our colonies all regular and official acknowledgment of religion has been put an end to. Elementary education in England is secular so far as the State is concerned. University education is much in the same predicament. Marriage amongst us is dissociated from all necessary concern with Christianity. Then there are the divorce laws, clearly against the law of Christ and the Church. There are the repeated attempts to abolish the Table of Prohibited Degrees, for that it is which the marriage with a deceased wife's sister means, and that table in our Prayer Book represents the law of God. There are vigorous attacks continually made on the public provision of religious ministrations in gaols and workhouses. Is this great and ancient English nation on the high road towards a collective and corporate repudiation of the Gospel? There is grievous deficiency somewhere when men—good men too—find themselves constrained, because they are Dissenters, to clamour for this.

Let us not forget that whatever we may think of the deficiencies of Dissent, very much Dissent is directly due to deficiencies in the Church. For some of these no doubt the Dissenters themselves are rapidly taking over the main responsibility. When men denounce Church shortcomings and abuses on the platform, and then persistently obstruct the removal of those abuses or the remedy of those shortcomings in Parliament—say the scandals connected with the trafficking in livings for instance—they become themselves the guilty parties. But yet when the Church provides in a population of 8,000 or 10,000 perhaps 600 or 700 sittings, and those let for hire because there is no endowment for the vicar; or when we see a population gather quickly and thickly where a colliery has been opened or a railway made, and we do nothing for their spiritual wants—we are not the persons to find fault when the people do the best they can for themselves. Neither are we at liberty to deny that in times past the worldliness, neglect, absenteeism of the clergy were in many places scandalous. There is many a parish in which in past generations earnest religious life would seemingly have become extinct but for the Dissenters. And I fear sometimes now that a wooden administration of a parish, a certain reluctance to call in frankly the active help of godly and zealous laymen, does something to create and strengthen Dissent. When in all our dioceses and in all our parishes the Church bears on her plain tokens of superior unity, truth, sanctity, authority; when all our churches can show as compared with the chapels more frequent and more devout services; when there is heard from all our pulpits more searching, affectionate, and truly evangelical preaching; when

the vicarages are tenanted by more strict living, laborious, and faithful pastors than Dissent can boast of; then there will come out one more deficiency of Dissent which at present does not exist—I mean deficiency of numbers.

(*c*) Possibilities of Re-union or Inter-communion.

PAPERS.

The Lord Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand.

The paper I am about to read is based on fifteen years' colonial experience, in addition to that derived from ten years' home work, and as we are brought face to face with other communions in the Colonies in a different way, and in a different degree from what you are in the Mother Church, that may possibly account for the views which I shall place before you. We, in the Colonies, have to deal with them in numbers and position very different from the conditions in which they are found at home—with us there is no State Church, and the magnitude, importance, and usefulness of other communions impress themselves much more forcibly upon us in the Colonies, in America, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand than here, and the necessity and desirableness of union and co-operation press on us even more than on you.

If I am unable to say that the steps that I shall suggest have not as yet been taken by the Church in the Colonies, that simply amounts to saying that we are so anxious not to separate ourselves from the Mother Church that we hope to be led in such matters by her example; nevertheless, if she does not move we may perhaps make some experiments in recognition and reconciliation with other communions which may help to the solution of the difficulties so widely felt. The question before us is not, however, much affected by the existence or non-existence of a State Church; we find the problem quite as hard, and therefore do not recommend any steps in the direction of disestablishment, if re-union be desired as a result of it, for our experience leads us to think it would have but a partial effect in that direction.

Once more, let me say that, though time will not allow me to quote my authorities, nothing that I shall advance will be without its authority, for no other course would be consistent with the proper respect due to a meeting like this.

I propose to discuss the matter in two parts.

First. Is it possible for the Church to be re-united with Communions to which it formerly belonged, or which belonged to it?

Secondly. What amount of inter-communion is possible between the Church, that is, our Church, and other Communions?

In answering the first question and applying it to any proposed re-union with Rome, my answer is, As Rome is at present, decidedly not!

Bishop Jewel's Apology remains, not unanswered, but unrefuted, and if we needed any additional plain reasons for not joining the Church of Rome, Dr. Littledale has given us those reasons. If any of us wavered in our Protestantism, that book must have set us right, and given a new meaning and force to the word Protestant.

It is Rome that divides the Church, not we; Rome has made funda-

mentals which we cannot accept as fundamentals—let Rome content itself with the Apostles' Creed for fundamental truths—that was once enough to unite the Church.

In order to get to a common ground we must go back to a Creed which consists of such simple statements that ordinary persons can understand them in ordinary language, whereas the subtleties even of the Constantinopolitan-Nicene Creed cannot be rendered into many of the simple languages of the world, yet some would have us take our stand for purposes of union on the Nicene Creed, which would cut us off from the Greek Church, and cannot be rendered intelligibly into any but the higher class of languages. For purposes of union, we must reduce our fractions to lower and simpler terms still. Where mystery begins religion ends.

Can we re-unite with the Greek Church with which we once were one? In theory, union with the Greek Church is more feasible than with Rome, they have not so many additions to put away as Rome has. Practically, however, I see no immediate prospect of re-union. I spent last Easter-tide for the most part in the company of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, His Holiness Hierotheus, and from him, and those about him, I gathered that the regretable but admitted ignorance of priests and people of that portion of the Greek Church would render present re-union impracticable. Few things hinder the work of the Gospel among Jews and Mahommedans more than the ignorance and superstition of the great mass of the Greek Church, and when I suggested the desirableness of the monks leaving their convents and doing something useful in enlightening those outside, he shifted the blame on the people —who loved to have it so. Theoretically, then, we could much sooner re-unite with the Greek Church, but practically there would be difficulty.

Can we hope to be re-united with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the reformed Churches of Germany and France? It is impossible to hope for organic re-union, but we must remember that Hooker expressly recognises them as Churches, though defective; and the defect, he says, is too late to be remedied in the case of Scotland, and in the then existing troubles of France, he says, it is too soon to remedy it!

Can we hope to be re-united with the Wesleyan Body? Will it merge its individual existence as a part of a Church, in our Church? *There is no prospect of it.* For any such re-union, there must be a drawing together on both sides; whereas, they for their part do not see what they would gain by organically uniting themselves to us, and being absorbed in our body.

Theoretically and logically, perhaps we ought to be one, but the authorities on neither side can hand over the body to the other party, and if such a re-union is proposed, all the force of violated legal documents and trusts, all the *amour propre* of thousands and tens of thousands would be put on its mettle against such an amalgamation. Such a re-union, though not absolutely inconceivable, differs from being impossible by the smallest fraction; but this will not prevent intercommunion to such an extent as will secure almost all the advantages of an actual union. But, strictly speaking, they will not unite with us, and I venture to think, the less they are asked to do this the better; it is only wasting our time to do more than merely ask them to become one with us again.

So much for re-union; we now come to the next question.

Before considering whether there can be Inter-communion with other Churches, I must lay down the following axioms as necessary steps to understanding rightly what I should propose as to practical action.

1. Uniformity in the external organisation of the Church is not in accordance with the mind of God, so far as we can judge of it from His works in nature and His Word. (*Hatch.*)

2. Unity may be attained in the midst of great variety.

3. Such unity is the more valuable when it exists in the midst of great variety.

4. A Religion to be Catholic must be, in its very nature, of the simplest form, and contain as few fundamentals as possible.

5. Nearly all our troubles have come from multiplying fundamentals, and then binding them upon our brethren as burdens which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear.

6. Nothing is essential to a Church being a true Church but that which is essential to the being of a Church. That which is essential to the being of a Church is the Faith; therefore that and nothing more is absolutely essential to a Church being a true Church. (*Stillingfleet.*)

7. The idea of limiting fundamentals to the rule *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, however plausible a phrase that may be, is in the opinion of many qualified to speak thereon, an erroneous one (*Whately, Hare, Newman, Goode*), it fails as a standard, is unproductive, and is only true of comparatively few statements; what became of the clause *ab omnibus*, when the Church woke up after the Council of Rimini, A.D. 359, and found itself groaning under the shame of an Arian Creed? (*Wordsworth.*)

8. Since we are urged by some, for the purpose of union, to have recourse to *primitive organisation*, let us do so thoroughly and consistently! It is a small thing to have a ministry of the same number of Orders as in that which succeeded the Apostolic Church, if we have the name, and number, and not the thing. In order to reproduce the Primitive Church, the bishops must be far more numerous, must co-operate more thoroughly with the presbyters—the presbyters must be really such, and not repetitions of Jewish priests—the deacons must be more than apprentice priests, if we want to be like the Primitive Church.

9. But why should we always be going back in order to reproduce the Church of the first three centuries? Is not the Church able to think for herself? She has the Holy Spirit promised. I don't see why she should not be able to arrange her own government and organisation, even to adopt her own present form of government episcopacy, supposing it had not hitherto received it.

Any institution which does God's work is God's institution. Its permanent success proves and exhibits its real though unsuspected parentage and source, and, in such a case, its authority. The Holy Ghost is not a power that wears out naturally, or which the higher you go the more of it there is. There are as holy men now in the Church as ever there were, and as fitting as any men ever were to decide the course of the Church's action and its organisation also. "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." What suited them may not suit us. There was then no laity so well informed and

enlightened as the laity of to-day is; and this of itself makes all the difference in any prepared fundamental organisation. After laying down these axioms, I now come to some practical suggestions as to the increase of inter-communion between our Church and other communions. Time will only allow me to speak of a few cases.

1. As to Rome. I do not see how we can by occasional conformity to Rome avail ourselves of her services at which there is so much of "*Saint Worship*," respecting which error we have so plain a command, —"See thou do it not!"

I do not hold with those who say (Bennett) that rather than violate the Episcopate of Rome by building churches and establishing services on the Continent, we should leave our English travellers, labourers, and residents in Roman Catholic countries without ministration of their own Church. I think the breaking of a pointed and express commandment worse than the commission of an act which, in such a case is not the sin of schism, but a schism committed to avoid sin.

So far from taking time or tune from Rome, we ought to do all we can to receive with the right hand of fellowship such as come out from the fascinations and bondage of Rome, such as the Old Catholics, in whatever country; such as Pére Hyacinthe in France, the Old Catholics in other parts of the Continent, and the important and promising work in Spain, Portugal, and Mexico!

We, who boast of our glorious Reformation, do it scant justice if we have not learnt to feel for men who, like our own Reformers, are teaching the truth only step by step! We forget how long some of them were detained in some of their preliminary stages.

I thought it was a noble thing last June to hear and see our own beloved Archbishop at Lambeth, having on his right hand Pére Hyacinthe professing his faith, in the form of the Apostles' Creed, and on his left M. de Pressensè, urging with the warmest eloquence that every support should be given to his brother Pére Hyacinthe, who was fighting, he said, the battle of religious freedom against Romanism and Atheism almost single handed.

With regard to inter-communion with the Eastern Churches there are greater facilities, especially with the Armenian. That community is far ahead of the Greek in learning, and is not so hindered by love of money and possession of conventual property, nor hampered by the riches derived from the superstitious zeal of pilgrims.

In order to come to any inter-communion with what are called the Dissenting bodies, whether those who commenced in their present form, simultaneously with our Reformation, or those who have left us since, we must—

1. Be grateful to these Dissenting communions for what Dissent has done for us!

a. It has brought out prominently many overlaid truths.
b. It has kept us awake and stimulated our energies.
c. It has saved the Church of England from much blood-guiltiness.
d. It has, in its missionary work, furnished a fresh evidence of the vitality and force of Christianity.
e. It gave us "Pilgrim's Progress," Baxter's "Saints' Rest," "Alleine's Alarm," Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," a book that was the means of converting a Wilberforce

and influencing the Christianity of the nation, etc. It gave us Duff's and Williams' Missionary Work, Guthrie's Philanthropy and Ragged Schools, and last, not least, about one third of Hymns Ancient and Modern.

2. If we want these bodies to reunite with us, which went off from us, we must, where possible, supply the deficiency which was the plea of their departure. We must check the growth of prelacy, and develop the functions of the presbytery, to meet the Presbyterians; we must quicken the individual sense of conviction of sin and the spiritual life, to meet the Wesleyans:—we must make our confirmations realities to supply what the Baptists say we want, while we can assure them that Immersion is the preference and rule of the Church, and ready for them at once if they desire it; although on a recent occasion when I had, in the building of my Chapel, at Bishopdale, constructed a baptistry, and a numerous Baptist family desired to be baptized, when they found they could be immersed, they ceased to wish for it! We must, with regard to the Congregationalists, prevent the responsibility of the congregation being swallowed up with the grand idea of the Church, though we have less to learn from the Congregationalists than any, for there is already too much Congregationalism in the Church of England. Thus, at all events, we may try to supply our own deficiencies which made them split off from us.

3. We may have different degrees of acquiescence with the various bodies, with some we can go much further than with others, but we are bound in the interest of Christian unity to go as far as we can with each.

4. We must in some way or other recognise their orders. Their orders are good as far as they go. We have good authorities for recognising Presbyterian Orders. Such are Hooker, Dean Field, Archbishops Usher and Wake, and Bishops Andrews, Overall, Davenant, Hall, and Cosin, etc.

The last states respecting one who came with Presbyterian Orders—we do not re-ordain such, and never did!

Some difference should surely be made between the man whose ministry is proved and blessed by God, should such an one, perhaps with his flock, seek admission to our Church, and a young deacon fresh from the University, or a literate, untried, and inexperienced. I have received men from other Communions, and I tell them I pass no judgment on their former position, they have no opportunity given them when they join us of anathematizing other denominations, still less of repudiating or reflecting on their former ministry. Archbishop Leighton, was originally in Presbyterian Orders, but distinctly tells us he conceived that taking Priest's Orders in the Church did not reflect on his former ordination. The Episcopal ordination of those who have had Presbyterian Orders might be conducted at a different time and place, and would not require the same kind of public certification, as the party would be already known and tried.

5. We can surely allow, and even invite them under proper restrictions to preach in our Churches as well as we in theirs, the Incumbent requesting leave, for such individuals as he is willing to be responsible for, from the bishop of the diocese. With the permission to do this, the desire would probably cease also, but it might bring able persons to the

knowledge of the Church. Father O'Neil, who has just died a martyr to the climate of India, warmly recommends such teaching; it would of course be open to laymen as well as to invited ministers of other Communions.

6. Institute solemn and suitable Union Services for prayer and praise, and also even for Holy Communion, administered in such a way as would satisfy the Apostolic requirements and suggestions, and avoid matters of controversy.

7. Let us guard jealously the reformed character of our Church, especially as to Holy Communion. We are mistaken if we think we shall succeed in inducing our Presbyterian brethren to exchange their rich, full, impressive Communion Services, unfrequent as they are, for the solitary Mass, where the richly robed Priest, as unlike primitive simplicity as can well be imagined, reads so obscurely and so rapidly that no one scarcely has time to get up to communicate, and so the number of communicants is kept small.

8. If we are to have inter-communion, we must provide for the variety of men's tastes in worship; some love and are edified by a plain service, others, and I include myself among them, prefer a more ornate service.

9. If we want to win over Nonconformists, there must be great reform in our preaching achievements; there can be no bad preachers among Dissenters, they can't afford it.

10. Do not let us overmuch deplore *our unhappy divisions*; to talk of them makes them appear more than they really are. The prayer for unity was composed in 1715, and shortly after, the clergy and squires, not the bishops, excluded Wesley.

11. Let us, as far as possible, keep clear of each other in the mission field, and if we are together, let us work in love. I met recently a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from Japan, who called himself a high churchman, and was lately associated with a Presbyterian to read over and review a Japanese Ordination Sermon, written by a Canadian Methodist, to see whether it was fit to be printed by the Religious Tract Society! They have found common ground in Japan.

In conclusion, we can approach to Union by Recognition and Co-operation, and we can co-operate in many things. 1. Bible Revision, much mutual understanding has resulted already. 2. Bible Circulation. The times are altered; a few years ago Bishop Marsh of Peterboro' excommunicated the Bible Society, and now Bishop Lightfoot of Durham preaches for it in St. Paul's Cathedral. 3. In Sunday Observance. 4. In Religious and Bible Education. 5. In some departments of Missionary and Reformatory Work. 6. In Philanthropic and Social Projects of Benevolence. 7. In the Defence of our Common Faith, as in the Christian Evidence Society and Victoria Institute. 8. In Societies for Promoting Unity. These will keep the matter before the mind of the Church, such as the Evangelical Alliance and Home Re-union and Anglo-Continental Societies; I fear all of these are too heavily laden with conditions to secure for them the success their object deserves. And last of all—9. In Prayer. When I read lately in the papers "Prayers were offered up for the Archbishop of Canterbury in the churches of the Metropolis, and in many

Nonconformist places of worship," I thought we were not very far from a useful unanimity and co-operation. Above all, the love of Christ is that which constrains us, *i.e.*, holds us together; no bond so powerful to constrain as that. But if we cannot get as far as this towards inter-communion and union, we must still remember our Lord's answer to His own disciples, who said, "Master, we saw one casting out devils in Thy name, and we forbad him, because he followeth not us," and Jesus said, "Forbid him not: for there is no man which shall do a miracle in My name, that can lightly speak evil of Me. For he that is not against us is on our part."

The Right Rev. Bishop COURTENAY.

WE are invited to consider whether union with any other bodies of Christians be *possible*. For we must desire union. It is God's will that we should be one. Disunion cometh of evil, and causes evil. We see want of love causing separation, and again, separation alienating Christians more and more, or disunion caused by ignorance and error, which again it tends to increase and perpetuate. We need then union, but not a strict uniformity, not one "use" for all Churches, nor one language for all peoples, nor one rule for all nations. In our own Churches, more variety, and a wider discretion than our present laws and usages permit, are much to be desired. In the Church, as it shall be when Christ has subdued all things to Himself, we may well believe there will be wide diversities. It has been said, "It is evident that there can be but one true faith," a proposition obviously true, but apt to be abused and taken in too hard and narrow a sense to furnish a basis for Christian union. The true faith is a manifold thing, even as God's revelation is manifold. Imparted at sundry times and in divers manners, preached to "every creature," brought home to the heart and intellect by that Holy Spirit who divideth to every man severally as He will, the true faith is both manifold, and is most diversely received and apprehended. One thing to a little child, another to the man or woman rescued from the depths of Satan, another to such as have never known those depths. On Christ, lifted up on the cross to draw all men unto Him all converts gaze with loving eyes, yet various expression. *Facies non omnibus una.* In solitude they will not feel or think, nor when gathered two or three together will the separate groups pray or praise alike; and so far as it is possible, in the public prayers and praises appointed for them, these diversities should be recognised. For union with other Christian bodies in this island, this seems to me to be one most important pre-requisite (one out of many), and it is rather with the Church of England as she might be, and as I hope she will be, not in any respect less Catholic and Apostolic, insisting more firmly than she now does on essentials, yet more liberal in non-essentials, but furnishing a more various provision for the wants of her members and of the world around her, that I would hope it might be possible for other Christian bodies to find terms of union or inter-communion.

But *what* other Christian bodies? I must hasten on, and endeavour to give the best answer in my power to some particular questions.

First, is any communion possible between the Church of England—as she now is, or as she might be—and the Church of Rome?

Our relations with Rome have been discussed already, but I give my own deliberate and independent answer. With the individual members of that Church, generally speaking, we can have no quarrel. We must needs hold them to be in error; but how far such error is a *sin* in those who are taught that the absolute submission of the whole mind and being to ecclesiastical authority is the first, in order at least, of Christian duties, we must leave it to the Supreme Judge to determine. And if it *be* a sin, may the God to whom we pray to forgive us our ignorances forgive them theirs also. Our quarrel is with the misleaders, not with the misled. Through the mediæval gloom the light of Christ has ever shone upon humble souls; and if I read my Bible aright, it speaks of the Church of Rome, and assures me that in her are those whom the Lord knoweth for His own. "Come out of her, *My people.*" Side by side with, it is said, twenty millions of English-speaking Protestant episcopalians throughout the world, and twice as many Protestants of other denominations, there are fourteen millions of English-speaking Romanists; and happy indeed would it be for the Church of Christ and for the world, if all errors renounced, and all misunderstandings removed, we could meet both or *either* of them on common ground, and unite with them in worship and in all labours of love. But the Church of Rome can do nothing towards union with us, she cannot alter her position. She can give the right hand of fellowship to no other Church; she seeks not alliance, but conquest. She has assumed towards us an attitude of deadly hostility, and cannot change it; she has left herself no space for repentance. Such as she is she must be until the end. She cannot retract the Bull "*in cœna Domini*," which excommunicates and anathematises us—you and I—as heretics; nor erase from the Roman Pontifical the ferocious anathemas, aimed at such as we are,—"May God Almighty and all His saints curse them, with the curse with which the devil and his angels are cursed." In these awful words she has said to her sister, "Thou fool."

Again, we cannot join her unless we consent to give up our open Bibles. She cannot retract the Bull "*unigenitus*," which pronounces the doctrine that the scriptures are to be withheld from none to be "false, shocking, scandalous, seditious, and blasphemous," nor withdraw the assertion that Wickcliffe, in having translated the Bible into the English tongue, had "run into a detestable kind of wickedness." Again, we who know that there is only one Name under heaven whereby we may be saved, cannot join with those who look to Mary to save them from the wrath of Jesus—whose spiritual head has called the Blessed Virgin, "Our hope, yea, and the sole ground of our hope," has allowed her to be termed "the complement of the Trinity," and ascribes to her the "right of a mother to command her son."

We cannot unite with those who, if unwilling to assert, yet dare not deny, that a Papal Indulgence can take away all sin. The voice that once spake great words may now speak with bated breath; but it can never unsay what Pope Leo X. authorised his commissary Tetzel to say, "Indulgences are the most precious of God's gifts; this red cross has as much efficacy as the cross of Jesus Christ. Draw near, and I will give you letters duly sealed, by which *even the sins you shall hereafter desire to commit*, shall be all forgiven you:" letters which contained the

words, "I absolve thee from all excesses, sin, and crimes that thou mayest have committed, however great and enormous they may be. . . . If thou shouldst live long, this grace continueth unchangeable, till the time of thy end." Tens of thousands of persons paid their money and went their way, no longer afraid to sin. If these fearful abuses exist not now, the Bull which authorised them is still held to be the utterance of an infallible guide. There has been a change of policy necessitated by circumstances, not a change of character. If we seek for friends and allies we must look for them elsewhere.

Is any union possible with the Greek or other Oriental churches?

Passing from West to East we are at once in a more genial atmosphere. We meet with cordial greetings from bishops and clergy who entertain, or are now learning to entertain, a sincere respect for our Church, and to recognise its claims to be Catholic and Apostolic. I have not much information on this point, but I believe in many quarters there is a just appreciation of the difficulties of establishing inter-communion, with a sincere desire that they may be removed. Some of these Churches in their poverty have received aid from England, and we may hope that gratitude for temporal benefits may generate that atmosphere of Christian love in which alone Christian truth can flourish; and some churches have already expressed a desire to receive from us teachers from whom they may learn the way of God more perfectly. No anathemas, no aggressions, open or insidious, are to be feared from them, and if there be error and defects in their faith and practice, they are not greater than those from which our own Church has been delivered, nor are any of those Churches held in any ecclesiastical bonds more difficult to break than were our own.

It would be unreasonable not to hope for a brighter future for these churches sooner or later; and with it why should there not be an intercommunion with us, as close as the difference of languages and the remote distance from us would permit? Yet to the completion of such union as we desire, one serious and formidable obstacle presents itself, a doctrinal difference, not originally created by our Church; but which, as it seems to me, it rests with us to remove. I refer to the addition of the "*filioque*" to the Nicene Creed. For the sake of some here present, it should be stated that the words "filioque" (and from the Son) following after the "proceeding from the Father," form no part of the original Nicene Creed, but are a Western addition sanctioned by the Church of Rome, and retained by us at our Reformation, but never accepted by the Eastern Churches, by which the doctrine therein defined has never been admitted. The protracted endeavours which have been made by some of our ablest divines, meeting in conference with eminent members of the Greek Church to overcome this difficulty, prove their sense of its importance. Hitherto, if I am not mistaken, a reconciliation on this point has been attempted in one way only—by seeking to attach to our "*filioque*" a certain lower sense, in which the Greek Church might admit it to be true, though declining to adopt it themselves. I believe the attempt has not been very successful, and I must confess that I do not think it has deserved to succeed; for that in giving such a sense to the "*filioque*" we should not be consistent with ourselves. The Nicene Creed, taken alone, might admit of it, but the Athanasian Creed does not. It is too precise, too inflexible to bend itself to the lower sense

required. I regard this as most unfortunate. I am under a great disadvantage in stating conclusions for which I cannot give the grounds; but I must avow my opinion that on this profound mystery the Athanasian Creed has dogmatised too far, asserting more than ought to be required of any man as part of his faith in the Holy Trinity. What is truly Catholic, what has been held always, everywhere and by all on this point, is contained in the original Nicene Creed, without our Western addition. Whether that Western addition be or be not true, I cannot tell; to *my* mind, at least, the Word of God has not revealed it, and therefore, I repeat, it ought not to be required. It is in our power to remove, if we will, this obstacle to inter-communion with Oriental Churches. There are others remaining which it lies rather with them to remove. May God hasten it in His time!

But these Churches are very distant. There are Christians nearer home, nay, in our very midst, of the same blood with ourselves, and speaking the same language, holding, too, *nearly* all the Articles of the Nicene Creed, who yet, alas! have separated themselves and remain aloof. Is there any possibility of re-union with any of these? Of their re-union with the Church of England as it now is, I see no prospect whatever. We may gain converts from them, and from others. In the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, perhaps one fourth of the present bishops were once members of other communions; and of my own late diocese, Jamaica, the present bishop, elected by the Synod, was once a Wesleyan minister. These and similar isolated cases, which are within the experience of most of us, have their value, as indicating a friendly and favourable feeling towards the Church of England even as she is, on the part of not a few, who nevertheless prefer to remain aloof from her. No re-union on a large scale is to be hoped for unless our own Church receives the reforms which she needs. The dissenting bodies rejoice in their freedom from State control. Why should not our own Church be as free as is the Establishment in Scotland? They condemn our want of discipline. It is a profound disgrace to us, and has been deplored in this Congress Hall but two days ago. Again, Wesleyans and others have machinery and methods which we have not. We surely need more variety. We want shorter and simpler forms of prayer for occasional and discretionary use. Prayers suitable for the young, the ignorant, the careless, the vicious, the sick and suffering, and intercessions—to be used in their hearing and on their behalf, and hymns, of which the words may be to them realities. We need opportunities for prayer, written and oral, in which the priest shall lead only, or even not lead at all, but merely exercise a general superintendence. Wesleyans have their class meetings. There is nothing in them contrary to the Catholic faith. Why should not a Wesleyan congregation, if, happily, united to the Church of England, retain these for all who valued them? For all this, we further need an army of deacons and licensed preachers, lay-readers, sick visitors, paid and unpaid, and of all ranks.

And to govern all these, more numerous bishops, each diocesan having his Council of Presbyters. I am not speaking of impossibilities. The expediency of such reform, such development, has been, or will be discussed at this very Congress, and surely we may hope that such discussions will bear fruit in time. Yet not all the difficulties in the way of re-union, even with those dissenting bodies which are the best affected

towards us, would be thereby removed. Content with their own orders, Dissenting ministers would not submit to re-ordination in its present form. But I with great diffidence venture to throw out the suggestion that we might perhaps so change the language of our Ordinal as to overcome their scruples on this head. Might not authority be given to execute the office of a priest in the *Church of England*, both parties of course regarding it as a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ? Thus with fasting and prayer and imposition of hands were Barnabas and Saul separated unto a work to which the Lord had called them, even though Saul had been already made an Apostle by the mouth of the same Lord, and had already laboured in the ministry. In such an ordination there would be no recognition on the one hand, and no repudiation on the other, of any previous call.

Were the door thus opened, I should not despair of seeing it entered by many. I will, for the present at least, fondly cling to the hope that dissenting ministers might thus, with the consent of their congregations, become priests of the Church of England, and so, their communicants our communicants, their people our people.

But when we throw wide the door we must put the house in order, we must heal our own unhappy divisions. We must have salt in ourselves, and be at peace one with another.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Hon. EARL NELSON.

I AM not prepared to agree with everything that has been stated by my namesake from this platform, but there are some things he said in which I heartily agree. If we ought to strive for unity rather than uniformity, then the multiplication of the fundamentals of belief is really a mistake, and against union or re-union; and we ought to be cordially grateful for what Nonconformists have done. I am also prepared to advocate special services in our Churches for re-union, and I have reason to believe that services for re-union would also be ordered at the same time in many and many a dissenting chapel. The next thing I wish to say is also to a certain extent agreeing with the good Bishop of Nelson, viz:—That any scheme for corporate re-union would be, to say the least against it, very premature; and I think we are wasting time very much in trying for that too much at the present time. And there is another thing that many persons press which I wish to caution you against. There is no difficulty whatever in a great number of Nonconformists desiring to become ministers of the Church of England. And some persons knowing this think it is a very important thing for re-union that we should have a scheme of scholarships, or other means for providing during the two years of their preparation, for those who are anxious to come. My own belief is that, although in many cases it might be done, there are very great dangers in such a course as this; because the very trials the Nonconformists have to go through become a great proof of their sincerity; because we should really be dealing unfairly with the Nonconformist bodies, and sapping their discipline, if we made it too easy for some who may behave badly to come into another communion. And we should run the risk of a punishment by flooding our Church and orders with the worst men from the Nonconformist ministry. But do not think that because of this I despair of re-union with Nonconformists. There is a great deal that we are bound to do. The first thing is this—. and I am certain of it from many, I will not say controversies, because they were conducted in such a spirit of love that the word controversy, in its usual acceptation, would hardly explain the discussions that I have had with Nonconformists. But I must say that I have found from those discussions that, if we wish for a happy re union and understanding, we must maintain fearlessly the whole faith, and we mus be ready to give an answer to every man in a true spirit of love; to meet them; t

find out their difficulties; and to explain what we mean. And such explanations, given in a spirit of love, are often wonderfully blessed. We must heartily recognise all that is good in the sects, and that is being done by them; or that we see good in individual members of the sects; and we must be careful to learn from their witness our own shortcomings, and to allow them to provoke us to jealousy in zeal for our common Master's work. And if we do this, after a very short period the possibilities of re-union will be wonderfully increased. There is one, and only one, more point I should like to state. I cannot believe that the actual attendance at chapel—I am not sure about the ministry in Dissenting bodies—but I am perfectly certain that the actual attendance at chapel ought not to be a cause of excommunication. We must keep up our own sacraments, and it is wrong and against the orders of the Church that the baptized should generally come to the Communion until he has been confirmed; and it is also rash and wrong to admit to the Holy Communion the minister of a body of people of whom you may be doubtful as to whether they are baptized. Things must be done decently and in order, but at the same time I think and hope that some mode may be devised by which people who belong to Nonconformist bodies, and have been baptized, could privately or by special service for themselves be confirmed by the bishop, and be allowed, if they chose, to present themselves at Holy Communion services. And that would be an immense step without actually pledging them—as they would be pledged to do if they came with the other confirmation condidates—to ally themselves entirely to the whole system of the Established Church.

The Rev. A. R. FAUSSET, Rector of St. Cuthbert's, York.

AGGRESSIVE Christianity is, I believe, the only healthy Christianity, and it has one battle to fight, and that is against the power of Rome. When Hannibal won battle after battle in Italy, and threatened Rome itself, Scipio, with a masterly policy, transferred the war to Africa, and there at the battle of Zama dealt the death stroke to the Carthaginian power, when Carthage was expecting the Roman power was about to bow to her imperial sway. I believe we have a lesson to learn from this. I believe that the Church of England is called to witness for the truth and to witness against error. When I, as a presbyter, and my brethren of the Presbytery of the Church of England were ordained, we solemnly promised to drive and banish away all false doctrine so far as lies in our power, God being our helper. There are those that say there is but a paper wall separating the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and that we ought to send an eirenicon to our erring sister. But as is truly said, if it be but a paper wall between us, the whole Bible is written upon that wall. As to the traditions of the Church and the traditions of the Fathers, so far as my reading teaches me, I believe that there is one great truth in which all the Fathers agreed, and that was, to appeal to the Word of God and the Word of God alone. If you say, as has been said already on this platform, that we have received the New Testament from the early Christian Church, and that we are therefore bound to accept the interpretation which the Church has put upon it, my answer is this, "And pray from whom did you receive the Old Testament revelation? Did you not receive it from the Jewish Church? Are you, therefore, bound to accept the interpretation of the Jewish Church? For if you are, you are bound to become a Jew and deny the Lord that bought you." Now, as to the unity, I do myself heartily believe with the most learned bishop who in his able paper said, "That the strength of Rome lies in the schisms of Protestants." Let me tell you what occurred to myself. I had a friendly controversy with a pervert from the Church of England, and who is now I believe a Roman Catholic priest, as he was many years ago. I said to him, "May I take the liberty of enquiring why you abandoned the Church of your baptism?" His reply was, "Because I found unity given as a mark of the Church, and I find that unity in the Roman Catholic Church, and I find no pretension to unity amongst Protestants." "Ah!" I said, "but everything depends upon the kind of unity. A blind man may be united with another blind man, but it ends in their both going into the ditch. I think," I said to him, "I shall be able to show to you a body of worshippers possessing that characteristic of unity in a still higher degree than in the Catholic Church; and yet you will hardly maintain that their unity proves their truths." He smiled and said, "What body of worshippers do you mean?" And I said, "There was once on a time a great king who set up an image of gold, and he commanded all peoples and nations to fall down

and worship the golden image he had set up, at what time they should hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of music. Accordingly they all with perfect unity fell down except three heretics—Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who were forthwith cast into the fire, as the Church of Rome would do to us Protestants if she had the power." I must say that, so long as the Church of Rome is not at peace with God, I join with Bishop Hall in saying "No peace with Rome." I impugn Rome, and the Church of England impugns her of idolatry in the Mass. A remarkable warning is given in the institution of the Lord's Supper in the only passage of the epistles where Paul alludes to it (1 Corinthians x. 14, 15). How does he preface that description and account of our Lord's institution? "I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say. Dearly beloved, flee from idolatry." To localise God in a piece of bread is to degrade His Deity.

[Here interruption ensued.]

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT:

I HAVE no wish whatever to suppress any expressions of disapprobation, but I think they should always be such as should commend themselves among Christian gentlemen.

The Rev. A. R. FAUSSET:

I WISH to say, that to make one part of the Church more holy than another because of the presence of the Eucharistic elements, is to violate Christ's own rubric, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I—not in the *East* of them—but in the *midst* of them." Matthew xviii. 20.

SYDNEY GEDGE, Esq., Mitcham, Surrey.

THE question under our consideration is two-fold. Shall we aim at re-union or intercommunion with the Church of Rome? and shall we do so with the Nonconformist Churches? I take the Roman Church first. It is admitted, and has been to-day stated here by the Bishop of Lincoln, that the breach between the Churches of England and Rome is wider than it was at the Reformation, and that this is owing to the action of the Church of Rome. We remain where we were then; they have gone further off. This fact shows that they will not draw nearer to us, and that if the gulf between the two churches is to be bridged over, the bridge must be built from our side. Let us, then, "condescend to particulars," as the Scotch say, and see if there be any doctrine upon which we can do so. Shall it be the universal supremacy of the Pope? But to admit this is to deny the sole Headship of our Lord Jesus Christ. No, we must still maintain that this arrogant claim of the Pope's marks him out as Anti-Christ. Is it to be the doctrine of the worship of the saints, and the invocation of them as mediators? But we cannot assent to this without denying that there is only one Mediator between God and Man—Christ Jesus. Is it the Masses offered for quick and dead? We cannot approach Rome here so long as we hold to the Article which declares them to be "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." Is it transubstantiation and the adoration of the elements? But that is declared in our Communion Service to be "idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians." On none of these points then can we, as faithful members of the Church of England, draw nearer to Rome; and if we drew nigh on them, on them all, it would be of no use. Rome would make no step to meet us—she would not allow that we were nearer, unless we swallowed all these doctrines whole, and many others equally false besides—we should sacrifice much, and gain nothing for our pains. Next, how stands the case with Dissenters? With Rome we have but one point of Union—Episcopacy; this we have not with Dissenters, but the chief doctrines held by the orthodox Dissenters (I except Unitarians) are the same as ours. Which is of the greater importance—the light or the lamp-post? the certain sound given by the trumpet, or the uniform of the trumpeter? Can we not meet the Dissenters on the point of the Episcopacy? The matter involved is the validity of their orders; and this affects the efficacy of their administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Now, it does not lie in the mouth of a member of the Church of England to deny Presbyterian orders, for the Canons of 1604 directed prayers for the sister Church of Scotland, which was at that time undoubtedly Presbyterian. But, if Dissenting orders be not valid, they have only the Sacrament of Baptism, and I doubt whether the greatest stickler for Episcopacy

in this hall would venture to assert that no Dissenter has ever received grace through the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, administered by their clergy, for he would be contradicted by the personal experience of myriads of pious men —

[Here the bell rang.]

The Rev. JOSEPH LEYCESTER LYNE (Father Ignatius), Llanthony Abbey, Abergavenny.

MY Lord and father in our Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, who is now present in our midst, my fathers and brethren and sisters in Jesus Christ, I speak to you standing at His feet, and I ask you to listen to me and bear with me for the appointed time, while I say a few words. The one unique divinely given sign of the second coming of Jesus Christ has raised its head in our midst, and it is that tone of nineteenth century civilisation which is tending towards the denial of all that is called God, and therefore, I say, Christians, Protestants and Catholics alike, let us fly to the mountain —let us take our place upon that and upon nothing else than that, and let us approach the controversy with Rome on the Rock, which is Christ. And let us take our place as we approach the controversy with our dissenting brethren on the same Rock. And if we take our place on Jesus Christ alone, the Holy Ghost promises to every individual believer, that He will be with us, aiding us in that work of which Jesus Christ has said, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Therefore, brethren, if I approach controversy with the Church of Rome, my one question is this—and this only—Do you acknowledge Jesus Christ as your God and your one and only finished free salvation? And if a Roman Catholic says "Yes, certainly," then I say there is an end of controversy between you and me. You may differ from me in some points, and I may regret your differences, and you may regret mine, but our religion is that personal faith in the personal and loving Saviour who gave Himself for His people, and He has declared with a "Verily, verily," none shall pluck the Roman Catholic or me out f His hand. But now I come to look at our controversy with the Dissenters, and here I would take precisely the same ground. It is not on the programme of this meeting to be spoken about, but there is on the programme of this meeting "The Difficulties of Dissent." I say the one chief difficulty of Dissenters with regard to our Church of England is this, that there is not one half of our clergymen who can put their hands on their hearts and say in the words of Christ they have been "converted, and become as little children." I say that there is not one half of them that can lay their hands on their hearts and say "I know I have eternal life." They cannot say it, and I say that one out of twenty would be a very good percentage of those who could say "God has revealed His Son in me and sent me to preach." Brethren, no one has a more reverent and filial devotion for Christ's ordinance of the Episcopacy than I have, but I do say that all the bishops in the world cannot make an evangelical preacher. None but the Holy Ghost can do that. I would far sooner listen to a Primitive Methodist who has been in the Holy Ghost's school, and who loves the Lord Christ, and possesses Christ in his heart, than to a whole college of educated Dons, who have never yet passed through the Red Sea of Christ's blood. Brethren, I am speaking to brethren in Christ. I do not pretend to speak to outsiders, to men and women who only have a name that they love but do not possess Christ. I have come here to speak through the kind indulgence of the President, for which I am very sure God will bless him. I come here to speak not for the Church, but for the honour of Jesus Christ in the Church of E gland. And I say this, in conclusion, that that Church which brushes away the rubbish from the Rock and exposes the Rock to the sinner—and that Rock is Christ, and other foundation can no man lay than that—I say the Church that brushes away the rubbish from the Rock, that that is the Church which will be blessed in the day of the Lord. If the Roman Catholic Church does it, up with the Church of Rome; and if the Church of England does it, up with the Church of England; and if the Salvation Army does it, up with the Salvation Army. Thank you, my lord, thank you.

The Rev. C. GORE, Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon.

I desire to recall the meeting for a few moments from the immediate practical questions of inter-communion to the *doctrine of Church unity*, which must(if the warnings of history go for anything) be accepted as the basis of all practical action. This doctrine of Church unity it has been the special task of the great Church of Africa—culminating in her greatest teacher S. Augustine—to help us to understand. There is first the *unity of Life*—that which (like the unity of blood in a family) makes the Church one in spite of her outward divisions. This unity of Life is the result of the indwelling of the new life of Christ by the spirit in the Church ; and this indwelling life, which is the essence of the Church, is dependent on the full circle of the sacraments, and therefore on the full possession of the Apostolic ministry. Thus the inward Life is linked to the outward organisation of the Church, and this condition of the Covenant we must keep in mind in all our efforts for Church unity. Next there is the *unity of Truth*. On this enough has been said in the noble paper of the Bishop of Lincoln. The Truth committed to the Church is the Rule of Faith—contained in the Scripture and interpreted by the consent of the Church. To underrate or declare indifferent any part of this is not "liberality," but unfaithfulness. Lastly there is the *unity of Love*, "the bond of peace," the outward exhibition of unity which is just what human sin mars (as it mars the outward exhibition of holiness and truth in the Church). That which breaks this unity of love, or inter-communion inside the Catholic Church, is the schismatical temper, and this St. Augustine makes to consist in elevating into conditions of communion opinions which may be tenable, but fall short of the full authority of Catholic consent : thus, self-assertion on the part of the Church is the sin of schism, and while St. Augustine would urge us to make every effort to restore and preserve the unity of love, he would encourage us (especially in his commendations of the conduct of St. Cyprian in his *de Baptismo*) to resist all attempts to force upon us dogmas which fall short of the full authority of the *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*. .This we shall do in humility, without recrimination, because we are mindful of our own shortcomings.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

YOU will all agree with me, I think, when I say, after the very interesting and full discussion that we have had, how much I regret that so much spiritual power as is treasured in the Church of Rome, and so much spiritual earnestness as is working in the ranks of Nonconformity, should be separated from us in that struggle with which we are now more than ever face to face in our day ; I mean the struggle against the sin and indifference to be found everywhere around us. Therefore let us all join in the resolution and the prayer that nothing may be wanting on our part to break down the barriers between us and our Christian brethren, so far as it is possible to do so with loyalty to our Blessed Lord Himself. I believe that this is the key-note of our Conference ; that we are all moved by this one spirit, the longing after being brought into closer fellowship with all who love our Lord ; and the drift of every paper and address that we have heard to-day has been to find out, if possible, not only some *modus vivendi*, but some *modus operandi*, with those who are separated from us. May God indeed prosper our deliberations this morning towards some practical means by which we may be more united together in the great work which our Lord has given us to do in His Church—to overcome the power of evil and to further the cause of God. I now desire to make an intimation which I feel sure will give satisfaction to many present. You will have read that the Bishop of Manchester has taken a step with reference to the unhappy imprisonment of which we have heard so much, which I earnestly trust may be the means of putting an end to it, and at last setting free that clergyman from his eighteen months' bondage. And whatever may be our opinion as to the course of conduct of that clergyman himself, or of those through whose proceedings he has been so long in prison, there is not one of my brethren on this platform who will not rejoice to see the prison doors thrown open and the prisoner set free. I earnestly trust that nothing will interpose to hinder this act of the Bishop of Manchester from bearing the fruit which he himself so earnestly desires, for he says, "I am most anxious that no act or omission of mine should in any way contribute to the imprisonment of Mr. Green or hinder his liberation."

TEMPERANCE HALL.

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 5TH.

The Right Rev. the Bishop of BEDFORD in the Chair.

EXTENSION OF CHURCH MINISTRIES.

(*a*) COADJUTOR BISHOPS—SUFFRAGAN AND ASSISTANT.
(*b*) THE DIACONATE.
(*c*) MINOR ORDERS.

(*a*) COADJUTOR BISHOPS—SUFFRAGAN AND ASSISTANT.

PAPER.

The Rev. Canon DIXON.

AT an early stage of the Reformation, in the Parliamentary Session of November, 1534, an Act was passed by which no less than twenty-six towns were assigned for the Sees of suffragan bishops, who might be appointed on the request of diocesan bishops requiring aid. This was apparently a beneficial Act; but it must not be supposed that it was the first remedy applied to a defect previously existing in the organism of the Church of England; and that there had been in England no coadjutor or suffragan bishops heretofore. So far was this from the truth that a very learned writer has not hesitated to say that "for about two hundred years before the Reformation suffragan bishops had been frequent in England, not only in larger neglected dioceses, but also in smaller dioceses, such as Wells; and in those wherein the proper bishop did generally reside in person; insomuch that in many dioceses, whose records are preserved, there appears a continual series or succession of suffragan, as well as proper bishops."—*Harmer's Specimen of Errors*, p. 36. From this we must not only suppose with Strype that suffragans were appointed occasionally by absent diocesans, and the more so as the prelates of the Church were so much more employed in political and civil business before the Reformation than after; but that they were a constant part of the ecclesiastical system. Indeed, the author above quoted goes on to say that, at the time of the passing of the Act of the Reformation, "there seemeth to have been a suffragan bishop in every diocese of England, save Carlisle, Rochester, and the Welsh dioceses; and in several more than one." It is, therefore, not a true view to hold

with Burnet and with Bingham, that they were "revived in England" by the Parliament of Henry VIII. ;* and the Act itself declares that "suffragans have been accustomed to be had within this realm for the more speedy administration of the sacraments, and other good, wholesome, and devout things and laudable ceremonies, to the increase of God's honour, and for the commodity of good and devout people." They were neither revived nor increased by the Act; all that the Act did, or professed to do, was to bring to an uniform order the manner of their appointment.

Hitherto the coadjutors of the diocesan bishops appear to have been appointed and designated in various and somewhat curious ways. Many of them had fictitious titles, drawn not from English towns, but from foreign towns; and many of them from towns in the East. Thus, a succession of bishops of Sidon had been coadjutors of the Archbishop of Canterbury; the bishops of Negropont and of Damascus had aided the Archbishops of York; an Athenian town gave the title of Reonen to the assistant of Salisbury; and even after the time when the Act was passed the reforming Primate Cranmer himself was assisted, as he had been before, by the Bishop of Hippolitanum. Such names as these perhaps indicate the influence of the Crusades. There were other coadjutors who seem to have been altogether without local designation; and others who took, or rather adapted to themselves the name of the Sees where they were engaged. There was one Richard Martin, Guardian of the Grey Friars in Canterbury, who wrote himself "Bishop of the Universal Church:" by which he is supposed to have meant that he had no jurisdiction or particular charge; though it may be conjectured, with equal probability, that he was Suffragan of Canterbury, but that he was aware of the truly Catholic idea that a bishop had charge of the whole church, whilst he was employed in some particular part of it. There was a bishop named Underwood, coadjutor to the infirm old diocesan Bishop Nix of Norwich at the time when the Reformation Act passed; this man wrote himself Bishop in Norwich.

The Act reduced these varieties to uniformity, assigning the following places for the Sees of suffragans :—Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guildford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftesbury, Melton, Marlborough, Bedford, Gloucester, Leicester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penrith in Llandaff,

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* Burnet erroneously confounds suffragans with the chorepiscopi or rural bishops of the primitive Church, and says that they continued in the west to the ninth century, when they were "put down everywhere; and now (in the time of the Reformation) revived in England."—*Refor. Bk.* 1, *anno.* 1534. Bingham also describes the Reformation "Act for Suffragan Bishops" as "an attempt to restore the chorepiscopi in England under the name of suffragan bishops." He rightly says that the primitive chorepiscopi and suffragan bishops were not the same; but confuses matters by adopting from Burnet the notion that nevertheless "these suffragans" who were "revived" in the Reformation, were much the same as chorepiscopi.—*Antiq. Bk.* 11, *c.* 14. Suffragans were neither created nor revived in England by the Reformation; and the comparison between them and the ancient chorepiscopi is unfortunate.

† These examples are from various places in Strype's "Life of Cranmer." It may be observed that the term suffragan appears to be used in two senses. 1. All bishops are said to be suffragan in relation to their archbishop or metropolitan; and in this sense the Archbishop of York was held to be suffragan to Canterbury. Thus in the twelfth century Anselm was assisted in a consecration by his suffragans of York, Lincoln, Bath, Norwich, Chester, Chichester, and Durham.—*Johnson's Canons* 11, 30. 2. A suffragan bishop is one who has a See in the diocese of another bishop, to whom he is suffragan.

Bridgewater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Penrith, Berwick, St. Germain's in Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight. The mode of appointment which the Act prescribed was, as it might be expected, such as secured the nomination to the king; but with this provision, the choice of his coadjutor was left to the bishop who wanted help, and thus one important part of good election was secured—and secured by a Reformation model—the voice of one of the chief parties concerned. By him two persons were to be recommended to the king, and the king might choose one of them and name his See.* The process may be seen in the first case that occurred under the Act:—When in 1535 the Bishop of Norwich humbly signified to the king by letter that he was destitute of the help of a suffragan, and prayed him to appoint either Gregory, Abbot of Leyston, or Thomas Manning, Prior of Batley, leaving the See to the king to name. The king replied by a mandate addressed to Cranmer; whereby he chose Manning, assigned Ipswich for his See, and bade the Archbishop consecrate him.†

The places assigned for Sees by the Act were numerous and well chosen, and it may be argued that if it were thought proper at the Reformation to have six-and-twenty suffragans, the number of suffragans must have been at least as great previously, for it was not the tendency of the sixteenth century to multiply ecclesiastical officers. It is, moreover, important to observe that, within four years of the passing of the Act, half the Sees specified in it were actually filled: Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Penrith in Llandaff, Marlborough, Bedford, Bristol, Taunton, Shaftesbury, Berwick, and Penrith, to which may be added Hull and Nottingham, which were filled a few years later, making a total of fourteen Sees.‡

After this, very few suffragans appear to have been appointed during the Reformation, or subsequently under the Act; and as the Act was conceived to have extinguished all other appointments than to the Sees named in it, there were no suffragans appointed otherwise. Thus, though the Act may have been well meant, the touch of uniformity abated and almost at last exploded an ancient and salutary institution of the Church.

Most of the suffragans first appointed under the Act were of the number of the late religious, the monks, canons, friars of the dissolved houses; and before the Reformation those bodies supplied an exhaustless succession of persons fit to be consecrated and employed as suffragans; such persons seem often to have retained their Abbeys or other religious houses *in commendam* for their maintenance. By the Act,

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* 26 Henry VIII., *ch.* 14.

† Burnet *sub ann.* 1534. and coll. Bk. 11, 51.

‡ The following were for a while suffragan Sees:

Taunton (Bath and Wells), 1538.
Shaftesbury (Sarum), 1537.
Marlborough (Sarum) 1537.
Bristol (Worcester), 1538.
Dover (Canterbury), 1537, again till 1558, again 1569-97.
Bedford (Lincoln), 1537-60.
Shrewsbury (Lichfield), 1537.
Ipswich (Norwich), 1536.
Thetford (Norwich), 1536-70.
Colchester (London), 1536, again 1592—1607.
Penrith (Llandaff), 1537.
Hull (York), before 1552, again 1553-79.
Berwick (Durham), 1536-70.
Penrith (Carlisle), 1537-9.
Nottingham (York), 1567-70.

Walcott's Sacred Archæol. *Strype's Cranm.*

suffragans were allowed to hold two benefices with cure for the support of their dignity; and some years afterwards, under Edward VI., the more ancient system of bishops of any sort holding any kind of benefice *in commendam* was ended, so far as I know, by an Order of Council.—*Strype, E. M., in* 344.

Into the further history of suffragans and assistant bishops I am incompetent to enter, but it will be seen that the disuse of an important institution is really to be dated from the Reformation, and that herein, as in greater matters, the Reformation has enjoyed the credit of having revived what, in truth, it well nigh destroyed.

ADDRESS.

The Right Hon. the EARL OF DEVON.

I DO not rise with the intention of adding anything to the very interesting details—from an antiquarian point of view—which have been given by the rev. gentleman who has just sat down. I would not for a moment disparage—(certainly not in the presence of the right rev. chairman)—the advantages which result from the employment of suffragan bishops. At the same time, looking at the subject for the discussion of which we are assembled—the Extension of Church Ministries—I trust that I shall be pardoned if I address my observations, not so much to the question of suffragans as to the extension of the Episcopate in some other way. I cannot but feel that the division of existing Sees would often be a more successful mode of extending episcopal supervision than the mere establishment of suffragan bishoprics. Looking at the matter from the point of view of a layman, and without for a moment doubting the advantage which results from, and the necessity which exists for, the extension of suffragan bishoprics, I think that the division of Sees would often be a more successful mode of extending episcopal supervision than the further adoption of the arrangement under which suffragans act. The advantage to be derived from the clergy being able at once to refer to—if I may use the term—their superior officer—to the bishop of the diocese—would be greater than that which is obtained under the other system. The great object would, of course, be to give the clergy, through the sub-division of the diocese, such opportunity of free access to the ecclesiastical head as would enable them at once to obtain advice, consolation, sympathy, and support. The bishop would thus be enabled to cultivate an intercourse with his clergy, and he would have the opportunity of visiting every parish in his diocese, and of ministering in almost every church. There are, of course, objections to be urged against such a system as I advocate. One of these objections relates to the difficulty of dealing in such a way with the bishoprics in a country the constitution of which, happily, provides that the ecclesiastical portion of the Church should be represented by seats in the House of Lords. Well, I confess it has always seemed to me that if the bishops were multiplied in England, it would not be by any means necessary that all should have seats in the House of Lords. While I should most certainly deprecate the exclusion of representatives of the episcopal body from the House of Lords, I think that not only no harm, but that good would arise from the fact of a certain number of bishops being not

necessarily called to London, and therefore being able to devote themselves exclusively to the care of their dioceses, and being always available to those who might wish to see them. Another advantage which would result from the arrangement would be that a smaller income than that at present required by Act of Parliament would be sufficient for those bishops who were not called on to exercise any duties in the metropolis. I am sure that greater facility would be given for the creation of additional bishoprics if it were provided that a certain number of bishops only—say, all the old historical bishoprics antecedent to Henry VIII.—should have seats in the House of Lords. The others would not be called on to exercise any Parliamentary duties, would not be obliged to live in London, and, consequently, would be able to maintain themselves on a smaller income than a bishop at present needs. One objection that is not unnaturally raised to the multiplication of the bishops—namely, that it would be impossible to introduce a large number into the House of Lords—would by this means be removed. With regard to the question of funds, I believe that the advantage which arises from the greater extension of bishoprics in the land is being more and more appreciated, and that, in consequence, more funds will year by year be made available for the establishment of Sees in crowded districts. When it is remembered that until ten years ago there had only been two additions to the number of the Sees since the time of Henry VIII., and when we look at the increase of the population, the spread of education, the growth of various new interests, and the increased necessity for duly providing for the spread of religious truth, it will, I think, be conceded that more bishoprics are required than was formerly contemplated. In the year 1878, an Act was passed for the establishment of four new bishoprics—Liverpool, Newcastle, Wakefield, and, that which more especially interests this town, Southwell. Of these bishoprics, I rejoice to know that two have been already created—Newcastle and Liverpool—and great progress has been made, and more, I trust, will this week be made, towards the collection of funds for the establishment of the See of Southwell. I regret that I am obliged to speak less hopefully of the proposed See at Wakefield than I am enabled to do with reference to the other Sees. With regard to Southwell, I hope that this Congress week will see a very large addition to the funds available for the establishment of that See. In addition to these, the Sees of Truro and St. Albans have been established, mainly by private munificence; and I do trust that these may not merely be instrumental in doing a vast amount of good in the districts in which they are situated, but that they may be looked upon as indicating a large amount of sound Church feeling, which will be, under God's blessing, conducive to the spiritual good of the country. I mentioned just now the question of funds. Well, my eye was attracted the other day to a statement in a publication which both claims and deserves authority, to the effect that the estimated income of Church people in this country is from £300,000,000 to £400,000,000 a-year. The writer goes on to say, on the principle that Christians ought to devote a tithe of their incomes to God's service, that if each Churchman gave a tithe there would be annually available for Church services the sum of between £30,000,000 and £40,000,000 and that if even a tithe of a tithe were given, we should have from £3,000,000 to £4,000,000 a-year to deal with. It is impossible to over-estimate the good which, under God's blessing, might result from the general adoption of the principle of giving a tithe to the service of God. I very much hope

that the movement for the division of bishoprics may spread, and I believe that if it does, the good not only of a portion of the community, but of the population at large, would be promoted.

(*b*) The Diaconate.

PAPER.

The Rev. E. R. Bernard, Vicar of Selborne, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury.

The *extension* of the Diaconate is only one division of the subject. But I will ask your attention for this division first, as the view taken regarding it will affect all proposals for increasing the usefulness of the order. There is a mode of extension which is every day more strongly urged. Let me sum up what is said. Work, both spiritual and secular, continually presses harder on the existing clergy. The supply of clergy does not keep pace with the increase of population. Means to support a sufficiently increased number cannot be raised. If the means could be raised, it would be found that the men were wanting. If the men did come forward, the consequent increase of curates without hope of preferment would be undesirable. There are laymen fit and willing to share the burden of work. A few of these are already employed as readers, but the scope of that office does not meet the needs of the Church, and it does not attract workers to nearly the extent which a higher ministry would do.

There is a higher ministry, apostolic and endued with grace—the Diaconate. It is now not used as an order, but as the novitiate of an order, and even in that character, used to but little purpose. The conclusion is easy. Confer this order on the men who are ready to do the work which is needed.

Let me very shortly criticise one or two of these premises, and afterwards point out some difficulties which beset the practical conclusion.

The pressure of secular work on the clergy to the hindrance of spiritual work is brought forward as a close parallel to the circumstances of the first institution of the Diaconate, and as suggesting the same remedy. Laymen are enlisted to manage funds, keep accounts, and undertake such responsibility as the incumbent can delegate. The most useful of these may very well be men of no special spiritual endowments or aptitude for spiritual help. Their secular help is exactly what the times need. It is invaluable. But will you ordain them deacons that they may give it?

Let me pass to the question of the supply of candidates for orders. "If we are ready to allow that a man may make a first-rate clergyman who is not what society considers a gentleman by position, but who has had the advantages of education and special training, then I am strongly of opinion that there is still an ample supply of men for the ministry." Such is the opinion of Mr. Wyatt Smith, of the "Candidates' Ordination Fund." The secretary of the Clerical Education Society writes less hopefully, but thinks that his own and kindred societies are not

sufficiently known. There will, I believe, be a statement regarding them in the forthcoming *Church Year Book*. A little more money spent on clerical education might bring much fruit. And I do not think we have fully tried the power of prayer.

Further, it is said that the reader's office does not meet the needs of the Church. What are our present special needs? Are they increased frequency and solemnity of services in every important church, requiring for their ceremonial more subordinate clergy? Are they the multiplication of dependent churches, with the usual services and sermons in each of them? Or are they rather shortened evangelistic services in mission halls, school-rooms, in the open air; cottage lectures, bible-classes, open discussions, house to house visitation? Cannot a reader do all these things, if he be freed from the restrictions as to preaching with which some dioceses bind him? Again, it is said that the Diaconate is wasted. It is not even turned to account as a novitiate. At present this is too true. But it must be made a real training for the priesthood, and every scheme of extension must be guarded against interfering with this.

I now come to difficulties in the practical working of the extension proposed.

1. It seems to be assumed on all hands that the new or permanent deacons can be kept distinct from the old or novitiatory deacons. The new deacons are not to be curates, not to have stipends, not to preach in parish churches—not to preach at all unless found to be specially qualified—not to offer themselves for the priesthood. These limitations differ in different schemes; but all agree in some limitations. On the other hand, the old deacons are to do these things. They must be curates and have stipends. How can this separation be maintained as years go on? How can you even determine whether a man is to be reckoned as a privileged or an unprivileged deacon? Let me take the answers which may be given.

They came in by an entirely different examination. But this is not contemplated. On the one side * we are told "they ought not to flinch from the necessary study," and on the other † "the test of accurate scholarship and theological attainment should be placed at the entrance of the priesthood, not at the door of the Diaconate." To the one side let me reply, an examination of untrained men of middle age cannot be made a reality, still less can they be brought near the existing standard. As for the other view, let me ask the tutors of theological colleges what effect a general reduction of the standard for the Diaconate would have on their students; and let me ask examining chaplains how much progress we find, under the present system, between deacon's and priest's orders. Let us suppose then that the unprivileged deacon has passed a different and much easier examination. Is this to be marked by giving him different letters of orders? Or must we not own that when once he is a deacon we have put it out of our power to distinguish between the man who was examined in the New Testament in Greek, and the man who was examined in the New Testament in English. Nor can the permanent deacons be distinguished from the novitiatory by

* Exeter Report, 1879.

† Rev. Jackson Mason, in the *Churchman*, July, 1882.

the facts of their having other occupations, or having been over thirty years of age at ordination. Many of the permanent deacons will be men who have retired from their profession; some of the novitiatory deacons will, as now, seek the Diaconate later than thirty. But the bishop will have lists. That is, it will depend on the view of the bishop and other circumstances, whether a deacon shall or shall not pass from one class to another.

The two classes will shade off indistinguishably into each other. The common gift of deacon's orders will soon be held to level all incidental differences. Both classes will be recognised as curates, and after a certain probation preach in parish churches. The new deacons will, some of them, receive stipends. Their work will be worth payment, and even £20 or £30 a year will perhaps be an object to them. With their recognition as curates a temptation will arise for poorer incumbents to be satisfied with, at any rate, some cheaper and less effective help. If the Church is strengthened in some parishes she may be weakened in others. It will be difficult for a bishop to dictate exactly how the staff of curates for a parish is to be composed.

Further, it will be difficult to keep the two classes separate as to their prospects. The American Church has stringent canons with this view. But the present Bishop of Pennsylvania gives me his opinion that if there were a general practice in America of admitting men to the so-called permanent Diaconate, a pressure would soon arise for the admission of these deacons to the priesthood, which would be felt by every bishop. He added, "I have only two such deacons at work in my diocese." The triennial Church returns indicate but few in the American Church at large. It has been urged that our permanent deacons will not seek the priesthood because they will not wish to divorce themselves from the lay occupations by which they live. Perhaps these occupations may not be affording them a livelihood; perhaps they have no occupation at all. Even with the necessary qualification of thirty years of age for the permanent Diaconate, I fear that weaker men will deliberately seek to enter the line through the militia.

2. The second difficulty is of a different character. A reader's license can be withdrawn; it may *ipso facto* be cancelled by the vacancy of the benefice: but you must inherit your predecessor's deacons. They cannot move as his ordinary curates can, because their home and work are in the place. I need not point out the dangers here. The valuable Exeter Report of 1879 seems to think there would be less danger of party action when a deacon changes incumbent than when a lay reader is in question. I cannot think that a deacon, supposed not to be dependent on the Church for his prospects, would be much controlled by anything but his conscience, which might lead him to act in an embarrassing way.

3. An able, active layman—and only such, I suppose, are thought of for the Diaconate—will lose rather than gain influence by acting as deacon instead of as reader. Nor is it certain that he will spiritually be a gainer by his advancement.

4. The measure is a partial measure. It must not be pressed as a settlement of the question. Consider how large and useful a body cannot be included in the new Diaconate—all the young men under thirty,

the age at which men have most enthusiasm and physical vigour, most aptness to be trained and guided. Then there are men willing to work but not willing to be ordained. There are besides, those who from intellectual deficiencies or faults of character could not be ordained, but are capable of much service.

Instead of putting these men aside or unsettling them by advancing others and leaving them behind, we should deal with them as a very important division of the laymen whom we have to guide and use.

This leads me beyond my subject to consider why the existing body of readers is at present so far from meeting our needs.

It is true that there are 167 readers in the diocese of London, and 82 in that of Rochester; but even here men of education and ability have not enlisted freely. In other dioceses the numbers are small, and in some no licences have been issued. Let me briefly point out the heads under which more needs to be done to strengthen this body.

1. *Enlistment.*—The clergy have not yet generally sought to find and use the men. We might take a hint from the Nonconformists, and enlist town laymen for service in neighbouring country parishes.

2. *Admission.*—The question should be settled whether the power to use a special form of service in the bishop's chapel compensates for the privacy of the reader's admission there, and the loss of the presence of the congregation.

3. *Recognition.*—They need more public recognition. To take one point. In some diocesan calendars their names are not printed at all. It is worth while noticing that in other dioceses there seems to be no efficient registration.

4. *Functions.*—The best men will not care to be readers, while, as by some forms of license, they are limited to "preaching written or printed sermons approved by the incumbent." In the dioceses of Lichfield, Rochester, and others, there is a bolder wisdom. If a man is to be trusted to preach, let him preach in his own way.

5. *Association.*—The Lay-Workers' Associations of London and Rochester are already being followed by others. It will be a great gain if in this way the readers can see the Bishop and each other at least once a year.

6. *Study.*—The work at Keble College conducted this year by the Provost of Worcester may well encourage similar efforts elsewhere.

I may add here that fully 1,000 readers are employed in the American Church, exclusive of the missionary dioceses.

I now pass to another proposal respecting the Diaconate—that to admit candidates at twenty-one. The gain by this course will be direct and indirect.

1. The supply of clergy will be increased, as we shall draw more largely from the class who cannot afford to wait till twenty-three for remunerative employment.

2. We shall draw from that class under more favourable circumstances. Lads of eighteen will go straight from the country grammar-school to Keble or Selwyn College, or to a theological college, instead of taking up some intermediate work for their livelihood, and reaching a theological college at twenty-two or twenty-three with early knowledge lost, and habits formed which do not fit them for their work. I owe this

suggestion and others to the experience of Mr. Worlledge, of the Chancellor's School, Lincoln.

3. One or two years' more service will be gained from many of those ordained.

The indirect gain is a gain to the cause of clerical education. It lies in the power given by this early admission for regulating, enforcing, and defending the studies of these younger deacons, and along with them of *all* the deacons. This change has been warmly deprecated in the interest of clerical education. No name in England is more identified with clerical education than that of Dr. Westcott. He writes:—

"It is in the interest of education that I wish to see the age for the Diaconate lowered. My experience has been that the year of the Diaconate can even now be made a most valuable time of training, and if the period were considerably longer it seems to me that careful thought might devise a simple plan by which systematic reading might be incorporated into a man's whole after life."

I wish I had space for the rest. The state of things comes to this. We want more preparation. We cannot get it before deacon's orders, so we must get it after, and this without lowering the present standard of the Diaconate. But *how* are the studies of the deacons to be defended and regulated?

They should be defended by the license to preach being withheld till the last year of their diaconate. And let me add here that at least a two years' diaconate might be required from all candidates at whatever age ordained. Their studies should be regulated by systematising and enlarging such syllabuses as are now prescribed by the Bishops of Durham, Winchester, and others. But syllabuses and examinations alone will produce little practical result. Guidance and teaching must be given. In every diocese there should be a clergyman responsible to the bishop for the studies of the deacons, lecturing or providing lectures, and keeping in communication with them about their work. The teaching should include homiletics, but not otherwise touch directly on practical duties. So far as the latter are concerned, adequate training would be more likely than now, because the withholding for a year or two of the license to preach would compel the deacons to seek titles in large parishes, where alone their services would be useful, and where they would see varied kinds of work. Let me, in conclusion, mention some of the objections to an earlier age for the Diaconate. Objection will be taken by the laity to the youth of those set to minister. But they will not begin to preach earlier than now, and with this exception the youth of a curate under good guidance is far from being a drawback to his usefulness. Some incumbents will plead the uselessness of non-preaching deacons. They will not care to give them titles. If there should indeed be a difficulty in obtaining titles, this would choke the supply in a dangerous way. But I believe they would readily be taken up in the large towns. But they would be taken at lower stipends. Probably the stipends of deacon-curates would fall, but the change would not affect what all wish to maintain—the stipends of priests; and, besides, there would be another side to the disadvantage. Lastly, if men could be ordained before twenty-three, the graduate would not stop to pass through a theological college after his degree. Some would not, but I believe it would be compensated for by the prolonged studies of the Diaconate. The theological colleges will never fail to attract some

of that thoughtful and earnest class of graduates who now enter them. Many here will be unable to assent to either of the great changes which I have discussed. May I hope that in one point, at least, we shall be united in a determination that whatever else is done for or with the Diaconate, it shall not be wasted as a novitiate, but used as a training, devotional, practical, and intellectual, for the life's work in the Lord's service.

ADDRESS.

SYDNEY GEDGE, Esq., Mitcham Hall, Surrey.

IN presence of the overwhelming evils so vividly portrayed by Miss Ellice Hopkins in the Guild Hall, last night, and by other speakers at this Congress; in presence of the tens of thousands of Jews, and of the millions of practical heathens in this, our so-called Christian country, the *first* thought of every Christian man, who believes the Gospel of Christ to be the only remedy for these evils, and the only salvation for those perishing millions, is, "Would that all the Lord's people were Prophets!" "Would that all the Christian men and women who are scattered abroad (though not by persecution) throughout our country would go everywhere preaching the word!" His *second* thought (not perhaps the best) is, "Let all things be done decently and in order." Let them preach, but let them have authority to do so, derived not only from their Divine Master, but also from his recognised Church on earth. Now, it is the glory and the duty of the Church of England to provide for the spiritual wants of all the people of England. Every one of her parochial ministers knows and feels himself to be responsible to God for the souls of all the people in his parish. Once, perhaps many years ago, there was some fair proportion between the numbers to be ministered to, and the number of ministers. But the Church has, despite the gigantic efforts of the last fifty years, failed even to overtake the arrears of long neglect, and in each and every year the numbers are increasing upon her. Since this Congress met on Monday, nearly four thousand additional persons have been committed to her care, and at the rate of a thousand a day they still come on. Her clergy need to be increased in number by three each week, in order to meet this growing demand. The actual increase is under three each year. And this is not all. The population of our villages is decreasing. The villagers migrate into the large towns, and make these increasing numbers still vaster. Within a few square miles in the agricultural districts you have six clergymen, of whom only one perhaps has a sufficient income, and none have enough to do. Their parishioners leave them, and they stagnate for want of occupation. They and their income should follow their people into the centres of industry. Yet the few sheep left in the wilderness must not be left without a shepherd. It may be urged that the wealth of England increases faster than the population; that the demand for more clergy will create the supply, and there is plenty of money to pay them. No; that very wealth increases the difficulty. It has rightly raised the standard of average comfort, it has raised prices, and larger incomes are required. In other professions, and in commercial pursuits, larger incomes are obtained. These callings have greater worldly attractions than the ministry; and experience shows that so long as the Church has to maintain her clergy, their numbers will not increase in proportion to the needs of her people. So long as the bishops

refuse to ordain a man until he has found some clergyman who will give him as his "title to orders" a sufficient salary, the scarcity must continue and grow worse. What remedy, then, do I propose? No one remedial panacea. Several suggestions have been made. I welcome them all. By all means have sub-deacons, and lay helpers, and licensed readers and preachers. But we want something more. Help is wanted in the conduct of Divine service, such as in the present state of the law, and of opinion on the subject, laymen cannot render. I, therefore, propose to return to the customs of the early Church, and to have a permanent Diaconate, to make the third order a reality, and not a mere apprenticeship for the second. There are hundreds of godly men, who are ready to be ordained deacons, and to remain deacons, who are content with the humbler position, if they can fill it with advantage to the Church. They want no pay; their desire is to preach the Gospel free of charge, maintaining themselves as "tentmakers," or by some other honest craft or profession, giving not indeed their whole time, but a sufficient portion of it to any work with which their bishop and parish clergyman may entrust them, and exercising such gifts as God has given them, in His service and for the extension of His kingdom. They are ready to fill the gaps. Why should they not be allowed? In the early Church, deacons might follow their secular calling. I believe that the only thing to prevent then now is the two Acts of Parliament passed within this century, viz., 41 Geo. III., cap. 63, and 1 and 2 Vic., cap. 106. A short Act, containing one clause only, to the effect that the word "Deacon" should be taken out of these two acts, is all that is necessary. Let me try to answer the objections taken by Mr. Bernard to this proposal. (1) "An ample supply of men can be obtained if you go to a lower class." But we want not only the Scripture Reader class, but men of position, of culture and of intellectual power, if we are to war successfully against the infidelity and vice around us. (2) "Music in services and cottage lectures, etc., are the things required—not more Church services." But I believe the present state of the law to be this: that there is no difference as to the services which may be performed, and as to the person who may conduct them, between consecrated and unconsecrated places of worship. I hold in my hand a careful opinion given three years ago by Sir J. F. Stephen (now a Judge) and Mr. H. K. Droop. Its effect is, that so long as a layman conducts a Church service in some room, as an individual acting on his own authority, the courts will not interfere with him, because he can easily escape them by registering himself as a Dissenter; but that if a layman holds a license from his bishop, and authority from his rector, and with their sanction conducts in a school-room the ordinary morning or evening service, he renders himself liable to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, while, if he deviates from these services, then the civil courts may fine and imprison him. I—holding my bishop's license to preach—will readily undergo a prosecution in the confidence that any prosecution under the obsolete enactments will bring about the desired alteration of the law. (3) The third objection taken by Mr. Bernard was that there must be restrictions upon the permanent deacons which are not imposed upon the other deacons; that you cannot keep up these restrictions, and if you do, they will lead to mutual jealousies; and that your permanent deacons would not be permanent, but would wish to become priests, and perhaps some of them would "enter the army through the militia." I would impose no restrictions. I thank Mr. Bernard for his comparison to the militia. I never heard that those soldiers who obtained their commissions in the

army through the militia were inferior to their brother officers; and I would trust our bishops to admit to the priesthood only such of the permanent deacons as had proved their fitness for the higher office. Few of them would desire this promotion, as it would involve a fundamental change in their whole mode of living. And as our country rejoices in the safety against her foes which she obtains from her paid army and navy, and her volunteers who give their services, why should not the Church militant, whose enemies are more numerous and mightier, rejoice in the unpaid services of a volunteer army of such deacons as I have described? But it is objected, this is only a partial settlement of the question granted. It is not put forward as anything else. Lastly, is it better to ordain deacons at twenty-one for a three years novitiate? Here I join issue at once with Mr. Bernard. Young curates are quite young enough already. They want more, not less, special training after leaving the Universities than they have now. I wish Mr. Bernard knew, as I do, the position which young men have to take for some years in the medical and legal professions. They have to hold their tongues, watch their elders, and learn their lesson patiently. They are not put forward at once into prominent positions, as newly fledged curates are. Surely the whole tendency at the present day is to require more special training, even in the clergy. For this purpose have been founded the Diocesan Colleges, and those two admirable institutions, Wycliffe and Ridley Halls, at Oxford and Cambridge. Whatever you do, don't ordain men younger; it will be of little use; it won't add twenty men a year to the ministry. If any one will read over carefully the services for the ordering of deacons and priests respectively, and compare them together, and then consider the similarity, I might almost say sameness of the functions which they exercise, he will be astounded at the contrast between the theory of the Church and the practice of her ministers. My time is nearly up. I must briefly point out the advantages of the course suggested. In the country districts there may be one rector for six contiguous parishes. In each of them a godly father or schoolmaster should be ordained deacon, to perform the duties of a curate; he may be unpaid, or receive a small salary; the rector, or quasi-archdeacon, would superintend them all, and go round monthly "confirming the Churches." One half of the total incomes of the six livings will give him a sufficient stipend, and pay those of the deacons who need a small addition to their incomes; the remainder of the endowment and the other five clergy, who now waste their energies in doing next to nothing, will be set free to minister to the large populous towns. Then they will be assisted by the unpaid permanent deacons, men of mature age, virtuous conversation, and sufficiently instructed in the Holy Scriptures; and the fact that these men minister not for gain, but "for the work's sake," will add influences to their preaching such as the ordinary curate cannot hope for. And one more great advantage will ensue. In his review of Ranke's History of the Popes, Macaulay calls attention to the wonderful manner in which the Church of Rome has always dealt with enthusiasts. In young Churches, he says, enthusiasm is allowed to be rampant. In long-established Churches it is regarded with aversion. The Church of Rome neither submits to enthusiasm, nor proscribes it—but uses it. This is what the Church of England will do, if she will now take advantage of her opportunity, and enlist in her service the many men of mature wisdom, and practical experience, and burning love, who stand ready, waiting and anxious, to go forth with authority from the Church they love, to preach and to pray, and to lighten the van in the battle which is being waged for the extension of the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ.

(*c*) Minor Orders.

PAPER.

The Rev. Canon Bright, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Oxford.

Read for the Author by the Rev. Canon Medd.

By the Minor Orders we may understand those ranks of officials, clerical in a large sense of the term, but exterior and inferior to the Ministry properly so called, which were gradually developed by the Church of the early centuries, in accordance with her own view of her practical requirements, but without attempting to claim for them any direct Scriptural authority. Mr. Maskell, in the second volume of the new edition of his truly valuable "Monumenta Ritualia,"—(a new edition, I would add, which is a great boon to liturgical students)—says that "these minor orders, including the subdiaconate, are not of Divine institution. Claiming a very high antiquity, they, nevertheless, fall short of the apostolic age." In fact, the first notice of any one of them is not earlier than the end of the second century. Mr. Maskell's inclusion of the subdiaconate among them is in full accord with the facts of the case; although the later Roman Church has boldly removed it into the class of "greater" or "sacred" orders, on account of the close relation which it acquired (at an early time) to the actual celebration of the Eucharist.* The Council of Trent claims "Fathers" † in support of this view; but the claim is really unfounded, and even Urban II., to whom it really refers, appears from two decrees of his to have somewhat nicely distinguished between this office and the two classes of "minor" and of "sacred" orders—as if it were intermediate between both. At the same time it should be observed that the Gelasian Sacramentary,‡ as it is called, provides a "consecration of hands" for subdeacons, which marks a growing disposition to attach them closely to the sacred orders, whereas in early times they appear as messengers of bishops or of churches, § and the Laodicene Council ‖ in the fourth century is careful to guard against their wearing stoles, or intruding on the diaconal office, or touching the sacred vessels, or administering the consecrated elements. If the last phrase but one is to be taken literally,¶ it must represent a merely

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* Conc. Trident. sess. 13, c. 1. Catech. ad Paroch. ii., 7, 12. Compare the Pontifical, "Videte cujus ministerium vobis traditur."

† Nam subdiaconatus ad majores ordines a patribus . . . refertur. Conc. Trid. l. c. The fathers referred to, Cyprian and Tertullian, prove nothing to that effect. The note to the decree then quotes Urban II., whom Bingham quotes on the other side (b. 3, c. 1, s. 1). The fact is, Urban is cited in Mansi xx. 728, as having, in the Synod of Amalfi, ordered that no one should be promoted ex *minoribus* ordinibus in episcopum, nisi prius ante annum subdiaconus aut diaconus sive presbyter fuerit ordinatus. But in Mansi xx. 738, is the decree at the Council of Beneventum, quoted by Bingham, explicitly declaring "*Sacros* ordines dicimus diaconatum et presbyteratum."

‡ Muratori, Lit. Rom. Vetus, i. 622.

§ Cyprian, epistles 9 (Clementius, subdeacon sent with a letter from Rome) 35, 49, 78 (subdeacon sent with Cyprian's letters).

‖ Laodic. c. 20, 22, 25, calling them ὑπήρεται, a name which had previously been given to deacons.

¶ Hefele thinks it may only mean that they are not to carry the vessels in the procession of the "great entrance."

local custom; for the "Apostolical Constitutions" speak otherwise, and the ancient series of African Church rules,* popularly ascribed to a so-called fourth Council of Carthage, while saying that they are "not ordained with imposition of hands"—a point as to which Eastern usages apparently differed from Western,†—adds, that the bishop in "ordaining" them gave to them an empty paten and chalice, while the archdeacon gave them a water-cruet, napkin, and handkerchief—symbolic of their duty of preparing the vessels of the altar. It should be added that they first appear in the records of the third century. St. Cyprian‡ mentions them repeatedly, and his contemporary, Cornelius of Rome,§ reckons seven subdeacons next after the seven deacons of the Church. As the office of deacons, in the great cities, became more important and influential, the subdeacons, as it were, followed in their wake; until, as we have seen, they passed the frontier line between the minor and major orders, and in Roman ritual language the title of subdeacon became applied to the minister—himself, as it might be, a priest or deacon—who chanted the epistle at High Mass. Of course, every one who becomes a priest in the Roman Church has been formally ordained a subdeacon, *without* imposition of hands, before his admission to the diaconate.

The next order, in the Latin, but not in the Greek scheme, is that of Acolyte or attendant. It is mentioned by Cornelius of Rome;‖ among his clerical staff were not less than forty-two acolytes. But we know nothing of their special duties at this period; at a later time we find them described as bringing forward the wine for the Eucharist, and as lighting the candles of the church;¶ or, by Isidore of Seville, as "carrying lights when the gospel was to be read, or the sacrifice was to be offered." They existed in the Greek Church only for a short time, comparatively speaking—although their Greek name may indicate a Greek element in the ancient Church of Rome. They may be compared to the taper-bearers of later times.**

It was about the same period, the middle of the third century, that Exorcists grew into a separate order. Cornelius mentions those of the

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* Mansi iii. 951.

† The Apost. Constitutions, viii. 21, direct the bishop to lay his hands on the head of the person ordained subdeacon; but St. Basil mentions an ὑπηρεσία ἀχειρόθετος, Epist. 217, c. 51, and ὑπηρεσία is, in the language of the Laodicene Council, the subdiaconate. Bingham (3. 2, 1), quotes St. Basil inexactly, and Greek canonites understand him to refer to readers, &c. The present Greek rite prescribes imposition of hands, Euchologion, p. 244; but then it does the like as to readers. Ib. p. 233.

‡ See Cypr. Epistles, 9, 20, 29, 34, 35, 45, 78.

§ Cornelius ap Euseb. vi. 43.

‖ Euseb. vi. 43.

¶ Statuta ecclesiæ antiqua ("4th c. of Carthage") c. 6, "ut sciat se ad accendenda ecclesiæ luminaria mancipari; accipiat et urceolum vacuum ad suggerendum vinum in Eucharistiam Sanguinis Christi."

** See Isidore de Eccl. Offics. ii. 14—the earliest instance of a mention of lighting candles in token of joy on account of the True Light, at the oblation itself as distinct from the reading of the gospel. So in Elfric's canons: "The acolyte holds the taper when the gospel is read and the Housel hallowed . . . . to the honour of Christ who is our Light." Goar (Euchol. p. 237), tries to prove that the ancient Eastern Church had acolytes. Symeon of Thessalonica, who is among his witnesses as to the identity of acolytes with deputati or ceroferarii, says he knows not why the latter are no longer appointed, as they had been shortly before in his own church.

Roman Church as attending on Novatian when labouring under an illness which was attributed to "possession." Epiphanius mentions them after the Readers, and the Laodicene Council also places them between the Readers and the Doorkeepers.

The Readers are, for our purpose, the most interesting of all these orders, and they are the first to appear in history, being mentioned by Tertullian * about A.D. 200. Their duty was to read the Old Testament lection and the epistle, and in Spain and Africa the gospel too, in the Eucharistic service.† They read from the elevated "ambon" or "pulpit," or "tribunal," as St. Cyprian‡ calls it; and St. Chrysostom, § who is a witness for the customs of the Syrian Church as well as of the Constantinopolitan in the latter part of the fourth century, tells us that they began by saying, "Thus saith the Lord," and the deacon then proclaimed "Let us give attention." Cornelius mentions them without stating their number on his staff. The office was sometimes conferred as a distinction on those who had deserved well of the Church, or who promised well for her cause; thus St. Cyprian ‖ took evident pleasure in commissioning two brave laymen who had confessed Christ in persecution to read about Him to the assembled congregation. Meletius of Antioch, as Prebendary Stephens ¶ expresses it, made St. John Chrysostom a reader "as a preliminary step to employing his powers in some sphere of actual labour in the Church." Epiphanius** says that "the reader is not a priest, but as it were, a scribe of the word." Faithful and able men of this order could often exercise a considerable influence; Chrysostom himself had a reader named Paul,†† who clung to him in his troubles, and his predecessor had been glad to take a hint from the reader of a sectarian bishop, as to the best way of managing a conference between the representatives of various communions at Constantinople.‡‡ On the other hand, youths or lads were not seldom appointed readers, as was the case with the young Julian,§§ and with the young Theodoret;‖‖ while at Milan and in Africa, boys, even little boys, were thus distinguished, probably with a tender recollection of our Lord's acceptance of "praise perfected" ¶¶ from childish lips. The mode of appointment, as far as we can gather it from the African records, was by first emphatically attesting the "faith, good life, and ability"*** of the candidate, and then publicly delivering to him the codex or roll of Scripture, with the words, "Take this and be a reader of God's Word, and if thou shalt have faithfully and profitably discharged this office, thou shalt have a part with those who have ministered His Word,"—an address which was adopted into the Roman

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* Tert. de Præscript. Hær. 41.

† On their reading the "lections" / " epistles" / " gospels" } see Hammond's Liturgies, p. 99. Cyprian, Epist. 38, 2; 1 C. of Toledo, c. 2.

‡ Cyprian, Epist., 38 and 39.

§ Chrysostom, in 2 Thess. Hom. 3, 4.; Act. Apost. Hom. xix. 5.

‖ Cyprian, Epist. 38 on Aurelius; 39 on Celerinus.

¶ Stephens, Life of St. Chrysostom, p. 23.

** Epiphanius, Expositio Fid. Cath. 21.

†† Socrates, vi. 15.

‡‡ Socrates, v. 10.

§§ Sozomen, v. 2.

‖‖ Theodoret, Relig. Hist. 12.

¶¶ St. Ambrose, de excessu Fratris, i. 61. St. Augustine de consensu Evangelist. i. 13; Sermon 352. Victor Vitensis, de Persecutione Vandal. v. 9.

*** "4th C. of Carthage" l. c.

sacramentaries,* and so found its way into the pontifical of Archbishop Egbert† of York, was summarised in Elfric's Canon,‡ and may perhaps remind us of what Hooker has said as to the relation between reading the Lessons and preaching.§ Similarly in the Eastern Church, the readers were appointed in some places with imposition of hands,‖ but in Asia Minor, or at any rate, in Cappadocia and Pontus, without it; so in the present Greek Church the ordaining bishop places, according to the usual form, his hand, but by one rite his own pallium or stole, on the head of the new reader, and after prayer, gives him "the book of the Apostle,"¶ out of which he then for the first time reads. After which he is exhorted to remember that "the reader's office is the first step to the priesthood, and that he has to aim, in his discharge of it, at the edification of those who hear him." The Eastern Church still unites with this office that of Singer or Chanter, and they are similarly combined in the Pontifical of Egbert.** They were distinguished by the so-called 43rd Apostolical Canon, by the Council of Laodicea,†† by the Liturgy of St. Mark,‡‡ by "the ancient statutes of the Church of Africa,§§ and by Isidore of Seville,‖‖ who calls the singer a "psalmist." The very name of "cantor," as an order, is extinct in the Roman rite.

The last and lowest of the minor orders, as reckoned by the Roman Church, is the humble rank of the Ostiary or Doorkeeper,¶¶ corresponding in part to the modern verger or sexton. These functionaries, who may have been at first appointed to act as a safeguard during persecution, are mentioned by Cornelius in the third century, and in the next century by the Council of Laodicea,*** and by Epiphanius. ††† In most places, it would seem the duty of keeping the door was anciently discharged by the sub-deacons, especially with reference to the women's entrance into the Church, and in that case the ostiary could only act under the sub-deacon. The African rites directed the bishop to give to the new ostiary the keys of the Church,‡‡‡ with a serious admonition as to his responsibility for the safety of all that those keys were to guard. Bingham §§§ tells us that this order came to an end in the East after the end of the seventh century. In fact, the Eastern Church now acknowledge only *two* orders below the diaconate, those of Subdeacons and of Readers or Singers. Besides Subdeacons (who, as we have seen, are in the West treated as in holy orders, and in the East have practically a similar position), and Readers, the Western Churches of the Latin rite keep up, *pro forma*, the orders of acolyte, exorcist, and ostiary. But,

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* See Muratori i. 620; ii. 418. † Egbert's Pontifical, p. 12.

‡ "The Lector is to read in God's Church, and is ordained to publish God's Word." Elfric's Canons, No. 2.

§ Hooker, E. P., v. 22. ‖ Apost. Constit. viii. 22.

¶ Goar, Euchol., p. 233-236. ** Egbert's Pontifical, p. 12.

†† Laodic, c. 23, 15. ‡‡ Hammond's Liturgies, p. 73.

§§ Mansi, iii., 952.

‖‖ Isidore de eccl. offic., 12. Compare the old form of ordination in Muratori ii. 415, "psalmista, id est cantor," after the "4th C. of Carthage."

¶¶ See Bingham, iii. 6. 3. *** Laodic., c. 24.

††† Epiphanius, Exp. Fid. Cath. 21, mentions them last of all, after the *Copiatæ* who attended to funerals, especially those of the poor. See Bingham, iii. c. 8.

‡‡‡ In Elfric's canons the ostiary is described as signifying church-time by the bells, unlocking the church to believers, and locking it against unbelievers (no. 11).

§§§ Bingham, l. c.

as Mr. Maskell* says, "long before the Reformation the minor orders, whatever the theory may have been, had in fact and practice fallen into disuse in the Church of England, as now they have also fallen in the Roman Catholic Church. The names were retained, and the clergy were required to pass through the minor orders," by a rapid transition of which, it is fair to add, an early instance might be found in the exceptional promotion of St. Ambrose,† who is *said*, his biographer tells us, to have "fulfilled" within one week "the several ecclesiastical functions," until at the end of it he was consecrated bishop of Milan.

I need not dwell on the preliminary rite of conferring the tonsure, whereby, according to the Roman Pontifical, aspirants first enter upon the clerical state.

It may be asked whether it was usual in ancient times for a person to ascend from the minor orders to the major or sacred? Apparently many never did so ascend; as many remained deacons all their lives, so many would remain, *e.g.* readers. The historian Theodorus, surnamed Lector, is an instance in point. Moreover, when Julian's Christian guides complacently listened to his reading of Scripture in the cathedral of Nicomedia, and had no suspicion of what was to follow on this hopeful conformity of his to ecclesiastical usage, they could hardly expect that he would devote himself permanently to a clerical life. As many never rose above the rank of reader, so doubtless many took it up only for a time. It involved no binding obligation. A man might fulfil the office for a time, and then resume ordinary lay work. Of the young boys who recited or chanted from the ambons of the West, some would, like that Epiphanius‡ of Pavia whom Gibbon praises, adopt the ministerial life as their future, and rise, it may be, to the episcopate. Others would grow up as Christian laymen, retaining through life, it might be hoped, a recollection of their boyish ministrations, just as many good men look back to the days when they were choristers in this or that church.

Practically, the question for Churchmen is, whether anything can be learned from this ancient institution of non-ministerial orders, if we may so describe them, which can help towards the great common object of utilizing lay faith, lay zeal, lay energy, in the work of saving souls, and promoting the cause of Christ, more directly than by the formation of Church Guilds; or again, towards supplementing the labours of the clergy, in a field too vast for them to occupy unassisted, by subordinate, yet recognised and duly organised ministries of preaching, catechising, visiting, and the like. Such an object, it may be said in passing, would be in harmony with the words of the great Saint of "golden lips," who, while he held very lofty views of the dignity and sanctity of the Christian priesthood, could exhort his hearers "not to throw the whole concern on the priests," but to interest themselves personally in the whole Church, as in a common body.§

Some forty years ago, the present Prime Minister, in the fifth chapter of his remarkable volume on *Church Principles considered in their results*,

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* Maskell, Mon. Ritual. ii., p. cxvi.

† Paulinus, Vit. S. Ambros. s. 9.

‡ For this Epiphanius, see Gibbon iv. 291. Ennodius, who wrote his life, says that he was made a reader at eight years old (Sirmond, Op. i. 996).

§ S. Chrys. in 2 Cor. Hom. 18. 3.

observed that "Antiquity yields abundant evidence of regulations, which, in conformity to the clear spirit of Scripture, provided a broad and open course for the zeal of the lay members of the Church;" adding that in proportion as "the sacerdotal office was seen in its historical connection with our Saviour through the persons of the Apostles, and in its actual stewardship of the Holy Sacraments," no "fear could be entertained that if any religious offices whatever were ostensibly assigned to laymen, the distinctive character of the clergy" would be forgotten. "It is a mistake," he proceeded, "to suppose that the effect of Catholic principles is unduly to elevate the clergy with relation to the people; it is, much rather, to raise the position of both."

But how to attain this object?

One may trust that there will be no serious attempt to alter the law or custom of the Church by making the Diaconate temporary and terminable. Persons sometimes talk of a "Lay Diaconate." If they mean the Diaconate of *the Church*, the phrase is a contradiction in terms. As early as the Ignatian* period, Deacons were recognised as "Ministers of God and the Church." In the fourth century, when the presbyterate and episcopate were in full power and energy, a Western father could still speak of Deacons as holding a "priesthood of the third class."† We are somewhat tempted at this day to purchase "expansiveness" and "efficiency" at the cost of essential Church principle; and one of the most real, if not the most patent dangers for the English clergy is a secularization of its corporate tone. Better far to say, "If you want to serve the Church, and the Church's Lord above, as a deacon, you cannot remain a layman as well. To become a deacon is to enter Holy Orders, and to undertake the obligations of a minister of Christ. You cannot, so to speak, have it both ways; you cannot have the freedom of a lay life, and at the same time profess to be a clergyman." By *freedom*, of course, is meant exemption from specially clerical requirements. The question whether every deacon should or should not be required to proceed to the presbyterate, may be thought to lose its interest, if the diaconate be regarded in this light. The last collect in the Ordination of Deacons appears to suppose an affirmative answer, and the field of ministerial labour demands an increase of men qualified to do full work in it; at the same time there may be cases in which men might be allowed, as so often of old, to remain deacons for life. Again, if some deacons, and for that matter, some bishops and priests, have at times pursued secular callings for a livelihood—as St. Spyridion‡ of Cyprus kept sheep, and another good old prelate wove linen,§ and a poor Nonjuring bishop in the last century acted as a bookseller—these men, and such as they,‖ were all the time essentially clergymen or bishops, just as St. Paul was an apostle while he made tents; and their secular work was matter of necessity, or perchance, in part, of charity or humility. They were not men of lay professions, uniting the

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* S. Ignat. Ep. Trall. 2.

† Optatus, i. "in tertio sacerdotio constitutos," quoted by Bingham, b. ii. c. 19, s. 15.

‡ Spyridion, Socrates i. 12.

§ Zeno, Sozomen vii. 28.

‖ Sidonius Apollinaris mentions a reader who maintained himself by trade—(Epistles, vi. 8.)—which is more to our present purpose.

clerical character with their profession or their trade. All this points to a retention of the diaconate as strictly an order of clergy, involving, in a practical if not in a technical sense, that "character" of a minister of Christ, which the conscience of the Church has ever regarded as "indelible." That plough once taken in hand, there should be no looking back. But it is quite different with such orders as those of Subdeacon or of Reader; for the other minor orders are not practically in question. What is it that we want? Men to work for Christ under the Church's commission, without ceasing to be professional men, or men of business, or tradesmen, or whatever else. It is, I think, important that they should *not* be called by a title distinctly clerical; it is the laymen whom we want to get hold of, to employ under due authority, to set to work in outlying districts, or at mission chapels, or elsewhere. For this reason, Subdeacon would appear a less desirable title than Reader; and it might, to the ordinary English ear, sound too "antiquarian" and pedantic for the purpose in hand, or it might arouse the sensitiveness which recoils from "ecclesiasticism." If the office of Reader be generally revived—as it has been revived in several dioceses—it would, no doubt, be different in one respect from the Readership of antiquity. These old Readers or Singers were regarded as clerics; we do not so *practically* regard our choirmen, who, in some respects, represent for us that one most ancient minor order. In other words, among us the idea of the "clergy" or "clerics" has become co-extensive with the Ministry proper; we have lost the notion of a class of officials distinct from the body of laymen, and yet distinct from the "Sacred Orders;" and we should impair what remains of the English belief in the doctrine (so to speak) of the Christian ministry, if we were now to extend the name and nature of the "Clergy" beyond its area. The modern Church Reader, again, would be wanted not merely to assist the clergyman by reading lessons in Church (and, indeed, there is a reasonable objection, to which the Bishop of Manchester has given utterance, against frequent abdications of that function by the clergy), but to conduct short services out of church, to catechize, give addresses, visit,—work which was never, that we know of, entrusted to the Reader in ancient times. But this would be a very legitimate extension of the scope of the title. It is, in itself, broad enough to include all that we want, inclusive of such preaching, in places exterior to the church itself, as the Bishop may see fit to entrust to a competent "lay-helper." It seems needless to add that a Reader should be appointed, as mostly of old, without imposition of hands. That it is now otherwise in the Greek Church does not prove that it was not so in the primitive, except so far as the "Apostolic Constitutions" may represent a practice. That rite *might*, indeed, have been employed, had it seemed good, in the earlier Christian society, within which benedictions were naturally and frequently so conferred; and there would be little risk of confounding such benedictory appointment with a ministerial ordination. Yet if it was thought well even then to avoid that risk, much more so is this the case when the idea of the ministerial commission has lost so much of its force and vividness. Let it be clearly understood that, although it might often be desirable that young men who aspire to Holy Orders should pass through a preliminary stage of service as Readers, yet, generally

speaking, those whom we wish to employ in the common cause of all are *laymen*, who are not to become clergymen, and who, therefore, are to be *appointed*, not "ordained;" and then we shall be able to restore thus far, and under changed conditions, at least one "Minor Order," which may, under the Divine blessing, do not a little for that Kingdom in which the new should ever be old, and the old may ever become new.

DISCUSSION.

The Very Rev. W. R. FREMANTLE, Dean of Ripon.

I WILL not occupy the time of the meeting long, because if I did so I should have to repeat very much what has been said by Mr Sydney Gedge, with whose remarks I entirely agree, and because I wish that a friend of mine, Mr. Jackson Mason, should have time to speak. I will confine myself to one or two remarks with regard to the advantages that would arise from an extended diaconate. Those who have lived, as I have, for nearly seven years among the thick population of the West Riding of Yorkshire, must be of opinion that the Church of England, with all its advantages and privileges, is undermanned and underpaid. We have parishes in the West Riding, containing seven, eight, ten, and even fifteen thousand people, worked by a single clergyman, with perhaps occasional help of a curate or a lay-reader supplied by the Pastoral Aid or the Additional Curates' Society. I would ask you to imagine how that man, with all the duties incumbent on him, can be supposed to carry out the intentions of the Church of England to regard every person in his parish as under his spiritual care. I appeal to you, my lord, who have so large an experience in London parishes, whether it is not very hard for a clergyman of the Church of England to be held responsible for doing the work of the Church, who is utterly incompetent to do it, simply because he has not the hands, nor the means, nor the strength to do it? It is in such cases as these that the advantages of an extension of the diaconate would be chiefly felt. I presume, however, that such an extension would not entail an alteration of the laws of the Church. I have looked through the historical authorities to which Dr. Bright referred, and I cannot find that the diaconate was of necessity a stepping-stone to the Presbytery. On the contrary, I find that the deacons formed a distinct order, and I can discover no foundation for the idea in the Church of England that the diaconate must be a novitiate and a preparation for the Presbytery. Philip lived and died a deacon, and so did St. Stephen, and I do not see that because a man is ordained a deacon, he must of necessity be made a priest. If the proposals for the extension of the lay-diaconate were carried out, we should have a number of ordained ministers in our Church who would meet all the necessities of our overgrown population. We already can get lay-readers as sub-deacons, but what we want is ministers, men who can read the service and preach both in the church and in mission rooms, men who can visit the people, men of experience — not young men just launched from the universities and training colleges, like those who at the age of twenty-three are sometimes placed in charge of a large parish, although utterly unfit to fulfil the duties of it. If we find men of piety, men of good report, men of spiritual experience, men devoted to the cause of Christ, willing voluntarily to consecrate themselves to this blessed work, we ought to accept their services cordially, and to enlist them amongst the number of those who are ordained ministers of Christ. It is not enough to say to a layman of this character, "We will give you a bishop's license." He thanks you for nothing. He can go about the parish and do the work without such a license. But if we say, "We give you the ordination of the Church, bring you under the hands of the bishop and of the authorities of the Church, and make you, in truth and reality, a minister of Christ," then that man will feel that he has a position, a direct and holy calling, and he will go about his work with the power and with the influence of one separated and sent by the Holy Ghost. Remember, also, that these men will have no temptation to enter the Church for the sake of profit or for the sake of making a mere profession of it. They will do the work voluntarily, they will consecrate not only themselves but their substance to the work of the Church What a stimulus to increased zeal, and of bountifulness on the part of the Church would it be to see men of rank, men of influence, men of property, men of ability, thus

giving themselves up to the work of the Lord. The influence of such men in their social circles, and the tying to the Church of those who might otherwise, perhaps, go off into other denominations must be of immense advantage. Special good would be expected from men of rank, or of high social position and of earnest piety, self-denial, and consecration to Christ, taking their places freely and gratuitously on the Lord's side. The result would be also an immense relief to the parochial ministers, for it would be of the greatest possible benefit to them—they would feel that they had hands as well as hearts to co-operate in the ministry. I may be asked, "Should we find such men?" My answer is that other churches meet with them, and they find them most useful. I have with me a most interesting letter from the Bishop of Jamaica, who tells me he has employed persons of this sort—retired planters and men of business who have a sufficiency of their own—that he has ordained them, and they have become deacons just of the stamp and order I am now advocating. One of these, not being satisfied with giving himself up gratuitously to the Church, whenever he makes any money by preaching for other people, applies it to the work of the Church. The fact of laymen in our Church being willing to read the lessons and sing in church, and to preach in mission rooms and the open air and the like, proves that there would be men willing to enter the diaconate, and my experience is that there are hundreds of retired officers of the army and navy, retired tradesmen, lawyers, medical men, and so on, who would come forward if only the Church would put confidence in them, and look on them as qualified in every sense to become fellow-workers and fellow-ministers in the Church.

EUGENE STOCK, Esq., London.

WHEN I have read papers and letters in the newspapers, and debates in Diocesan Conferences on this subject—and there have been a good many of them of late years—the question I have been accustomed to put to myself is one which I find is very rarely grappled with. It is this—"Is the proposed diaconate to be lay or clerical?" This question was dealt with by Canon Bright, but I do not know what answer Mr. Bernard, and many other excellent advocates of a permanent diaconate, would give to it. We are told by Canon Bright, who is a high authority on the subject, that "lay deacon" is a contradiction in terms. I would put the question in this form—"If John Smith becomes a permanent deacon, will he be the Rev. John Smith, or Mr. John Smith?" That is a very plain way of putting it. In Canada the other day, two men were formally ordained by the Bishop of Ontario as "permanent deacons," but it is not stated whether they will be called Rev. or not, which is the essential point. Do we want him to be "the Rev.," or simply "Mr." John Smith? I believe we want him to be Mr. John Smith, without the "Rev." If you call him "Rev.," you instantly debase the position that title holds with the general population. If you have a large number of "rev. gentlemen," who are unable to fulfil certain clerical duties, and have no chance of being able to do so, it will not only bring the men themselves into contempt with the people, but it will bring the title they bear into the same contempt. What is wanted is, to employ those who will be unmistakably laymen. That being so, is it possible to call them deacons? I take it for granted that it will not be possible. I suppose most of us imagine that the original deacon was not a clergyman; but it is not possible to revert to those times now. I hope, therefore, that instead of attempting to make an office half-way between the clergyman and the layman—"neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, nor good red herring"—the bishops and clergy will make up their minds to obtain the help of laymen, without making them half clergymen. Let the clergy remain in the position of high respect they occupy, and let the laymen have their place also. On this point I almost entirely endorse what has fallen from Mr. Gedge. I might have hesitated to speak of lay preaching, for fear of being misunderstood, but the applause with which Mr. Gedge's remarks were greeted by an audience mainly clerical, assures me that there are many clergymen in this room who are anxious not to exclude laymen from even the higher branches of parochial work. What we want is a body of men who are distinctly laymen, licensed by the bishop, and without now discussing the lower functions which laymen can exercise in the Church, I say that they must be men who can preach. It is not of the smallest use to lay down laws and frame schemes on this subject if preaching is excluded, because if it be the best men will be generally excluded. It would, perhaps, be rather absurd to cite the case of a man like Mr. Stevenson Blackwood, because he is no doubt an exceptional man; but there are numbers of men more or less of that

type, and why should not they be utilised under the bishop's authority? Such men must of course do the work gratuitously. John Smith, when he becomes a "permanent deacon," is to be allowed to continue working at his profession, whether he be a barrister or a shopkeeper; but if so, he must surely be a layman. There must also be licenses to men who can only take work occasionally. I believe myself that there are a large number of the best men who could not undertake to minister regularly in a particular place, but who are ready and willing to take the bishop's permission for occasional work. I am, I will suppose, staying with a clerical friend in the heart of the country, or, it may be, in a small suburban parish. On the Saturday evening in the very middle of August, he is taken suddenly and dangerously ill—(I am thinking of a real case)—his family in their grief and distress have to rush in all directions for a clergyman to take the services on the next day. But suppose I, a layman, in the emergency, not as a regular thing, and not interfering with the clerical order at all, am enabled to take part of the service, such part as the authorities may sanction; and, if not from the pulpit, at all events from the lectern, say a few words of exhortation to the people, how much difficulty and anxiety would at once be obviated. I feel I may speak, especially in this Diocese and at this Congress, in favour of such a work as this, not only because I am one who has once or twice, a few years ago, addressed a congregation from the lectern of a Church, but because on the first occasion I did so it was at the invitation of the Rev. W. D. Maclagan, now Bishop of Lichfield, and President of this Congress. I appeal, therefore, to the authorities of the Church, whether they cannot step a little aside from the somewhat fantastic schemes propounded respecting minor orders, and commission laymen, as laymen, not necessarily of the humbler classes, but not to exclude them, to take the best men everywhere, and to put them forward as at least occasional helpers in the functions I have referred to.

The Rev. JACKSON MASON, Vicar of Pickhill, Thirsk.

I HEARD with the utmost satisfaction the stirring speech of Mr. Sydney Gedge, and I regard it as one of the many proofs which are coming now to the fore that the laity of England are awaking to the great truth that an earnest and intelligent layman is a potential deacon—in other words, that there is nothing in Holy Scripture, nothing in the principle of the thing, between him and the diaconate; nothing absolutely beyond a few vexatious technicalities, which both Church and State will do wisely rather to minimise than to exaggerate. Surely the need before us is one of the most momentous since the Reformation. The very fact that 1,000 persons are added to our population every day, and that the supply of clergy is absolutely at a standstill, shows how great it is. Such a need sends us to the Supreme Head of the Church for counsel, and we shall find that counsel in His written Word. For what was the true diaconate, the apostolic diaconate, which we desire to revive, but the double remedy for the two-fold danger which now besets the Church? We need both to reinforce the clergy, who are overworked, and to evangelise the masses, not with the help of self-sent Aquilas and Priscillas, but by an ordained diaconate. The early deacons were the early evangelists. The first missionary expansion of the Early Church resulted from the first establishment and extension of the diaconate. St. Stephen was the great means of evangelising Saul of Tarsus, and through him the Gentile world. Philip went down to Samaria and evangelised there, putting in the sickle into that great spiritual harvest which Our Lord had seen ripening when he sat at Jacob's Well. Philip remained to his dying day a deacon-evangelist—a permanent deacon if there ever was one—characterised even at Cæsarea as "one of the seven." But now, if you turn to the *description* of the scriptural diaconate, you will notice at once how the modern office has drifted away from the early model. The early deacons were to be not only as we lamely render the Greek, "men of honest report," but men of established Christian character (μαρτυρουμένους); and St. Paul adds that they were also to be married men who could rule their own families well. Do we find anything equivalent to this in the stripling diaconate of the present day? Certainly not. Turn next to the ordinal; there we find the bishop re-echoing St. Paul and asking, "Will you apply all your diligence to frame and fashion your own lives and the lives of *your families*, according to the Doctrine of Christ?" and lo, the deacon promises to rule his family before he has even the prospect of a family to rule! Plainly then, the narrow, cramped thing we

now call the diaconate is not co-extensive with that intended by our ordinal any more than it coincides with the scriptural office. To bring us back to the original model, we must, in the first instance, admit older men; not novices, as Dr. Hook said long ago, but men trained in the battle of life, proved by experience, and taught to know their own minds; public school men, who can pass any bishop's examination, and who know their Greek Testament far better than many a raw recruit, whom the examining chaplains are obliged to pass out of sheer desperation, to meet the pressing necessities of the Church of England. Only let it be known that the bishops are willing to ordain older men to the third order, and I believe that the shyness which now keeps men back from trenching, as they think, on the sacred functions of the ministry, will change into delight, and we shall be astonished at the number of men, the very cream of our Christian laity, who will start up from all quarters and apply for the diaconate. The second step is to admit men who would retain their secular callings, volunteers and men of independent means. Many objections are urged against such a course, but I believe that the rubric at the end of the ordinal expressly gives a discretionary power to the bishop to make a diaconate permanent in certain cases. Though we are told by lawyers that the word "may" in legal phraseology means "must," it can have no such meaning in this case, because here there is a contrast between "may" and "must," in two consecutive sentences. The rubric says that the deacon "*must* continue" in the office of deacon the space of a whole year, and then it goes on to say that afterwards "he *may* be admitted" to the priesthood. The "must" is imperative; the "may" is as clearly optional. Now all we want is, that the bishops should exercise the discretionary power which is here given to them, and in some instances allow or constrain men to remain deacons. Those were weighty words, which were spoken by the Bishop of Winchester at the Congress of 1862: "It does not seem to be beyond the legitimate province of the existing Church to permit permanent deacons to do that which was done even by the Apostles—exercise a secular calling, and yet give a large portion of their time and of their labour to the ministry of the Word and to the necessities of the sick." Now this thing has been done, as you have been told, in Canada. It was done with marked success by Bishop Ryan, in the Mauritius; and it was done by Dr. Mitchinson, when Bishop of Barbadoes and the Windward Isles. The latter writes: "We, the Synod, framed a canon legalising and regulating this very thing. There a deacon is not styled 'reverend.' That title is restricted to the higher ministries, to which a man is required wholly to give himself." If there be any objection to a permanent diaconate in certain instances, I would remind you that a permanent deacon may afterwards develop qualities to fit him for the priesthood. It is remarkable that the late Bishop of Exeter began the experiment for which we plead, and though it has been said that some of the men whom he selected as permanent deacons did not adorn their profession, yet it is certain that one of them did; for that one, like Philip the Evangelist, went down 'by' the way to Gaza that is desert, and died the other day at his mission post in Central Africa—Bishop Edward Steere. What we want is courage in our bishops. We want some man to come forward and act—a man both great and strong—strong in the principle for which we contend, and great in his love for perishing souls. It will not do to bring forward all kinds of technical objections at this grave crisis; it will not do to fiddle while Rome is burning; the issue before us is a very awful one, and a little thought will show that something must be done. The clergy must be increased, more deacons must be found, and they can be found in no other way. We ask that one bishop shall come forward to break the ice. Only let one bishop set the example, and see whether it will not be productive of the greatest blessing to the Church, both in relieving the overworked clergy and in evangelising the untaught masses. Such a prelate would be a God-send; hardly less welcome to England now than was St. Gregory when he sent Paulinus to teach our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and did not forget to send also his permanent deacon James.

The Rev. Dr. BELCHER, Vicar of St. Faith's, Stoke Newington.

OF the many gentlemen who have addressed us this morning, not one has adverted to one very important part of the question. When we remember, and we should never forget, that one of the titles of Our Blessed Lord Himself was the great Physician, and when we recollect that His chief works, other than preaching and teaching, were doing good among the sick, I think it a great pity that we should not have had any writer to bring forward here the practical question of a medical diaconate. There was a very able layman who used to attend the Church Congresses some years ago, whose name I am sorry to say is too much forgotten; I allude to the late Mr. Robert Brett, of Stoke

Newington. He was a medical man himself, and founded the Guild of St. Luke, composed of medical men and clergymen who have been members of the medical profession, and he also was to draw up a scheme for the representation of the medical profession in any revival of the diaconate. Some time ago I read a paper on the subject before that Guild of St. Luke, and I complied with their request to draw up a petition to the Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury, asking them to take such steps as they judged best calculated to forward our wishes. We have this advantage in urging the establishment of a medical diaconate, that in my humble judgment it would need no change of any sort in the law. According to the Canon Law of the Church of England—I mean that of 1604—there are two special occupations open to priests of our Church, by which to make their livelihood, one being the tutorial or teaching office, and the other the practise of physic. I believe it is not open canonically to a priest to practise surgery—by which I mean Chirurgery or operations with the hand, involving the shedding of blood—but it is lawful to practise medicine in the ancient sense in which the word is used by the old Greek writers, that is to say, prescribing, and administering treatment for all diseases, so far as they do not require the drawing of blood. In this sense, I maintain that any clergyman may practise medicine, either for fees or gratuitously, as he pleases. There is no law of any sort or description to prevent a clergyman who holds a benefice from practising the medical profession. If this be so, it must necessarily follow that those who do not hold benefices can do the same; and if priests, *a fortiori* deacons. I wish that some person would take the bull by the horns and present to the bishop some well qualified man who has been engaged in medical practice in his neighbourhood as a physician; give him a title for Deacon's orders, and see whether the bishop would not ordain him, of course, if his education substantially came up to the full requirements of the diocese, for I think it would be a very great mistake to lower the educational status of candidates for holy orders. I believe the present is not the day, and, as I once heard the Bishop of London say, London is not the place in which to lower the educational status of the clergy; nor, I would add, to put up men to teach hard-headed men of business, when they have not learnt what to teach, and how to teach properly. I believe I am correct in stating the opinion of our Right Rev. Chairman (the Bishop of Bedford), that the clergyman who can do his East London work the best with the poor and ignorant people, is the well educated man. In a correspondence I had with the Bishop of Lincoln on the subject of medical deacons, his Lordship said there was a Parliamentary statute on the subject, the 1st and 2nd Vict., chap. 106, which Sir R. Phillimore tells us is a codification of the old Canon Law. It says that no person, being a priest or deacon, or holding a benefice or curacy, shall deal for gain or profit in any goods or merchandise for himself or others. Section 30 expressly excludes teachers and schoolmasters from its operation. This statute, I say, in no way prevents a physician proper from being ordained deacon, because he engages in no trade, and sells no goods, nor does he deal for any profit. He simply receives an honorarium or a fee. I am a registered medical practitioner myself, and was in practice as a physician for many years before I took holy orders, and when I was a curate, a gentleman hearing that I had written on, and had the credit of being able to cure a certain class of diseases, came to me for a prescription. I gave him the prescription and he gave me £15, which was a very gratifying thing for a poor curate. I could not, however, have recovered this fee at law, because by the statutes of the College of Physicians, of which I am a Fellow, I am not allowed to recover, though the Medical Act allows me to do it. Were there a good churchman residing near me in Stoke Newington, a Bachelor of Medicine of Oxford or Cambridge, and were he ready to help the Church as a permanent deacon, I see no reason why I should not give him a title for holy orders, and let him go to the Bishop of London for examination and ordination. I think that would solve the question, and we should not then have all this talk about what the law is, and what it will prevent us from doing. As to the permanent deacons, any attempt to fetter the bishop is impractical or wrong. Of course, he will take the responsibility of ordaining a man or not as he thinks fit; if he does not think fit no rules that can be laid down in the matter by others will be binding upon a prelate who chooses to set them aside, or on his successor. There is one thing that should be said. We cannot expect a cultured physician to come into the clerical orders if he is to be fettered by such things as taking the doctrines and constitution of the Church from the conflicting decisions, past, present, and to come of lay lawyers, and their astounding reasons for those decisions. We cannot expect a physician to give up much of his time and energies, and become a cleric, if he is to be liable to imprisonment for life on the accusation of a convicted felon, a notorious drunkard, and one who was never known to attend any Church whatever.

W. PARSONS, Esq., Calcutta.

I ONLY have an opportunity once in seven years of attending the Church Congress, and I had the pleasure in 1875 of being present at Stoke, and hearing there an interesting discussion on the subject of what laymen should or should not do. I come home again after seven years' absence, and find that the same question is still the subject of discussion. Although in the columns of the *Guardian* from time to time I gather that there has been a considerable advance of both public, and what I may call ecclesiastical, opinion on the subject, I must venture to express the opinion that in such matters as this we move somewhat faster abroad. The question of Minor Orders was settled in the diocese of Calcutta, to which I belong, and, I think I may also say, in all the provinces of India, before the time when the Stoke Congress was held. If I am asked the reason for this, my reply is that the necessity laid upon us in foreign parts—in India especially—is more urgent than at home. In many parts of India it is not a question of what a layman should or should not do in the Church, but a question of whether the Church should be open at all if a layman does not conduct the service. There are many stations in India which are only visited once, twice, or three times a year by a clergyman; others, where a clergyman is resident, but has to leave the station two or three times a month to go to his out-stations, and in his absence there are none but laymen to conduct the public services of the Church. In the year 1874, Bishop Milman—and I think I need only mention his name to show that what was done then was done in accordance with Apostolical order—called a council of clergy and laity for the purpose of reviving the ancient orders of sub-deacon and reader. At that time we had no Synod or Church Conference in the diocese of Calcutta. Rules were, however, drawn up and promulgated by the Bishop, and in course of time a considerable number of officers and civilians of rank came forward and requested the Bishop to enrol them as sub-deacons, and also in the humble office of reader. The present Metropolitan, and the other bishops of India having since practically, endorsed Bishop Milman's action, there are now a considerable number of authorised lay helpers in all the dioceses of India. I stand here as a sub-deacon of the diocese of Calcutta. My position is somewhat peculiar. I am engaged in mercantile pursuits, but I have always found some time to devote to the work of the Church, and at one time I worked as a layman in a very neglected portion of the city of Calcutta, where there were a large number of English-speaking people living at a distance from the means of grace. I went in 1875 to Bishop Milman, and applied for authority to act as sub-deacon. The office was conferred on me by the Metropolitan, at a solemn service in the cathedral, with imposition of hands, and I was then able to do in an authorised manner what I had previously been doing as a sort of free lance. I had a solemn commission given to me, and signed by the Bishop, and by it I am licensed to read matins and evensong, to preach—or, if you like it better, to give addresses—if necessary, to baptize, and bury the dead, and to assist at Holy Communion by administering the chalice, which, I may say, I have often done. In due time our district was organised, our work, under the blessing of God, became a success, and a church was built. A clergyman then came out from England to take charge of it, attracted apparently by the fact that there was not much more remuneration than would keep him alive. But my duties were by no means ended, because part of the clergyman's charge lies 150 miles away, and he has to go away about one Sunday in every month; consequently, I have frequently had to conduct matins or evensong, and other offices, in the church itself, and it happened to me in the early part of this year—though it was purely an accident—to conduct evensong there when three missionary priests were sitting in the congregation. I have also been sent for in a difficulty to conduct a service in another Calcutta church, which positively would have been closed if I had not been able to attend. One of the things I have thus learnt in India is that there is nothing which a duly authorised and qualified layman cannot do in church, with the exception of performing the distinctly priestly acts of absolution, consecration, and benediction. You are learning this in England, I think, and pre-eminently so from the Ritualists, who have done more than any other school in the Church to afford opportunities for and organise lay work. In another direction, the Salvation Army is teaching the same lesson, and I do hope that, if I am spared to return to England in another seven years, this matter will have ceased to be a subject of discussion, and will have become one of practice. I may mention, in closing, one of the most remarkable instances of lay ministrations which have ever come under my notice. The present Metropolitan, when on visitation in the diocese of Bombay, was, with the Bishop of Bombay, at

some station where on a particular morning there did not happen to be matins in the church. Going out for a walk, however, the two bishops heard the sound of prayer and praise in passing the church, and, entering, found a company of devout soldiers going through the service by themselves. The two bishops did not go away, but joined the little congregation while a corporal or some non-commissioned officer read the service.

The Rev. P. G. MEDD, M.A., Rector of North Cerney and Canon of St. Alban's.

IN reading the paper which I read just now, I was simply acting for my friend, Canon Bright, and I must not, therefore, be understood to endorse all the conclusions, and especially the limitations of that paper. I do not see why in this matter we should be restricted to one or other of two alternatives. I have felt very deeply for several years past that, in the face of the ever-increasing work of the Church, there should be an extension of the permanent diaconate. I go entirely with every word that has been said on this subject by Messrs. Gedge and Jackson Mason, and by the Dean of Ripon, and I hope that what they have said will bear fruit in the hearts of all who are here present. At this moment, the crisis is such that we cannot afford to discuss these questions as mere matters of speculation. The time has come when we must act. Wherever we go, in town or country, the problem faces us. For although it is true that the Church is a little over-manned in some parts of the country districts, in others the clergy are not sufficiently strong even yet to cope with the work which is necessary to be done. I say, therefore, we should not regard lay-readers and permanent deacons as alternatives, but should employ them both. It may be that permanent deacons are wanted chiefly in the towns, and lay-readers in the country, but I think we want both; and I hope both plans will become so familiar to the minds of English Churchmen that they will begin to press for some movement in the direction of both. I go very far with Mr. Bernard in what he said, although I differ with him on the subject of permanent deacons. I am entirely with him in wishing to see the age lowered from twenty-three to twenty-one, because I wish to see the diaconate prolonged. Mr. Gedge made an objection to this part of Mr. Bernard's paper which he did not see had already been answered by anticipation by Mr. Bernard. The latter guarded himself against saying that a deacon of twenty-one must be admitted at once to preach—on the contrary, his proposed change would secure a probation of two years before the deacon went into the pulpit. In conclusion, let me say, as strongly as I can, how deeply, both in town and country, this question of additional ministerial agencies presses upon us. It has been brought to the front perhaps more prominently just now by reason of the operations of the Salvation Army. The time has come when we clergy of the Church must put our shoulders to the wheel in a way which has not been done hitherto, unless we are to see the masses of our population drift away altogether from the Christian faith; and to see we know not what perils arise out of such a state of things to both our Church and Nation.

The Rev. HARRY JONES, Prebendary of St. Paul's, London.

ALL that I intended to say has been said. But I must utter a few words of congratulation. When a man is digging a well, he goes on in the dark for a long time, seeing no result whatever of his labours; but at last comes a time when one stroke of the pick lets in the water. I cannot but think that the well which is being dug in connection with the Minor Orders is at last showing good results. We have beheld the bishops hesitating at the very threshhold of the work. We have heard that it is a thing which they are all thinking about. To-day we have seen a gentleman come forward who has received Minor Orders, who, though still a layman, has been allowed by a bishop to say matins and evensong, to assist in the administration of the Holy Communion, and to bury the dead. Some clergy are always talking about the difficulty of finding curates. I myself have been very fortunate in this respect, but I know there has been such a difficulty. Well, why not find them among the congregation as well as for the congregation? Of course a great deal will have to be done to put the

matter into shape. There is one fact which has not, I think, been alluded to by any speaker yet, but which enables us to realise how the thing could be done. Is it not true that at the present day there is a lay-reader who ministers? Is not the captain of a ship allowed to say the Church service? [A Voice: Not in a consecrated room; that is the difficulty.] Not in a consecrated room, but, at any rate, we have the discharge by a layman of what would be the duties of the chaplain if there were one.

The Rev. W. O. PURTON, Rector of Kingston-by-Sea, Brighton.

AFTER the very interesting speeches of the Dean of Ripon, Mr. Gedge, and Mr. Mason, I should have been well content to keep my seat; but as I have thought over this subject for a long time, I am not unwilling, your lordship having called upon me to say a few words. I do not think we need trouble ourselves at present, as to whether the title of "Reverend" should be applied to lay deacons; that is a matter which will settle itself. Nor shall I discuss whether the title of *permanent* deacon is precisely correct, or the best that could be chosen. If a deacon wishes to remain a deacon, however, he will be a permanent deacon all his life long. There is one important point which has been touched upon: most important. The recent census may have brought before us some fallacious figures; but making all reasonable deductions, the fact stares us in the face, that a great proportion of the artisan and lower middle classes never enter the buildings of the Church of England. Can we get enough men to deal with these? We can only get now just what we want and no more. Can we get the money? We have not got enough money as it is; and, as a most valuable report of a Committee of the Convocation of York has shown, it is perfectly hopeless to expect to receive money to provide "livings," or curates' stipends for coping with the masses outside the Church. We have also to consider the questions of the country districts, which has been alluded to by my friend Mr. Gedge. I do not think the majority of Church people are aware of the great fact that, speaking broadly, in the country you have got the endowments, while in the town you have got the people. This is what is called a democratic age. Let the fact I speak of once stare the people in the face, and some will draw one conclusion, and some another. The Bishop of Ely, in a recent charge, alluded to small contiguous livings, in thinly-peopled country districts. Taking this question briefly, I will point out that the present system, as things are now, is not only bad for the clergy, as Mr. Gedge said, but it is also bad for the Church. If you could set free the men and money in the country districts who are not now wanted, you would be able to send men and money into the town districts, where both are needed, and you could also provide men for the missionary field. This you can do by a lay-diaconate system. There were several interesting points in the ably-written paper of Mr. Bernard on which I should gladly touch. By all means, let us have lay-readers, sub-deacons, and everything else that is good and workable, but do let us make use without further delay of the lay or permanent deacon. Everyone who knows the manufacturing districts knows very well that a man in charge of five or ten thousand souls, when he gets a deacon, wants to use him, to use him at once and use him freely; I myself, when a deacon, usually took part in three services on the Sunday. In large towns a deacon is sometimes sadly over-worked; but if you could get your medical men, your solicitors, your country farmers of fair education, your retired professional men, and could use them in urban districts, the benefits to the Church would, I believe, be incalculable. With reference to the supply of clergy, I may mention that a very practical step has been taken this last year by the able principal of the Theological College at Chichester, Canon Awdry. Now, a man is obliged to reside only one year at his college, and may work at his calling during the remaining period of his study, provided he goes to Chichester, and passes certain examinations. But there are a large number of men who cannot give up their calling in life, even for a single year, and will you hesitate to make use for the Church of the abilities with which God has entrusted these? We have a deal of irregularity in these days, but I am pleading for men who will work regularly. I thank God that no party spirit has been imported as yet into the question of a permanent diaconate. I trust there never will be. Let us at least have this one question untainted by party spirit. But with reference to one remark which has been made, I may say that in the last Report of the Church Pastoral Aid Society, a society which first brought strongly before the Church questions of lay-helpers, the lay-diaconate was commended.

STEPHEN BOURNE, Esq., H.M.'s Customs, London.

I AM sure none of us felt there was any egotism whatever in the address to which we have just listened from Mr. Parsons; and I trust you will acquit me of any such charge, if I state the position in which I stand. Twenty years ago I was in the habit, at the request of the vicar, of taking a full afternoon service in the school-rooms of two villages. At the same time, as an amateur student of physic, I did what I could for the poor, combining attention to the wants of the body, with raising men to see the necessity of seeking the health of their souls. I have been in the habit of speaking to large audiences; and only a fortnight ago, I found myself in a singular position. In the morning I spoke to a congregation of 2,000 in a tent, and in the evening to perhaps 2,500 in the same place. A curate had been taken ill the day before, and the vicar, who presided at both the meetings, said he had had to telegraph a long distance to get some clergyman to supply his place. The anomaly was, that although the vicar presided over my meetings in the tent, I could not in any way assist him in any of the four churches for the services of which he had to provide. I care not so much what the nature of the regulations to be established with regard to lay help, but I do think that a fact of this kind forms an obstacle in the way of the assistance which some gentlemen are asked to give to the Church to which they wish to devote a large portion of their lives. I have to thank the Dean of Ripon for the cordial welcome which he held out to various classes of society; but I do not think he included in his list the position in which I stand. I have the honour of being a servant of the crown, and have served under the Dean's brother in a civil capacity, and I should be glad if the remaining years of my life could be devoted to the work of Jesus Christ, in spreading abroad the knowledge of God, and in advancing the cause of our Church. Under these circumstances, I trust you will excuse me for seeking the removal of such restrictions as exist, and which preclude many men whose hearts are devoted to the work from giving the full help they are willing to bestow. Allusion has been made to two proposals for the extension of the diaconate; one for ordaining men to the diaconate a year earlier than at present; the other for making use of men of time and leisure after the turmoil of life is to some extent over. Both these schemes, if carried out, would, I think, tend to the advancement of religion in the land. When such multitudes are perishing among us for lack of knowledge; when standing, in the midst of our great towns we see the throngs who nightly turn out of the public-houses; the thousands who fill our streets at night, to the disgrace of religion as well as civilisation; and when there are hundreds who are able to address large audiences on questions of science or politics, I think it is sad to see the place which they could fill so well on the religious platform supplied by raw recruits, many of whom certainly lack the experience and knowledge required to enable them to do so satisfactorily. As the father of three young men in Orders, I have certainly felt myself that it is hard for the father who set them aside for that service, and who was striving to do his best for the promotion of religion, to be confined to a village school-room, and not be allowed in any way to minister in the building in which they could officiate. I feel that those who are desirous to consecrate themselves to the service of the Saviour who has redeemed them, those whose hearts are breaking with the knowledge of all the misery which exists in our days, should not be kept in enforced idleness by unnecessary restrictions; and I am confident that in removing those restrictions we should be advancing the cause of our Saviour in the land. I have only just received a letter from the Secretary of an evangelistic movement, instituted by the bishop now presiding over us, allotting me three days for work in London; and I do feel that there may be many places where, during the coming winter, such as myself might have larger audiences but for the restrictions placed upon us, and so have more power to strive to win souls to the love of the Saviour.

The Rev. D. WILMOT SITWELL, Vicar of Leamington Hastings.

MY only excuse for introducing myself to this meeting must be the keenness with which I feel the absolute necessity that something should be done. I speak as the clergyman of a very small, but very scattered parish, and I am quite sure our need is quite as great in its way as that of the towns. I wish first of all to deprecate these

various schemes of ministerial extension being put forward as competing schemes, one scheme being advocated to the exclusion of others; I would rather believe each scheme of extension is put forward by persons who feel the special want of their own particular parish, and that the Church has need—not of one, but of all, and I hope we shall all unite in endeavouring to back up those in authority in carrying out whatever scheme of ministerial extension they think most practicable, although it may not be the particular form of extension which we ourselves should most like to see. The question is one far beyond that of a mere extension of organisation and increased efficiency, it means the Church regaining her capacity for enlisting in her work men of every class in the kingdom, from the highest to the lowest; and I believe that if we can succeed in enlisting all classes in the ministry, we shall be able to bring back all classes to our congregations. We have thought a great deal too much of education. I do not blame those who swept away all those ministerial helps at the Reformation—they had their own special difficulties to deal with, but I believe that in restricting the ministry entirely to the educated classes, as has been the case since the Reformation, much harm has been done. Education cannot exist without wealth, education implies wealth, and if you restrict the ministry to the educated classes, you are really restricting the ministry to the wealthy classes. I cannot believe that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ever intended His ministry to be the monopoly of the wealthy classes. The real power by which we must influence the people is not intellectual superiority, but the power of sympathy. If we want to send a man to influence people of the educated classes, we must of course send one who can sympathise with them; and I maintain it is just as certain that if we want to influence men in the poorer classes, we must commission men to speak to them who can sympathise thoroughly with them. I heard one of my own lads the other day say—"Ever since I was six years old I have been brought up a drunkard." Well, how can we public school-men, who have been brought up with all the refinements of life around us, enter into and understand the special trials and temptations of such a life as that. Let us have a grand expansion of ministerial organisation such as will embrace all classes. We want to be able to touch with a touch of sympathy every class in this kingdom; to touch at once the rich, the refined, and the educated, and the poor, the unlearned, and the ignorant.

The Rev. C. W. WOODHOUSE, Canon of Manchester.

I CAME here very full of this subject, because my connection with the work of the Church in the North is extensive, not only because I formerly took part in preparing men for the sacred ministry, but also because I am situated in the great city of Manchester. Although I think there is much to say on the subject of the extension of the diaconate, I have only a minute or two in which to speak, and I must, therefore, be very brief in my remarks. An extension of the diaconate, in any form, would reach a number of gentlemen who, I am afraid, feel now that there is not sufficient area for pastoral service in the Church. A number of our best scholars do not take Holy Orders as they did in former times, and I am grieved to find that many of my own young friends, who are competent in every respect to take Holy Orders, from one view of the subject or another, shrink from doing so. What is wanted is that the bishops should make up their minds to stretch the law a little, so that our young scholars who take classes in the great schools up and down England may feel that they can enter the diaconate without eventually becoming priests. We should then have a return to the circumstances of our boyhood, when we looked up to the master of the school as a clergyman guiding our thoughts and feelings, as well as teaching us Greek and Latin. Let these young scholars feel that they may become deacons without entering the priesthood at once or at all. If this were the case, I think great service would be done to the Church of the future, because the masters would often feel more the moral responsibility of their position, and would not only teach their boys secular learning, but would do their best, in the extra relation of clergy, to unite them to our Lord and Saviour.

DRILL HALL.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 5TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

THE LITURGY.

(*a*) THE IDEAL OF LITURGICAL WORSHIP IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.
(*b*) PROPOSALS FOR LITURGICAL IMPROVEMENT.

(*a*) THE IDEAL OF LITURGICAL WORSHIP IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PAPERS.

The RIGHT HON. A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.

IN this age of earnestness, disturbed by unrest, the Ideal of Liturgical worship in the Church of England has been, in its various particulars, provocative of protracted debate in synod and conference, at meetings and in newspapers; and I grieve to say in the law-courts. It will be my present object to lift the question out of details, and to present it to you in a shape which you may accept or reject as a whole. I do not ask you to figure to yourselves a ministering clergy on one side, and on the other a praying congregation, but the whole Church corporate performing together that common action of worship which is continuous in its ceaseless recurrence, and which is as essential for the life of the body spiritual, as breathing is for the life of the body natural. Worship is prayer, worship is praise, worship is communion, worship is the golden chain which lifts us to God; and, therefore, while one in its scope and inward essence, is manifold in its external manifestations. All creation, visible and invisible, is one vast temple of eternal worship. In Heaven, the elders are ever casting down their golden crowns in lowliest adoration; while angels, and archangels, and all the company of Heaven evermore praise God, and say, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts." In the middle world, the souls of the martyrs under the altar send up the longing prayer, "O Lord, how long?" and white robes are given to them, that they may with the more seemliness perform their constant task of watchful worship, while that numberless multitude, the spirits and souls of the righteous, bless the Lord, praise Him, and magnify Him for ever.

Then shall the Catholic Church on earth alone maintain a sullen silence? This never has been, never will be, short of a general falling away.

The primitive Church, to which, of course, we of the English Church as upon the Elizabethan settlement, Convocation with no doubtful voice proclaimed, submit as the most authentic interpreter of Holy Scripture, had three main sources from which it derived its ideal of Liturgical worship.

First was the crowning action of our dear Lord's ministerial life when He instituted the life-giving sacrament of His blessed Body and Blood to be done till He came, in remembrance of Him, with its ritual of sacred words, of the fraction of bread, and of the cup. Next, the worship of the elder Church which He came not to destroy but to fulfil, with its foreshadowing of sacraments in the various sacrifices, and that worship of psalmody which the Christian Church has taken up and evermore continued; and thirdly, that glimpse of Liturgical or Eucharistic worship, beyond the grave and in the Heavens revealed from Patmos. These three agree, and mutually illustrate each other, and they vindicate the worship of the Church of England, which, blessed be God, reverently follows these prescriptions.

I might here, with profit and pleasure, dwell upon the double character of worship in the Christian Church from the beginning, represented in the triple distribution of the building. The higher one is Sacramental, or in the true grammatical sense of the term, Liturgical; the inferior one, but most venerable in itself, and bearing health and comfort on its wings, is that of prayer, and praise, and Scripture reading, directly descending from the Temple service. I might dwell on the conditions, literary, musical, and architectural, of this common prayer; but I have only time for my literal task, so let us pass on from the stalls to the sanctuary, from the Psalter to the Eucharist, and there, in reverence, consider what is the Church of England's belief as to ideal Celebration of the Holy Communion. Neither have I time to dwell on this service, and show its substantive identity with the venerable Liturgies still existing both of East and West. The central point in all, of course, is the Canon or Prayer of Consecration, embodying the Words of Institution, and involving the Invocation of the Holy Spirit. The Epistle and Gospel are of universal usage, the recitation of the Nicene Creed goes back to the days of its composition. The Tersanctus is rooted in Scripture and comes from heaven. The Gloria in Excelsis is of venerable antiquity.

It is a strange superstition—and one quite destitute of warrant from the Church—which has led so many good, simple-hearted Christians, to fancy that they have set up bulwarks against the fancy of Transubstantiation or Saint worship, or of any other Roman corruption of the primitive faith, by stripping and degrading the ceremonies of the Holy Communion. Have we not as much awe and gratitude for the Sacrament of the Lord's precious Body and Blood, as the man who is entangled in the metaphysical meshes of Transubstantiation? Then proclaim your faith and love to the world by setting forth that Sacrament in glorious array. As for Saint worship and other innovations, they have left their mark in the numberless petty observances which intrude at so many points of the Missal, breaking the even flow and marring the dignity of the Sacramental rites. In contrast, the Eucharistic office of the Church of England is simple and connected in its composition, grave and statuesque in its aspect; and while it keeps these characteristics, it claims the liberty, if means suffice, and the opportunities are there, to stand before us in clothing of wrought gold, with music as of St. Cecilia hymning the Giver of all good things.

We know that "a throne was set in heaven, and One sat on the throne; and He that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like

unto an emerald." This is the centre of Liturgical worship in Heaven, and on earth the centre of Liturgical worship is its counterpart. Of course, on earth, our Lord sits not visibly upon His throne. His invisible presence is in the Eucharist. His throne we have got in the most essential of all the features of every church, that which indifferently, and with perfect identity of meaning we call the Altar, the Lord's Table and the Holy Table. What then should be the aspect of this Holy Table, and how should the beauty expended on it embody our reverent estimation of its dignity? Rather than provoke controversy by attempting any list of the features which I should claim as incontestably belonging to the Altar in the mind of the Church of England, let me, by way of illustration describe one to you, at which, on an official occasion, I communicated during last summer. It stood up high, and graced with an environment of rich religious painting on wall and roof, of painted glass of sparkling excellence, and bright flowers; its vesting was sumptuous and correct, the massive candlesticks and candles were there, and on the superaltar a cross stood up of fresh green leaves. The occasion of this Communion was a Diocesan Conference, the scene Lambeth Palace Chapel, the celebrant and the author of this restoration that Primate over whose sick bed we have so long been hanging in prayerful, longing solicitude.

There is no question here of maximum or minimum. These ornaments of the Altar which I have mentioned, were made specifically safe from being impugned before any tribunal a quarter of a century back. The courts in the Liddell *v.* Westerton suit, not only recognised the Altar hangings varying with the seasons, and the cross in close proximity to the Holy Table, and the candlesticks, but vindicated the Credence or Table of Prothesis, whereon to place the elements before they were offered, that speaking proclamation of the Eucharistic oblation as the rightful possession of the Church of England. The removal of the Credence from the area of controversy was a most important, practical step in fixing our Liturgical ideal. This took place, I say, a quarter of a century back. Time travels fast, and intervening events have crowded in tumultuously. It is well, then, when genius and claims have alike advanced, to recollect out of what ritual depths we rose, and what we have secured. Here, then, at the commencement of the service, we have the Altar with its attendant table of Prothesis, while the ministers of the holy rite, Celebrant, Gospeller, and Epistoler, are standing round it to carry out their sacred duties. It would be impossible in the limits of a paper to define their attitudes and action, more than by saying that the Church of England, profiting by the warnings of the unreformed Churches of East and West, insists upon a grave moderation, while, of course, she marks with ceremonial emphasis, such special features as the Gospel and the Creed. The aid of music will be invited to make the service more beautiful, and so the choir will retain their places in the stalls of the Chancel. Though, no doubt, the practice here and there lingers with other bad remainders from an age of neglect, yet I trust the preposterous custom so familiar at one time to our Cathedrals is dying away, of the florid performance of the Matins, the Commandments, and the Nicene Creed, leading up to cold reading of the latter and most sacred portion of the Communion service.

There is one point, however, on which I must speak plainly. Congruity, the tradition of the Universal Church, the Rubric before the

prayer of Consecration, taken so as least to involve any strain or imputation of non-natural interpretation, not to mention that which before the Rubric had been framed was the practice of the very divines who were its authors, Wren and Cosin—combine to ordain that the celebrant, chief shepherd of his flock, and their mouthpiece at the Table of the Lord, should stand "before the table" and before his flock, and should, as the Eastern shepherd is wont to do, lead them in the holiest action which he is performing and to which they are responding. I remember, one day, at the Ritual Commission, that Archbishop Longley said that any attempt to prohibit the Eastward position would cause "exasperation" among the clergy. This was said some fifteen years ago. The Purchas judgment ensued, and the Archbishop, then at rest, proved not to have been a false prophet. Now by a late decision the Eastward position is by the civil authorities practically accepted, and so I say no more upon it.

As to the vesture of the clergy engaged about the Eucharistic services, I should a few years since have spoken with trembling. But now, not indeed upon the details, but upon the principle of a distinctive dress, there can be, and there is but one permissible opinion in the Church of England, since by the action of those very men who like the dress least, who wish the least of it, and who have worked hardest to make it illegal, it has been declared imperative in those churches which are set up as the models of perfection to the whole body spiritual, I mean, of course, in our Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. So the renewed, and therefore, more emphatic mandate now rests upon those who are the stakeholders and ministers of that perfection—upon our bishops and the clergy of those Cathedral and Collegiate Churches—to wear that dress. What may be now doing in Lichfield Cathedral I have not asked, but I cannot believe that it will be long lagging by the way, or that we shall not, at the right time, find in it the ideal of Liturgical worship, as in other particulars, so in the use of the appointed dresses rivalling in their splendour those "holy garments for Aaron" which "Bezaleel and Aholiab, and every wisehearted man, in whom the Lord put wisdom and understanding," made—the "ephod of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen," with its gold beaten into their plates—for "as the Lord had commanded, even so had they done it."

So the upshot and conclusion of all our inquiry, is that everything rare, and everything beautiful—stately structures and shapely ornaments, poetry and unction in language, sweet and solemn melody, dignified vesture, reverent attitudes are all portions of man's great debt of devotion to Almighty God, and so they all help to make up the ideal of worship in the Church of England as in the whole Catholic Church of Christ.

The Rev. E. H. BICKERSTETH, Vicar of Christ Church, Hampstead.

THERE is some ambiguity in the wording of our subject. It might be understood as a challenge to prove that the Church of England having the liturgies of so many lands and ages before her, had in our Prayer

Book attained, so far as it is possible for man to attain, the Ideal of Liturgical Worship; and I confess, so great is my admiration for our Liturgy, and so strong my conviction that the Holy Spirit guided its compilers to select the pure gold of the sanctuary from the ample materials before them, it would have been to me a labour of love to attempt to prove this thesis. But such a treatment of the subject would require an intimate acquaintance with and review of the ancient liturgies, a knowledge to which I have no claim, and leisurely space of which I have no command to-day. The Ideal of our Liturgical Worship, however, will bear another and perhaps a more practical meaning. Given the Liturgy of our Church as it is, and reverencing it as in harmony with the mind of Christ, what is our ideal of actual worship as offered to God according to the use of the Church of England? Such an inquiry will not be fruitless. I believe we owe a real debt to the proposer of the subject, for in all good and great pursuits it is much, very much, to have an ideal standard before the mind. It is so with the painter, the sculptor, the author. Let the thought be once awakened in the artist's and poet's soul (every true artist is a *ποιητής*) and, as he tries to realise it, he will instinctively compare it with that original image he conceived. He may not succeed the first, the tenth, the twentieth time; but let him persevere, and he will approach nearer to that majestic and masterful idea which first came to him from above, a good and perfect gift from the Father of Lights. The inquiry, therefore, to which I would ask your attention is a very direct and simple one—How can we best realise and fulfil the Ideal of Liturgical Worship as ordered in the Book of Common Prayer? Let me bespeak your forgiveness if I touch on many details which seem small in themselves, but which in the aggregate may seriously affect the result.

"My house shall be called the house of prayer," such is the Divine designation of the temple. The house of God is the house of prayer; it is the chosen chamber of audience in which God gathers His suppliant people; it is the appointed trysting place of God, who is Spirit, with those who would fain worship Him together in spirit and in truth. We may freely grant that when we enter into our closet and shut to our door, and pray to our Father who is in secret, we come each one for ourselves to the very footstool of the throne of grace. Even of the lonely Bethel with its one worshipper, himself a fugitive from his father's tents, it was said by Jacob, and said truly, "How dreadful is this place, this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." What more could be affirmed of the most august cathedral in Christendom? Of such solitary worship God is witness, and the holy angels. But our Lord puts a special honour upon the united supplications of His people when He says "If two of you shall agree (*συμφωνήσωσιν* in the blessed symphony of hearts) as touching anything they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven; for where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." Why this special honour? Surely one reason is that united worship is an open avowal before our brethren, and in the midst of a sceptical world, that God hears and answers prayer; and then it is an outward and visible expression of obedience, not only to the first great Commandment, but also to the second—it is a sign not only of communion with God but also of the communion of saints. These are

strong persuasives to the observance of daily prayer in our churches. They are felt more and more by many of our Missionary brethren in heathen and Mohammedan lands, where the Hindu presents his daily offerings at the shrine of his idol, and the Moslem obeys the frequent Muezzin cry, but where till of late years the Christian Church has sometimes been too little used from one Lord's Day to another. The heathens and Mohammedans, not knowing our habits of private devotion, have thought we Christians lived almost without prayer. And in measure the same argument applies to us in our own country. The morning bell, the chime which calls to evensong, the notices on Sundays of holy-days in the week, are all remembrancers. The worshippers may be very few, but their prayers mingle with the supplications of the whole Church militant here in earth; and, apart from the personal blessing which these few obtain, the service itself is a witness for God. And then our subject, the "Ideal of Liturgical Worship," invites us to picture what it would be if all those addressed in the Prayer Book as "the sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England," who are not prevented by home duties or some other urgent cause, met daily in the house of prayer. For myself I should deeply regret if anything interfered with domestic worship, that holy cincture of family life. But with many of us a careful economy of time would make room for daily prayer both around the family altar and in the House of God, and then in most large parishes there are enough lone people, clerks and apprentices and students and daily teachers, shopmen and shopwomen, besides many aged persons living by themselves, who have no opportunity of family worship. There are enough of these, if only all had a mind to come, of themselves to form a hearty and important congregation in the courts of prayer.

But in treating of the Ideal of Liturgical Worship our thoughts instinctively turn to the larger assemblies, which fill our churches on the Lord's Day, the Easter Day of every week. With regard to the circumstantials of worship, my words must be few indeed: for in a national Church these must needs vary from the lowliest to the most magnificent and impressive. But I think we may safely say that there should be some proportion between the house of prayer and the homes of the worshippers. The words of David to Nathan strike a true chord in our hearts, "I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains." In every place the Church, and all pertaining to it, should be solemn and reverent, and bear evidence of being lovingly cared for. Nor must we forget that among the seven lamps of architecture the lamp of sacrifice sheds a soft and subduing light in the sanctuary. In the simplest edifice there should be nothing to offend refinement of taste; in the most splendid pile there should be nothing to divert devotion or to secularise thought. Let us imagine, then, a parish church, neither of the humblest or grandest structure, where there is a wholesome intermingling of rich and poor. It is the Sunday morning service. The clergyman and his curates are there, and, as a rule, know every worshipper by name. They are supported by a band of willing lay-helpers, who labour not only among the children, but also among those of riper years, and are in a thousand noiseless and nameless ways their helpers in Christ Jesus. There is the devout and carefully trained choir—singing boys, and singing men, and singing women. Assign these last a place, if you will,

immediately behind the rest, but, for the sake of all that is most tender and touching in sacred song, do not remove their voices to a distance from the choir. And all these choristers, whether boys or men or women, regard their part in the service as a sacred charge from God. Nor are the school children absent. Separate services for children on Sunday morning may be a necessity in some populous districts, but it is to my thinking a most mournful necessity. "Sanctify the congregation, assemble the elders, gather the children," re-echoes through the ages from the days of Joel until now. It is true there will be many things which young children cannot understand in our services and sermons. But is it not thus in all their training for after life? Do you banish them from the society of their elders because they cannot enter into the general conversation of the drawing-room? No; they pick up crumbs of thought there, they glean ears among the sheaves, they learn humility, they exercise patience, they treasure up questions to ask their parents or teachers afterwards. Not otherwise is it in the house of prayer. The very fact that they cannot understand all things is a moral lesson for them, and if they cultivate holy reverence it will be to them the beginning of wisdom. But, to return—the hour of Divine Service has struck, all have taken their places before the clergy enter, and for a few minutes there is silence in the house of prayer. We must not travel beyond our Liturgy, or I could envy our American brethren the opening sentence of their Prayer Book, "The Lord is in His holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before Him." Would that the hushed silences of the sanctuary were cultivated more! I lately went into the dwelling of one of our first church architects, and saw the words beautifully carved in wood over his study mantlepiece, "Silence is golden;" and I could not help saying to him, "Oh! that you could devise some pavement for our aisles which would be at once artistic and noiseless." Alas! for the clanking and clatter of feet on encaustic tiles, most heard when most you need the repose of stillness in the Holy Communion service. Surely it is not without deep teaching that St. John was moved to record, at the opening of the seventh seal, "There was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour." Half a minute's silence on earth is sometimes worth more than the loudest volumes of sound. But soon the chosen sentences fall upon our ear, and the words of the Exhortation invite us to acknowledge our sins before God with a pure heart and humble voice at the throne of the heavenly grace. Is it not the Ideal of our Liturgy that the General Confession should be said, not sung; for the rubric directs it "to be said (not, you observe, to be said or sung) by the whole congregation after the minister, all kneeling?" Some persons of æsthetic taste may throw themselves into a skilfully rendered choral recitation of it; but surely for most worshippers the simplest utterance of these most solemn words is best, when all alike and altogether, parents and children, masters and servants, teachers and scholars, priests and people, thus humble themselves together before God. The Absolution that follows is as the healing dew of heaven. Here, at least, as full and free and finished a salvation is proclaimed as General Booth might desire. And what shepherd of souls has not felt it among the highest privileges of his pastorate to lead his flock to the throne with the succeeding words of the Lord's Prayer, which Christ Himself has put into our lips?

In the use of the *Venite* and the Psalms music seems as natural as it is artificial in the General Confession. The very name of the Psalms, from ψάλλω to strike the harp-string, implies the accompaniment of music, and there can be no reasonable doubt that our Lord sang them in the synagogue. If only every heart was in unison, should we not more often realise what an old writer says, that, when singing the Psalms he felt like a lark borne up on eagles' wings into the everlasting sunlight.

In reading the Holy Scriptures, whether the Lessons or the Epistle and Gospel of the day, the Ideal seems given in Nehemiah, where it is recorded, "So they read in the Book, in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." What a help we have to this in the musical rhythm and familiar language of our English Bible! Greatly as I value the Revised Version in my study for consultation and comparison, I for one fervently hope that Dean Burgon has for ever saved us from the intolerable infliction of reading it at the lectern. But the Ideal of Liturgical Worship carries us far beyond the intellectual grasp of the meaning of the Inspired Word. We may expect that it will prove quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, and be a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. I have known a clergyman who gave himself to prayer, that the reading of Holy Scripture in the services of his church might be God's message to souls, and who bore witness that after this many of his flock came to him confessing that the Word of God thus publicly read, without any human comment, had brought them to the foot of the Cross of Christ.

I must not linger over the *Te Deum*, the *Benedicite*, and the other canticles—that *Te Deum* of which one has truly said, "It is at once a hymn, a creed, and a prayer; or, rather, it is a creed taking wing and soaring heavenward." And again, "it is a shrine around which the Church has hung her joys for centuries, and in which each of us has garnered up one sacred memory after another."

May we not say the same of the other Canticles? They gather associations around them as life flows on. Never shall I forget, nearly thirty years ago, the power of the *Benedicite, omnia opera*, when four of us, the only Englishmen then at Lauterbrunnen, repeated it in the service we held one Sunday morning in the open air, among the rocks and trees at the foot of the Staubbach Fall.

And which of us cannot connect some sentences of these great choral hymns with passages of our own spiritual life known only to God? No two men see precisely the same rainbow; different rays of light fall upon their eyes, revealing the one covenant arch of mercy; and no two singers, even when using the same words, offer precisely the same adoration. Only He who reads all hearts knows what one canticle means in the lips of a thousand worshippers.

But if the *Te Deum* may be called a winged Creed, the Apostles', the Nicene, the Athanasian Creeds, those great symbols of Christianity, are the watch-words or war-songs of the hosts of the living God. They are ordered to be either sung or said, and as we sing or say them we are conscious :—

> "Like a mighty army moves the Church of God,
> Brothers, we are treading where the saints have trod;
> We are not divided, all one body we—
> One in hope and doctrine, one in charity,"

and as such they fitly prevent or follow those manifold pleadings for ourselves, and intercessions for others, which find utterance in the Collects and Litany.

"These" (to borrow a few sentences more from the same writer,) "bring before us not in a confused mass, but in discriminated and ordered multitudes, the dangers, necessities, and tribulations of our sinful humanity. We enter into prisons, we journey over all lands, we go forth on the great waters with our seafaring and colonising race; the helpless little children are on our hearts, the travelling and toiling, the sick and suffering, the fatherless and forsaken, those who have injured us by word or deed, the oppressed and the oppressor. . . . The intercessions are as free from vagueness as from narrowness, expanding to the whole range of human need, yet touching every detail with a tenderness as precious for its reticence as for its minuteness. For in intercession as in confession the sobriety we so prize in the Prayer-Book is the calm, not of coldness, but of fire which has deepened from flame into a steady fusing glow."

I must not pass by hymns in silence, for they have become an important part of our Liturgical Worship, and supply an element of freedom and variety which is invaluable. The only danger is lest liberty should glide into license. Freedom always involves responsibility, and this demands that the hymns should be in accordance with the teaching of the Prayer Book. If the hymns interwoven with our prayers teach otherwise, they must jar. But if this harmony be maintained, how heartily we may welcome that overflowing joy, which has made our age such an era of song and has so enhanced and enriched our "Ideal of Liturgical Worship."

It may seem at first sight that the sermon is distinct from worship, but the rubric ordering it is embedded in our Communion Service, and "the visible Church of Christ" is declared to be "a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly administered." Of the preacher and his message, George Herbert touches the Ideal when he says, "the pulpit is his joy and throne;" and again, "the character of his sermon is holiness: he is not witty, or learned, or eloquent, but holy." When the pastor comes forth as from the immediate presence of the Great Shepherd to feed the flock of God, to heal the sick, and seek the lost, when he realises that great saying of the greatest preacher of the Cross, "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God;" when his people can truly say with Cornelius, "We are here present before God to hear all things that are commanded thee of God;" the Ideal of this part of worship seems attained, and the Master's words are continually fulfilled, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me."

Of the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, I have only time to say, would that it were more often administered as the rubric directs, "when the most number of people come together," and to throw out the suggestion that it should sometimes be substituted for the Litany in our morning service. Its teaching sheds priceless light on the other services of our Prayer Book. And if some were disposed at first to resent the intrusion, they would soon learn that the Church was only following in the footsteps of her Lord in thus folding to her bosom the lambs of the flock. And so we come to the "crown and roof" of all our Liturgical Worship: the Holy Communion of the body and blood of Christ. This gathers together, as in a focus, all the manifested love of God towards us, and

awakens all our responsive love to Him. Divine love meets and satisfies human love. This, therefore, is the coronation of worship. This claims every faculty and exercises every thought. Let the surrender of our souls be entire. If ever solemn silence is precious in the intervals of worship, if ever the law of God searches the human heart, if ever chosen Gospel and inspired Epistle speak to the heart, if ever the rehearsal of our Creed is strengthening to faith, if ever confession is subduing, and absolution healing, and words of promise comfortable, if ever we can join in the song of the Seraphim, and kneel in truest contrition at the very footstool of the Throne, it is when we gather around the Holy Table, and feed by faith on Jesus Christ crucified on Calvary, and commune in love with Him who is present in our hearts, and foretaste by hope the bliss of His return in glory.

This is, this must be, our loftiest, because it is our lowliest, adoration. So I close as I began. The House of Prayer is the ordained trysting-place of God and His people, and the Ideal of our worship before Him is expressed in the words, "Draw nigh unto God, and He will draw nigh unto you."

(*b*) Proposals for Liturgical Improvement.

The Hon. C. L. Wood.

In discussing the question of Liturgical Improvement, the proposal I have to make aims not so much at any change in our existing Prayer Book as at the alternative use along with it of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

Let me endeavour to show, by a comparison of our existing Prayer Book with the First Book of Edward VI. (1) Why such an alternative use, on liturgical and religious grounds, is in itself desirable; (2) Why the attempt to carry it out would be free from many of the difficulties necessarily attaching to any scheme for an alteration of our present Prayer Book itself.

To attempt the first portion of my task with any completeness, a moment's historical retrospect is necessary. Those who are at all acquainted with the unreformed Service books of the English Church must often have wondered how it came to pass that, from a revision of originals so rich and varied as the Sarum Breviary and the great English rite of S. Osmund, there should have resulted anything so meagre, in comparison with them, as our existing daily Offices and Liturgy.

The explanation—at least so far as the Daily Office is concerned—is to a considerable extent to be found in the same causes which in our own day have led to the permission to use a still further shortened Office for Matins and Evensong.

Then, as now, the recitation of the Divine Office by the laity—and I wish the remark applied only to the laity in the present day—was neglected. Then, as now, it was supposed that the cure for such neglect lay in simplifying and shortening the Service. No one can doubt that the daily Offices in the Church of England have in consequence lost much of their flexibility and beauty. But what they lost in beauty they gained in simplicity; and considering how difficult uneducated persons find it, even now, to follow our existing Matins and Evensong, no one,

so far as ordinary parish churches are concerned, would wish to make the recitation of those Offices more complicated. In any case, the alternative use of the First Prayer Book would not help such elaboration, as, with the exception of two points in the way of abbreviation, the First Book of Edward VI. and our own, so far as Matins and Evensong are concerned, are identical.

The case, however, is very different when we compare the Communion Office of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. with that of the Prayer Book of 1662. In translating the Latin Service into English, the Reformers were animated in regard to the Missal by the same wish which, *mutatis mutandis*, had governed their conduct in regard to the Breviary. Coupled with the desire of bringing about more frequent Communion, they hoped, by translating the Service into English, and by omitting some of the ceremonies which in course of time had gathered round the central act of consecration, to make it easier for the people to follow and join with the priest in the actual prayers prescribed by the Liturgy for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. And this, upon the whole, was successfully accomplished in the Communion Office of the First Prayer Book, and that in a manner much more in accordance with primitive antiquity than is the case with our existing Office.

And here let us remember, in order to guide our opinion in determining the respective merits of the two Liturgies, that the Eucharist—the Liturgy of the Christian Church (that distinctive act by which the Christian religion expresses itself in an act of external worship)—sums up the relations which are revealed to us by that religion as existing between God and man. Those relations involve, first, the existence of some means by which man may testify his sorrow and make amends for past sin in a manner worthy of God's acceptance; and next, and in consequence of such expiation, his restoration to fellowship and communion with God. The Eucharist, then, necessarily involves, in the first place, a continual memorial before God of the expiation effected by our Lord's whole life and by His death upon the Cross; and, in the second place, the communication of that Divine life which, tabernacling in His sacred Humanity, imparts Itself to those who eat His Flesh and drink His Blood. That form of Liturgy, then, will be the best which most exactly corresponds with and exhibits in its due order that sequence of events which marks the course of the Divine relations to man.

But it is precisely here that our existing Communion Office contrasts so unfavourably with that of the First Book. I do not forget that the memorial made in the Eucharist before God of the Death and Passion of His Son depends upon a valid consecration; I do not forget that, as there can be no Sacramental communion without a valid consecration, the proper order in the Service is necessarily maintained and exhibited in any rite by which the Eucharist is validly consecrated: still, the sequence of events may be exhibited with more or less clearness to the popular apprehension by the order of the Service, and in this respect it is impossible to deny that our existing Communion Office is open to grave exception.

It will be said, perhaps, that the prayers in the two Liturgies are almost the same. It is true; but then, how much greater the pity to

have marred their effect in our existing Office by their relative position! What, for instance, in our Communion Office can be more awkward than the position occupied by the Exhortation, the Confession and Absolution, together with the Comfortable Words and Prayer of Humble Access, all relating to a subsequent portion of the Service—*i.e.*, the Communion—but inserted, as they are with us, between the beginning and middle of the Canon? What can be more incongruous than to have the *Sursum Corda* and the *Sanctus* extruded from their proper place immediately before the commencement of the Canon to one which, to a considerable extent at least, destroys their significance? Again; after the consecration, why is the prayer beginning "O Lord and heavenly Father," instead of immediately concluding the Canon, as it ought to do, postponed till after the communion of the priest and people, and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, with its petition for the gift of our daily bread and of deliverance from evil, deferred till after the distribution of the Living Bread and the consequent sealing of our souls and bodies unto eternal life?

There is, indeed, one particular in which it may be thought our existing Communion Office has the advantage over that in the First Book. I refer to the position of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, which in our present Prayer Book rises up at the conclusion of the Eucharistic rite in a magnificent hymn of praise from the Church on earth to the throne of God and of the Lamb. But even here it may be urged that to omit the *Gloria* from the beginning of that Service by which the Incarnation is extended to us, is to forfeit the symbolism which attaches to it in that position, as the counterpart of the song of the angels when announcing the Incarnation to mankind. With this one exception, however, there can be no doubt as to the respective merits of the Communion Office in our existing Prayer Book and one in which the *Sursum Corda* and *Sanctus* occupy their proper position immediately before the Canon, in which the Canon goes on without interruption to the end, where the Lord's Prayer has its proper place at the conclusion of the Canon, and where the Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Prayer of Humble Access all immediately precede the communion of the priest and people—where, in a word, the whole order of Service corresponds with that sequence of events in the Divine dealings with man which it is the object of the Holy Communion to commemorate and apply.

But there is another very practical reason, in addition to the respective merits of the two Offices, why we should wish to go back to the earlier Service. It is, we can scarcely doubt it, that the arrangement of the existing Office is, to a considerable degree, responsible for the ignorance which prevails as to the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The Reformers, in their desire to put an end to existing evils and to accentuate the importance of communion, have, in fact, only exaggerated the evils they wished to cure.

The gift received by man has been allowed to obscure the reality of the offering made to God. Men have accustomed themselves to think that the continual remembrance of the death of Christ made in the Eucharist is for a reminder to themselves, instead of a memorial before Heaven. As their views have become more subjective, their interest in "the Holy Mysteries" has subsided. A rite, the object of which was merely to work upon the feelings of the worshippers by keeping

alive the recollection of a past event, was naturally supposed to lose its efficacy if too constantly repeated, till by degrees the average English congregation has ceased to take any part in the Eucharistic offering, for the best of reasons—that they are never there when it is offered. Divine Service has lost its original meaning. Matins have taken the place of Mass, while, instead of more frequent communion having been brought about, communion even once a year, in the case of a large number of our people, has become the exception. Certainly, it would be unjust to attribute the evils to which I allude entirely to the arrangement of our Communion Office. There are other reasons for them; but I do say that if more frequent Communions, and a more intelligent following of the priest as he offers the Holy Sacrifice, on the part of himself and his people, were the supposed inducements for the substitution of our existing Office for that of the First Book, its failure to accomplish that end is more than a justification for urging a return to an earlier and more primitive arrangement of Service.

I will not dwell further on this point, except to note that it is these blemishes in our existing Office which make the maintenance of the Ornaments Rubric, as Mr. Keble has pointed out, with its reference to the second year of Edward VI., as the standard of our present practice, so important.

Let me now pass to reasons based on admitted wants—why we should endeavour to obtain the authoritative permission for the alternative use of the First Book. It has been urged, and it is, I think, included in the alterations suggested by Convocation, that it would be a great boon if the long exhortation in the Communion Office and the rehearsal of the Commandments (which occupy a place in our Office unknown to any other Liturgies) were sometimes omitted. The alternative use of the First Book would give authoritative sanction to both those changes, as well as to the omission of "Dearly Beloved" at Matins and Evensong —surely no small gain. Again, the need of a proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel when the Holy Communion is celebrated at funerals, harvest thanksgivings, or any other special occasions, is very generally felt. The First Prayer Book to some extent, at all events, supplies the want, and though the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel prescribed by it for use at funerals is now very generally used on such occasions, it would be a gain to invest them with more direct sanction than they may seem now to possess.

The same observation applies to a matter which is, perhaps, the most important of all—Reservation for the sick. Here the necessity of the case is so urgent that reservation is now constantly resorted to in cases where there are many sick, who without it would be deprived of their communion. But the First Prayer Book meets the whole difficulty by providing that at the open Celebration in church the Priest shall reserve so much of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood as shall serve the sick person, and proceed to communicate him at the close of the Service. The same thing applies to the unction of the sick. As long as the Epistle of S. James continues to be read, such anointing will continue to be conferred. How much better, then, to recognise the fact, and to adopt the provision made for the administration ready to your hand in the First Prayer Book.

So also in regard to difficulties in connection with our existing Burial

Service. Those difficulties arise in the first instance from our lack of discipline; but they arise also, as I think, to a much greater degree, from the almost entire omission in our Service of all very obvious or direct prayer for the departed. The consequence is that there is nothing to balance those expressions of Christian hope and confidence with which the Church accompanies her dead to the grave, and the result is not infrequently an impression that the Service is pitched in a higher key than is perhaps quite suitable for ordinary use, or in accordance with the practice of the primitive Church. This difficulty would be entirely met by a recurrence to the Burial Service of the First Book, which, though almost identical with our present Service, yet goes on with S. Paul to make those intercessions which all must have in their hearts if not on their lips—that the dead may rest in peace and find mercy in that day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed.

This, in view of the interest which such books as that of Canon Farrar on "Eternal Hope" have excited, is no unimportant matter in the interest of the living as well as of the departed.

These, then, are some of the advantages considered in themselves which the alternative use of the First Prayer Book would carry with it. I will proceed to point out how such a proposal avoids many of the dangers attaching to any request to amend our present Prayer Book in detail. Such a request, under existing circumstances, almost necessarily involves the discussion of the Prayer Book in Parliament. The danger of such a discussion is so obvious that I need not dwell upon it; but if the proposal made by Convocation were simply to permit, under whatever restrictions were thought right, the alternative use of the First Book, the present Book would be entirely external to the discussion, while at the same time you would not be asking Parliament to legislate in any uncertainty as to what changes might be hereafter proposed, but you would be asking it to agree to a certain definite proposal which it had before it in black and white. Again, such a proposal would pave the way, as nothing else could, for a possible arrangement in regard to our Ritual controversies.

To suppose that those controversies can ever be settled by the machinery of the existing courts is ludicrous. On the other hand, there are many difficulties in the way of a really satisfactory reform of those courts, to say nothing of the fact that, as Christian men, it is surely better to strive how to compose our difficulties by mutual arrangement than merely to look for a remedy for existing troubles by improving the machinery for impleading one another in the courts. To all arrangements, however, that have been hitherto proposed, some objection, more or less valid, has been taken. How can you permit, it has been said, what is supposed to be illegal at one hour, and forbid it at another; allow it in one church, and disallow it in the next? But a permission to use the First Book of Edward is open to no such objections—it would merely legalise, following the analogy of Scotland, where the English and Scotch uses exist side by side, two definite uses; while to facilitate such an arrangement, and to avoid all possible collision with the courts, a distinct undertaking might be given that, till such time as the decisions of the Judicial Committee can be reviewed by a competent ecclesiastical tribunal, the Holy Communion according to our present use should only be celebrated in a surplice, on condition that, where a sufficient number

of the congregation wished it, the form prescribed by the First Book might be used with those accessories which are prescribed by and were used under it.

No doubt some would at first sight object to such a scheme for the peace and well-being of the Church; but the most ardent in the defence of what they imagine to be Protestant principles, and the most zealous defenders of English independence against foreign interference, can hardly object to the use of a Service Book which was the direct work of the English Reformers; which, in so far as it has been altered, has been altered at the instigation of foreigners, and of which—at the precise time when the greatest approach was made by the authorities of the English Church in the direction of foreign Protestantism—those same authorities, such as Cranmer and Ridley, thought it well to say in an Act of Parliament for which they were responsible, that "it was a godly order," "agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm;" and which, moreover, as regards the Communion Office, has at this very moment the direct sanction and approval of the Thirty-sixth Article.

In any case, let us try and approach the subject without prejudice, to consider it on its own merits, and to divest ourselves of that insular spirit which ignores the whole world outside England. There must be something very wrong in a system which has allowed so large a portion of the population to grow up in indifference to the duty of public worship, and with the idea that they go to church chiefly to do good to themselves. May not some of the fault at least be attributed to the kind of worship which has so often prevailed in our churches? The Church of England, from neglecting her own principles, has practically fallen between two stools. She has not satisfied those cravings after God, which are innate in the hearts of men, as she might have done had she been true to herself. She has been too stiff and fearful of compromising her own position to make use of those methods by which religious Nonconformity has impressed the mind of the population. Let it be so no longer. Let the Church of England rise up to the consciousness of her true mission. Let her exhibit in an unmistakable manner that high ideal of worship which marks all the ancient Liturgies of East and West alike, and let her people realise when they throng her courts that heaven and earth are indeed identified in the celebration of the Divine Mysteries; that the Head and the Members of His Body are united in a common act of worship before the Majesty on high; and that, upheld by that abiding act of adoration and intercession, all the needs and aspirations of the human heart can present themselves with the certainty of acceptance before the throne of God.

In conclusion, is it too much to hope, viewing the substantial identity of our existing Book of Common Prayer with that of 1549; having regard to the latitude allowed at various times concurrently with the Act of Uniformity for divergences of Service, so long as the actual forms in the Book of Common Prayer were publicly used in the congregation; considering also the way in which, under the Additional Services Act, the most extensive modifications of the Services prescribed by the Prayer Book are already allowed by the ecclesiastical authorities, and of the almost absolute impossibility, through the action of the Nonconformists

in Parliament, of obtaining legal sanction for any changes, even those most directly beneficial to the Church—is it, I say, too much to hope that the Episcopate may see its way to permit, under such restrictions as they may think right, the alternative use of a book which was the direct work of the Reformers, and has approved itself to all the most distinguished divines of the Church of England?

In any case, let it be remembered that the omission of one clause in the Additional Services Act would remove all possible legal doubts as to such use; or, if an enlargement of that Act were not thought desirable, that a repeal or relaxation of the Act of Uniformity, which would leave the Church of England free to improve her Liturgy as she might herself desire, if it exposed the Church for the moment to some danger, would, both in the present and in the future, relieve her from many embarrassments.

ADDRESS.

The Rev. CANON HOARE, Tunbridge Wells.

YOUR lordship has called upon me before my time; but I am prepared, my lord, to go on if you think it right that I should. At the same time, I may add that I am called upon by surprise, for I expected to have to discuss the suggestions for Liturgical Improvements which it was likely would have been made by the Rev. Mr. Venables. At the same time, however, I am prepared to accept the position, as appointed for me in the providence of God. I consider that this debate is a most important one for the Church of England. I think that the speech of Mr. Wood, to which we have just listened, is one of the most important speeches that I have ever heard delivered at a Church Congress. We used to be told that we old-fashioned Evangelicals were but poor Churchmen. We used to be told that what was originally called the Tractarian movement, but which has since been called the Ritualistic movement, was an effort of pious and devoted men to rise above our poor Churchmanship, and to bring out in better development the true principles of the Church of England. We always, with that happiness which accompanies a clear conscience, maintained that we were the true representatives of the Church of England. We acted upon its principles, and taught its truth. But still, we have had to bear a certain amount of reproach, and we have not been able to overcome the old prejudices. This day, however, we have been told by Mr. Wood, the President of the English Church Union, that our beautiful English Church Service is "meagre:" that there is nothing more meagre than our existing Liturgy; that our Holy Communion Service—in which we have taken so much delight—is a mutilated, an inferior, and a defective Service. [Cries of "No, no."] I say "Yes," and this great assembly has heard what Mr. Wood has said. We have been told to-day that we are to go back to the Liturgy and to the Communion Office of 1549, instead of accepting that of the year 1552, and finally revised in 1662. And, now, will you just look for one moment at the first Liturgy of Edward the Sixth. We were told to-day that it was a falling-off from the use of Sarum. We are therefore, it seems, to look upon the use of Sarum—that old Popish Liturgy—I say that old Popish Liturgy, which existed in the diocese of Salisbury, as the model

at which we are to aim. To this use of Sarum the Reformers applied the pruning-knife, and I cannot say that they left much of the Office of Sarum. There were certain very fine passages in it, and they retained them. But they brought out a new Communion Office in 1549. There were, however, certain defects still left. But as time went on, and the Reformers saw more and more of the blessed truth of God, they then said that the thing must be thoroughly done, and it was of no use to carry out mere half measures. So, thank God, they did not stop at the First Book of Edward. I am very much disposed to think that if Mr. Wood gets it, he won't stop there either. And now that we have enjoyed the Prayer Book as the Reformers gave it us for these three centuries past, we are told that we are to hark back again. Of this I am fully persuaded, that the Churchmen of England are not prepared for such retrogression. You must consider what has been said by Mr. Beresford-Hope on this subject; he and I have sparred about this matter before now. Mr. Beresford-Hope knows just as well as I do that there is no such thing as an altar in the Church of England. And I will tell you also what Mr. Wood and his friends know very well. They know as well as I do that if they can but coax us back to those three years—to 1549, to the First Book of Edward—that there they will find an altar. And that is one reason why they wish for it. The Reformers knew very well that an altar was essentially connected with a sacrifice. And they knew this also, that while they were prepared to offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, the sacrifice of propitiation was completed for ever. And they believed further, that the doctrine of the Mass was a lying abomination, or rather I would say, "a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit."

Now, then, my lord, we fully know our ground, and where it is we have to stand. We have, therefore, learned something at this Church Congress. We know where we are. We go home to-day knowing with what a power and with what an intention we have to contend. We know what Mr. Wood has told us. He has told us as plainly as possible that the object is to bring back the Church of England from the Reformed Church of 1552; to stop just a little by the way in the refreshment room of 1549, and then we are to plunge head foremost right into the use of Sarum. Now, then, my lord, what shall we say to this? Shall we have it? or shall we not? What, I ask, shall we say to this? Shall we stick by the blessed truths that we have received, and for which our Reformers died? Shall we cling to the dear old Office Book, in which we have hundreds and thousands of times poured out our whole hearts before God? Shall we unite heart and soul as witnesses for Christ while we come to His holy table, and hold there communion with Him? or shall we begin by half and half retrograde measures until we go right back into the arms of Rome? My lord, I say no more; but I wish to thank Mr. Wood for having spoken out so plainly on this subject, and for thus having let us know this day what are the real intentions of the English Church Union.

PAPER.

The Rev. George Venables, Vicar of Great Yarmouth, and Honorary Canon of Norwich.

Many years have passed since I endeavoured, so far as my small influence enabled me, to urge upon the Church the importance of making a few alterations in her Book of Common Prayer. I thought that they would have been grateful to some myriads of her children, acceptable to many conscientious dissenters, thoroughly in accordance with real catholicity, and quite free from the compromise of any one truth. I have now served three apprenticeships in Church Congress, and during that period I have also had the care of three important parishes. The result of the observation, enquiry and experience of these twenty-one years is, that my judgment, right or wrong, remains unchanged in regard to this subject. I believe, however, that the Church lost a good opportunity some twenty years ago of making a few alterations which, in the present aspect of the times, would be quite impossible now. I deeply deplore this, even as some, perhaps many, with equally good faith rejoice at it. But whether we weep or laugh, it seems to me to be beyond question that no changes can now be attempted in the Book of Common Prayer, except only those which adapt the use of the services to the necessities of the present time. The willingness of Congress to consider the subject, shows that there are not a few faithful sons of the Church who regard it as important.

I hope that this circumstance will not be abused by me by utterances of extravagance, or by any thing which belongs to partisanship. I am sure that we all earnestly desire to promote the extension and strength of the Church of God, by the adoption of only the best measures, so far as we can perceive them.

I must then repeat here what I stated at Manchester Congress in 1863, and again at Wolverhampton in 1867,. and the expression has since then become a by-word—"Can any of you be so sanguine as to think it probable that England's millions will come to believe that the worship of God has been so fully attained as you yourselves desire, by services beginning 730 times a year with one or more of only eleven verses of Holy Scripture, and '*Dearly beloved brethren?*'"

Magnificent and important as that sentence, "*Dearly beloved brethren*," is, to those who recognise its meaning, there are myriads who cannot or who certainly do not comprehend all that it involves. I will say only further in regard to any alteration of the Prayer Book, that I regret as much as ever that no scheme by way of an explanatory note, or otherwise, has been produced touching a very few expressions which irritate or distress the consciences of many thousands of Christians; by which their longings might have been satisfied; their feelings soothed; and their scruples set at rest. And, contrary to the eloquent pleadings of some able logicians, I cannot see that such an explanatory note need in the least degree narrow the meaning of the phrases which are known stumbling-blocks

to many. On the contrary, they might give authority to that breadth of interpretation which all who accept them practically allow.

But I will confine myself to two questions. The former is the question of such alteration in our Prayer Book as may simply adapt it to the requirements of the day; and the other is the question of Additional Offices.

First, looking then to such alterations only, in the Book of Common Prayer, as shall adapt it to the requirements of our day. Would the Church be a loser in any way if the Offices of Holy Baptism were so shortened that they could be reasonably used, as directed, during the time of Morning or Evening Prayer? Or if the arrangements for the reception of infants privately baptized were simplified? In the first half of the Office of Adult Baptism the candidate is spoken of, it is true, but in nowise whatever is he a participator in the first half of the Office. And in the Office of Infant Baptism there hardly seems any occasion for telling people, whose actions show that their minds are made up upon the subject, the reasons why they ought to bring an infant to the Font. One often hears of a Celebration of Holy Communion in which a considerable portion of that Office is omitted. I do not enquire if this be right or wrong. But if allowed in one Sacrament, it is difficult to see why it may not be allowed in the other.

Next, with reference to the Lord's Supper, I venture to suggest that there would be a gain and an advantage every way, by substituting the seven words of St. Paul (1 *Cor.* x. 16, "*The communion of the body of Christ*;" and again, "*The communion of the blood of Christ*") for the two double sentences in use since 1559. It would save exhaustion, and nothing is so exhausting as the constant repetition of the same form of words, however softly repeated. It would save much time at a period of the day when time is of much importance. It would be the enunciation of doctrine so thoroughly catholic, and so admirably in accordance with the Church of the Anglican Communion, that I cannot but believe that some day the suggestion will be adopted. Would not the holy eucharistic nature of this Sacrament be brightened, and the communicants be cheered, by the singing of a short suitable hymn, from an authorised selection, during some appointed part of the service? I do think, too, that the selection of certain Psalms and Lessons, as done in the Diocese of Lincoln, could be extended with advantage to every diocese of this realm. The supply also of two or three Collects, one for New Year's Day, one for the close of the civil year, and one for the anniversary of the Church feast (whenever it occurred), might be useful and appropriate. And I long also to see the Evensong commence as of old, with the Lord's Prayer, retaining the introductory portion just as it used to be for Morning Prayer only.

Would not our Liturgy be enriched by an increase in the number of selected anthems (as at Easter Day) instead of the Venite; also by a slight addition to the proper Prefaces, and by more sentences of Holy Scripture for various objects, to be said at the Offertory?

I submit that the Church is greatly lacking in these things. But if so, is it reasonable, or right, or really catholic, to refuse them?

And now to my second point. Irrespective altogether of the Book of Common Prayer, additional Services there must be, and delay in supplying them is causing much evil. I see proofs of this continually. Suppose that quite suddenly, but really, a thousand men were converted to Christianity in this, or any large town. They then assemble to determine what forms and ceremonies of religion they will observe, taking the Bible as their guide, and not ignorant of the forms which the Church of God used to the time of the first Pentecost after Christ. Would the great majority of even such men adopt the Church's Offices? We need often in many churches a highly reverent, well drawn up service for use as an Additional Service on Sundays.

I wish I could give every member of this Congress a free pass to the charming city of Freiburg im Breisgau, in Baden, so that when next the service is used there they could witness what I had the delight of witnessing in the Cathedral on the Sunday afternoon, barely three months ago.

The service was in the language understanded of the people, *i.e.*, the German language, and it was admirably adapted for true congregational worship.* It was a special service used occasionally by a brotherhood (including both sexes) for the promotion of the observance and reverence of the Lord's Supper. (*Brotherhood of Corpus Christi.*) A sermon was just finished. The cathedral was nicely full, and all were reverent. A service then proceeded, in which the responses by the whole congregation were often longer than the portion uttered by the priest. At intervals, hymns of two or three verses, forming part of the Office; were sung to several well-known tunes, all the people devoutly joining, but on their knees. The solemn, earnest, hearty reverence with which the entire service was joined in, will, I think, never be forgotten by me. I have seen, in Great Yarmouth church, some magnificent services (notably on the evening of Holy Thursday) in which far more people were present than at the cathedral of Freiburg; but the structure of this special service, and the wise introduction, some five or six times, of short hymns, in a service exceeding an hour in duration, enabled the worshippers to give an effect to it scarcely attainable in our heartiest efforts, and such certainly as I have never heard approached in any Roman Catholic ministration of their Ordinary Offices.

Now, we need some such service as this, for occasional Sunday use, where the present Offices are also duly ministered. I would rather die than participate in some acts with which that ceremony concluded, because I cannot regard them as anything else than idolatrous. But to see such a service as I have described, free from these and other errors, heartily conducted in any of our larger churches in England, and joined in as I am confident it would be, would almost enable me to say, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace." I

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* Handbuchlien der Erzbruderschaft Sanctissimi Corporis Christi. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1880. Price about 4d.

do hope that this subject may be well thought upon. We ought not, in these days of enormous growth of town populations, to sit still and contented, without some such occasional or frequent scenes of public worship.

This is no party question. My illustration is from a Roman Catholic cathedral. I believe (but cannot be sure of this) that it is much the result of a very earnest, pious and faithful Dean (Hirscha?) of Freiburg a few years ago.*

But unless my memory fails me, the *Record* newspaper, in the days of my very boyhood, and the days of its infancy, was much ahead of the Church in wisely urging an additional service on Sundays in our churches. No! it is not a party question! It is a proposal fraught with blessings if wisely carried out.

Then further, the Church languishes for lack of a complete graduated set of Catechisms, and a complete set of systematic graduated Lessons, for parents to use with their children at home, and also for use in all our Sunday Schools.

These Catechisms and Lessons should be so arranged upon the Standard system, that there should be a regular gradation in teaching, from the so-called infant upwards. There ought to be one whole year's teaching and catechising with exclusive reference to Confirmation and personal Christianity; and this should be followed by Manuals, Catechisms, and Lessons, in which something of theology would be taught to those who had been confirmed. Why is it that, with all their usefulness, Sunday Schools hardly supply enough teachers from former scholars to conduct them? How is it that the statistics connected with Confirmation are so deplorable, and that so many Sunday scholars prove in after life so indifferent to religion, and often so ignorant of even its first principles?

I confess that, while not forgetting the power and deceitfulness of sin, one hardly can be astonished at these painful results, until a system of Standard teaching, and of teaching by Church principles has been fully set to work. The Sunday School Institute has done much of late years, and other efforts have not been without their benefit; but I submit that there is a large void existing now, which the Church itself ought to supply by authorised graduated Catechisms, and authorised graduated Lesson books, for all standards; and that amongst these Catechisms ought to be some sound teaching of the principles of the Church of England.

And I must earnestly plead for a solemn, sacred, and yet joyous service, to be used by the bishop and parishioners, or by the archdeacon or rural dean and the parishioners, at the introduction of a minister to a cure of souls. How might such a service become, from the very commencement of his ministry, the means of that living tie of loving unity which it now often costs many years to secure!

I have often wished (I say it as directly bearing on the subject) that

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* The Confraternity, I am instructed, was formed by Roman Citizens in 1539, and approved by Pope Paul III., and spread in some parts of Germany. It was introduced into the diocese of Freiburg in 1855 by a pastoral of the Bishop, and the Handbook was then compiled almost entirely of old prayers used in other dioceses. The Confraternity seems to have drooped much since its commencement, but never to have ceased, and at Freiburg it appears to be very active and devout.

legislation had followed upon the lines of the Royal Commissioners' Report on Patronage, and have felt astonishment and sorrow that nothing has been done in this direction. But I solemnly declare my conviction that a well-constructed Office, to be used on the first arrival of a new parish priest amongst his parishioners, would do more to stay the abuses of the present not altogether bad system of patronage, and to secure from the beginning of his ministry a thoroughly good understanding and confidence between him and his people, than all oaths against Simony, and all Acts of Parliament together. Nor do I believe there is anything to hinder the adoption of such a service even now. There is not time to discuss the question, but I do not think it would transgress the Act of Uniformity. Surely there is as good a right to use such a service at the introduction of a clergyman as there is for me to receive a guinea yearly for reading a will in church, as I do, every Easter-tide and Christmas-tide; as there is for some of the proceedings in the induction of a man to his benefice; or as there is for the Primate or for any bishop to introduce sundry prayers into Church Services in reference to the harvest, or the war, or any trouble.

Then, are not clergymen longing for a spiritual day on the return of each Ember season? Some, perhaps, at their own church, and with all the people. Some with their clerical brethren, at a Ruri-Decanal assembly. Some, perhaps, longing to see such an opportunity at least once a year, in the cathedral, under the direction of the dean, for all clergy and others of the diocese. Most precious would such seasons be. But are we to assemble just to repeat the prescribed forms of the Daily Office, and to be debarred from anything specially suited to such an occasion?

Our cathedrals ought often to be crowded by multitudes coming to grand diocesan institutions. If only the Church will of herself do everything she might do and ought to do, all will be safe. If not, I fear that much more than is good will be done *for* her and *with* her, but not *by* her, and she will discover her blunder when it is too late to remedy it.

How as to Rogation Days? What if agriculture, merchandise, shipping, manufactures, and all our enterprises were made the subjects of prayer at that season? Old customs still echo with what might be revived; and I believe there is enough of Divine grace still bestowed on the Church, *if she will but believe*, to do all that is needful.

Then surely, periods of solemn meditation, with an occasional break of a few minutes for a brief address or hymn, or prayer, almost on the lines of the proceedings of the Society of Friends, would be very useful in our churches. The various phases of worship which dissent has taken may usually be found to have been the pursuit of some one valuable thing which the Church has almost ignored. In all our theological and ecclesiastical arguments, the reasoning is carried on as if men had but one temperament, or ought to have. This is neither philosophical nor catholic. And here is the chief origin of our divisions. It is not freedom of opinion that is lacking, but suitable modes of worship in decent conformity thereto, and all heartily recognised as within the pale of the church, on the principles of that word which men love so much, "CATHOLICITY."

I could easily add to the catalogue of Liturgical Improvements, and speak of private and domestic prayers such as one finds printed at the end of our Prayer Books of three centuries ago, and of a dozen more special offices all greatly needed, but one other reference shall suffice.

With all the many additions, there ought to be a distinct Office Book for the use of laymen, licensed to work outside the walls mostly of our church edifices. I say outside, but I believe you may find, notably in Antwerp cathedral, and in sundry places abroad, that laymen do recite daily, in the language of the people, sundry religious offices, which the people make much use of and enjoy.

And I never yet could see, and never expect to see, why the Church cannot give, in addition to all she now gives, everything that is really worth having, which is afforded by other communities, but free from superstition and error on the one side, and free from irregularity, irreverence, and I must add, indecency and vulgarity, on the other.

I have been much strengthened in writing this paper, as I observed, in a copy of the report of the Norwich Diocesan Conference of November last, that the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Norwich, to whom I owe, of course, all allegiance, and for whom I feel very deep respect and much gratitude, made the following important and weighty remarks.

He said, "There was no question that it was very desirable that some alteration should be made in the Rubrics, and some additional services—many additional services—be introduced." His Lordship added, "The question was not whether it was desirable to do the thing, but how to do it." This is much. The necessity is conceded. What then can be done? In no tone of arrogance, or of threatening, but not without considerable alarm, let me say that if we do not soon find some way of providing what is needful, we may find ourselves ere long in a condition for doing it which may appal us, and render our actions of comparatively little value. It seems to me, however, there are sundry remarks, which together from an answer to the essential question, "How can this thing be done?"

First. There is nothing to hinder the same action in regard to the selection of special Psalms and Lessons in any diocese which has been taken in the Diocese of Lincoln.

Second. There is nothing to hinder the adoption of a short special service such as is used at noon in one of the chapels within St. Paul's Cathedral.

Thirdly. I do not believe the Act of Uniformity would hinder the bishop of a diocese, or the bishops and archbishop of a province, from the introduction of a service for occasional use in Church, as, *e.g.*, at the appointment of a new minister.

Fourthly. There is nothing whatever to restrain the Convocation and the College of Bishops from composing, or compiling, and putting forth, the much-needed Catechisms and other hand-books for the help of parents and of Sunday School teachers.

Fifth. There is nothing to prevent them from putting forth a well-constituted Book of Offices for the exclusive use of duly licensed or authorised laymen.

Sixth. While legal difficulties exist, can we believe that if the

Convocations will only work together, and the bishops are also of one heart and one soul, there would be any insuperable difficulty in obtaining all necessary statutory recognition to any reasonable suggestions which could emanate from such an authority?

It comes then to this: that when asked What must be done in the way of "Liturgical Improvements"? I say plainly, A little by way of adaptation of the Prayer Book to our present needs, and very much by way of addition; and that soon, or for many purposes it will be too late. If asked Who can do it? I reply, Our present Prayer Book is the composition of men of many conditions in the Church, and that we may look without doubting to the bishops and Convocation to collate and compile from many sources ancient, and also in some degree from sources modern too. Very much is very much wanting. The awful state of indifference about things religious which pervades Great Brittain, is not, I think, duly felt by the great majority of Christians. Millions of our people worship nowhere, and recognise no God, no Saviour, no Eternity, no Salvation, no future Home! Oh, if the Church would but see it, she might soon make herself to be more fully recognised than ever as the Church of England, as she ministered "Christ's Gospel," in and by every reasonable method possible, and proved her true catholicity by her adaptation to the needs of all sorts and conditions of men. Real catholicity consists not so much in uniformity, as in variety gathered up in a bond of loving unity; and if the Church of England will go to work, and wisely provide all that is needed, she will soon see at least some part of her reward. But When will she do it? From the time when the Church of England, without boasting or arrogance, realises what she often claims, when she shall demonstrate by her actions rather than by assertions, that under God, and by His gracious Providence and intention, she is, and feels herself to be the true branch of God's Church Catholic, existing and established in this land.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I AM sure that Canon Venables will be very glad to know that every incumbent in the diocese of Lichfield is publicly inducted to his cure in the presence of his congregation by a special service.

DISCUSSION.

JAMES BUTCHER, ESQ., Gunnersbury.

I HAVE listened with curiosity to the papers which have been read this afternoon, as I was very anxious to learn the nature of the suggested improvements in the Liturgy, and after having done so, I have come to the conclusion that instead of having, as has been proposed, a new set of prayers, it will be far better to revise the existing Book of Common Prayer, and make it more strictly in accordance with the oracles of the Living God—the Bible—than it is at present. It is quite as desirable that the "few pieces of scarlet"—as once said Dean Alford—should be eliminated, so that the internecine strife now raging so fiercely in the Church should be stopped. Many persons have told me that as clergymen had given their "assent and consent" to "all and everything" in the Book of Common Prayer, they ought not to seek its revision. I

differ from those who hold that view, for the reason that the "assent" must include the preface, which states that "alterations *should* be made from time to time." On the other hand, my evangelical friends said, in *effect*, I might almost say "*una voce*," —"we should very much like a revision of the Prayer Book, but we do not consider it expedient to move in the matter at present, as the Ritualistic party are in the majority and would, were we to do so, have the revision in their own way." That might be a good reason. But is it right to consider the question of expediency, when, as I think, the honour of God is at stake? Did the Reformers consider the question of expediency? No. They went forward, after prayers to God for guidance, and wrought this great work, notwithstanding the phalanx of Rome arrayed against them. It is our duty then, like these good men, to go forward, "strong in the faith which God supplies," and not rest until the few—the very few—blemishes are removed from our Prayer Book. I should very much like to see the word "priest" altered into presbyter; the ornaments rubric expunged, and a plain direction inserted in its place. I think it was the Right Rev. Prelate, the Bishop of Liverpool, who said that "so long as that clumsy, awkward memorandum—the ornaments rubric—remained in the Prayer Book, there would never be real true peace in the Church,"—a statement that clearly showed the necessity for its removal. I should also desire the elimination of the rubric (in the Baptismal Service) to the effect that children dying after baptism are certainly saved, as I consider that it carried with it an insinuation that dear little children who have not lisped their mothers' name are—if dying unbaptized—left to the uncovenanted mercy of God. [Cries of "No, no."] I would wish to point out to those who say "No,no," that whilst the Burial Service (a service that assumes the salvation of all over whom it is read) cannot be used by a clergyman over an unbaptized infant, it must be read—and it is a penal offence for a clergyman to refuse to read it—over a baptized profligate, adulterer, and evil-liver. In conclusion, I trust that a revision of the Prayer Book may soon take place, and that, too, in such a direction as will bring back to us, and thus strengthen our good old Church, those Nonconformists who left her on Black Bartholomew Day, 1662, solely on account of its retrogressive revision. Let them do this, and I feel sure that our Church will be increased twenty-fold by men and women bound together in Christian union to fight the good fight of faith in Christ Jesus. I look forward to the time when it may be said,—

"Let names and sects and parties fall,
And Jesus Christ be all in all;
Then like Thy saints above shall we
Be one with each as one with Thee."

The Rev. ROBERT GREGORY, Canon of St. Paul's.

I HEARD with great regret the speech of Canon Hoare, and I did so for this reason, that it seems to me if there is one good purpose more than another that a Church Congress should be able to serve it is this: that when there is a great controversy in the Church, and when one party throws down a proposal by which peace may be restored, it should at all events be met in some manner as a basis for consideration by opponents. At the present time it is quite impossible for us not to realise that the party for whom Mr. Wood spoke is a very powerful one. It is, I say, quite impossible for us not to realise that it is a great and rapidly increasing force throughout the length and breadth of the country. It is quite impossible to have noticed the tone of this vast meeting, and not to have felt that a great majority of those present are in favour of that party. (Interruption.)

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

WILL you allow me to suggest that our time is very nearly run out, and that we are getting a little demonstrative. By so doing we are taking away the time of the speakers, and therefore injuring ourselves by excessive demonstration.

The Rev. Canon GREGORY.

I AM not anxious to make this a party matter, or to prove that this party or that is the stronger, but only to call attention to what seems to me self-evident; but I am desirous of pouring oil upon the troubled waters in saying

what I have done. I wish to say, whether the majority be small or large, on this side or on that, there is no doubt that there are two parties to the great controversy, and that Mr. Wood, as representing one, has thrown down a proposal for the consideration of the other, by which he thinks peace may be restored. And if there is one thing more than another that is desirable for the Church of England, it is peace. If one thing is more desirable for the cause of our great master Jesus Christ than another, it is that the two parties in the Church of England should not trust to majorities to turn out one another, to injure one another, to assail or war with one another, but that in some form or other all should try to get at some *modus vivendi*, by which the great spiritual forces of the Church of England may be felt throughout the length and breadth of the land. This being the case, I ask you to remember that what Mr. Wood suggested was simply to accept the words in the Prayer Book of 1549. To throw out such a suggestion for a basis for consideration could not fairly be designated as other than good. It therefore seems to me to be a thousand pities that that basis was not taken up in a more friendly spirit. Of all hateful things in the world, the exhibition of mere partisanship—the mere flourishing of a party flag before people—is the most hateful thing in the world. Does Canon Hoare think that is the way to win people to Christ, and that partisanship is Christianity. [The Rev. Canon HOARE: No, no.] I say "No, no," too. If you go so far with me, I think I may fairly add that any conditions which may lead to peace are worthy of consideration. There are the two Prayer Books—that of 1552 and that of 1549. We really have neither. The Prayer Book of 1549 existed for only a year and a half. We have heard it stated just now as the one great thing we ought to contend for, but we have never used it. Not a single person here has used it. Then, I would ask, who used the present Communion Service the most? Do Canon Hoare's or Mr. Wood's friends? Mr. Wood's friends have advocated the use of the Service for Holy Communion every Sunday, and in some cases for every day in the year; whilst Canon Hoare's would hold up as a very mark of the beast such a frequent use of Holy Communion. [The Rev. Canon HOARE: "Shameful," and cries of "Withdraw."] Very well; I will withdraw the words. There is no doubt that the frequent celebration of Holy Communion has been advocated by Mr. Wood's friends and not by Canon Hoare's. They have used the Prayer Book most frequently for years. Day by day, morning and evening prayers have been said, and I would ask whether Canon Hoare's friends have used them day by day, and morning and evening? They who make this proposal, and those who use the Holy Communion—("Question.") It is the question. All that I now wish to say is this, do please let us not treat this question in a narrow partisan spirit, but let us try to find some basis upon which peace may be restored, and by which all parties in the Church of England may come forward to do the great Master's work earnestly and sincerely, not by waving flags of contention, which can only multiply strife and increase the present confusion, but by acting on the great principle of love.

The Rev. GEORGE EVERARD, Vicar of St. Mark's, Wolverhampton.

LET us go back to quieter subjects. I think I may be permitted to throw out one or two rules by which all Liturgical Improvements might be guided. I would say that we must be ready to accept real improvements from whatever quarter they may come. I am tired of the old idea of the thin end of the wedge. I am persuaded that our duty, as Churchmen, is to accept what can really prove to be useful from whatever quarter it may come. In connection with this, I may say on the one side, that the use which has grown up amongst our high church friends of the metrical litanies for children, is worth our copying. And I would not condemn a certain measure of ritual, such as a surpliced choir, where it is thought to be profitable. On the other hand, I do claim that the subject of evening communion should be dispassionately considered. If we are to win a great body of the people back to the Church of England, I am perfectly certain that one aid to do this is use of the evening communion. For my own part I [illegible] early communion at eight o'clock, that after the morning service, and that in the [illegible]. Let it be morning, afternoon, or evening, as may be preferred. I would [illegible] let the service be reverent and devout, and let the times be such as to be [illegible] to the worshippers. Another principle which is very important in connection [illegible] ritual, is that we should see what is suited to the greatest number of our

parishioners and people. We ought not to let a little section on the one side or the other hinder real improvement. If, on the one side, there are some so careful not to alter one jot or tittle of our old established service, I believe we ought not to yield to them; and on the other hand, if there is a little section who wants to lead us higher and higher to that which is a hindrance to spiritual worship, I believe we are equally bound to reject it. I believe that we should consult especially in the present day, that which would best meet the wishes of a vast number of persons who are just standing in doubt whether to join the Church or not; we should have such hearty congregational services as would help the great masses of our people. For instance, I cannot think it is profitable in the present day, except in very extreme cases, to maintain the three services all in one. I have found it very profitable myself to divide the services, and I believe that the long service which must be necessarily wearisome to many, is not the best way to win and retain the masses of the people. I think I understood the cheer that rose last night in this hall from the working men, when mention was made of the difference between spoken and written sermons. But I think that expression of feeling went a little further than simply to the matter in hand. I think there would have been an equally strong cheer if it had referred to the necessity of short, bright, hearty congregational services. Not the service with the anthem sung with one voice —not the service which has very complicated music for the chants, but the bright, hearty congregational service in which the mass of our people can join. There are one or two Bible rubrics for worship that I may perhaps be permitted to mention. One is, "Let all things be done decently and in order," coupled with this, "God is greatly to be feared in the assembly of His saints, and to be had in reverence of them that are round about Him." My friends, do we maintain reverence in our churches as much as we might do? For instance, might it not be possible, as I have found great help from doing myself, always to close the Church doors when the people are on their knees, and let none of us be disturbed when the solemn confession of sin is being made by the congregation? Let the people wait outside if they come late. Let them wait in the cold, and do not allow them to disturb those who are worshipping God within. Then let me mention another New Testament rubric which ought to guide all our worship. "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth." Everything that hinders intelligent, spiritual worship, should be deprecated, whether it be the multiplication of ceremonies, or whether it be a gorgeous ceremonial. In the Holy Communion, for example, I remember that the most glorious celebration that ever was and ever will be, was with a few humble men in an upper room, who received the sacrament from our Lord's own hand; and I, for my own part, think that however grand the ceremonial which we have heard commended to-day, God looks at the beauty of holiness in the spirit, and the beauty of heart-worship and the beauty of loving faith in our glorious Saviour, and not to this external worship which often times is only the surrounding of superstition.

JAMES PARKER, Esq., Oxford.

I PROPOSE to trouble this meeting with but a very few words, but I should like to refer to one or two of the questions which have been touched upon. I maintain that whether it is the best plan or not to allow the First Book of Edward VI. to be used for a time as an alternative, in accordance with the suggestion of Mr. Wood, there can be no question that should a favourable time arrive for attempting a revision, such revision should be based directly upon the First Book. It is a book complete in itself, and the matured result of the work of earnest men who had the principles of the English Reformation at heart; and to take as the basis for further revision the alterations and additions made by the foreign reformers who were called in to revise the book, must be very undesirable as compared with going back to the original as a basis. Nothing is so productive of unsatisfactory results in any work, as taking one departure from the original as the basis of a further departure. We have heard the First Book very harshly spoken of this afternoon by one of the speakers, but in attacking that book he was attacking the work of the great Reformers—Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer—and more than that, these Reformers claim (and the claim is allowed even in the Act of Parliament which adopted the book), that their work then "concluded and set forth" so by the aid of the Holy Ghost. Further than that, a previous speaker . H. Bickersteth) has referred to the compilers as having been guided by the t. Under these circumstances, how a book of this kind can be spoken of as

a stepping stone to an Apostate Church is beyond comprehension. I should have thought that a book of that kind, if we did not readily and anxiously accept it as has been proposed by Mr. Wood, should at least form the basis of any Liturgical Revision which we should ever have to perform.

The Lord Bishop of Winchester.

My Lord Bishop, I had not the slightest intention of saying a word this afternoon until your lordship called upon me to do so, but as you think it possible that a few words from me may do good in the midst of this angry controversy, as I must call it, I feel it my duty to say these few words. The reason you call upon me to speak is you think, perhaps, that I do not agree with either of the extreme parties, and that my feelings are in favour of peace. I have heard both my friends. I hope Mr. Wood and Canon Hoare will allow me to call them so; and I can say I do not agree with either of them, and yet that I sympathise with both of them; and that is my general feeling with regard to the two parties in the Church. I cannot say that I agree with extreme men on either side, but I can say that I have deep sympathy with both. I should pronounce myself to be a strong evangelical. I have deep sympathy with the doctrines of the evangelical party; but on the other hand I am quite ready to say from my heart that I am a Catholic also. And I believe that that is exactly the true position of the English Church. I believe the English Church to be truly evangelical and truly catholic, and I hope and trust that we are going to let her remain so. I hope that we shall not let the one element prevail over the other, so that by becoming more and more evangelical we shall become less catholic, or by becoming more catholic we shall become less evangelical. God forbid. With regard to the Prayer Book revision, a great deal of what has been said has been the result of misunderstanding. I am sure if we misunderstand each other, it is more the misunderstanding of words than of anything else. There is, no doubt, a very strong difference in the two schools—that of Canon Hoare and Mr. Wood—but a little explanation of the words which Canon Hoare and Mr. Wood have used would show that they come much nearer to one another than is generally supposed. Take the word sacrifice and the word altar. I agree heartily with Canon Hoare that the sacrifice once made on the Cross of Calvary can never be repeated. It is utterly impossible to repeat the propitiation made once for all on the cross. It is full, perfect, and sufficient for ever. But is it not true to say that we commemorate that sacrifice every time we communicate. Does any one of you who kneel before God and pray for pardon do so without pleading before Him the sacrifice of Christ. Now that is all that any English churchman really means when he speaks of a memorial of the sacrifice of the death of Christ in the Holy Communion. It is under different circumstances—under peculiar circumstances, not exactly the same as those in which you kneel down on your knees in your own chamber; but it is in the presence of the sacred memorials of the sacrifice of Christ which you have before your eyes, that which calls to your minds and hearts the sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross. Having that before us, and setting them before God, we plead, not the merits of the bread and wine, but the merits of that Body of Christ broken, and that Blood of Christ shed for our souls which we then commemorate; and which the bread and wine represent. Surely there is nothing inconsistent in doing that, though we believe that by the one sacrifice of Christ, God made an end of sin and perfected salvation. We put forward strong words instead of explaining ourselves; sometimes perhaps that we may declare our faith firmly before the world. It is desirable that we should state our faith firmly before the world; but we should never do so when either a weak or an erring brother would take offence. If we tried to understand one another more we should feel that we are much more at one than we imagine. You would find, I am sure, that your prayers and words were very nearly the same if you were brought to a sick bed. Both of you would speak of sin and salvation, and the hopelessness of sinners without Christ, the fulness of the sacrifice of Christ if accepted in faith. I have seen low and high church, and dissenters, and very high churchmen, and even Roman Catholics beside death-beds, and I have marvelled at the unity of faith, and hope, and love, to be found in them. There is therefore, surely, far more in common between us than we think. With regard to the revision of the Prayer Book, I cannot help thinking, in the present temper of the Church—a temper manifested this afternoon—that we had better bear with what we have for a time, with the Prayer Book as it is, than fly to what

we know not of. Much as I value the Baptismal Service, I should have no objection to alter, as was just now suggested, the rubric at the end of the Baptismal Service, to make it clear that we do not believe that children would all be lost if they were not baptized. I myself have little doubt but that every child who dies before committing actual sin is saved. The Prayer Book does not mean to say that they are not. It only means that we have a *certainty* of salvation concerning all those who are admitted to Christ's fellowship by baptism until they have committed actual sin. But I should be happy to explain this if necessary. Convocation has tried to do something of the kind, but it is difficult to come to conclusions on these matters. We have tried for the last thirty years to make some new prayers for our services; but it is very difficult. I was a presbyter thirty years ago, and not a bishop; and I was inclined to throw all the blame on the bishops; now, perhaps, I might throw all the blame on the presbyters. Although we drew up many excellent prayers, we could not get the bishops to accept them. And we have now tried very hard, both in the Convocations of Canterbury and York, to doctor the rubrics; but we have not yet come to an agreement about them. But don't you think that, considering that for 300 years since the Reformation, the whole of the Church of England, divided pretty much at various times as it is now—has been able to meet together and worship in the words of that Prayer Book, that it has brought comfort to countless souls—don't you think if that is so we can go on a little longer until we understand one another better; and that you can kneel at the same holy table or altar, if you prefer to call it so. (If it is called an altar, it means a place where we commemorate, not where we repeat the sacrifice of Christ.) We can all kneel around the same holy table, using those same-time honoured words, all believing that Christ is truly present with us. We may not all believe Him present exactly in the same way; but we do not any of us believe that Christ is present there, or that we are eating Christ in a natural physical sense, and in some sense we all believe Him present. Cannot we join together and love one another as brethren, although we cannot always speak the same words in exactly the same sense? Do not you think that instead of wanting an alteration in our Prayer Book—we want more elasticity in our present services; we want to shorten and divide them more? We have done that to some extent; but I think we want to add to them—not anything containing new doctrines—but harvest, and mission, and institution services, thanksgiving and penitential services, and the like. They need not be all in the words of the Prayer Book or the Bible. At present, no bishop has the right to give authority to anyone to use any prayer in the service—even under special conditions—unless that prayer is taken directly either from the Prayer Book or the Bible. We want more elasticity than that. And in the present state of distress, when brethren meet together as here, and cannot agree upon this most vital matter of worship, and could hardly agree to listen to one another at all; will it not be wiser to keep the Prayer Book as we have it until we understand one another better; worshipping in the words of that Prayer Book, but adding to it a certain number of services as are needed. If it was understood that that was the general wish of the Church, I think we should soon agree. The bishops are very much in favour of having a large amount of elasticity in all these matters, and I am not sure that I should not advocate—although I know the difficulty about it—the introduction of extempore prayers in our services. It is difficult, because you must trust to the discretion of the clergyman; and an eminent prelate of this century has said, "If you trust to the discretion of a clergyman, you trust to his indiscretion." But I think we want more life in our services; and until we have this, I do not see how we can gather together those noble fellows which attended last night's working men's meetings to our churches. Therefore, I think I should be in favour of allowing, under certain circumstances and conditions, the use of extempore prayers. All this might be done without any breach of unity and harmony amongst us. I believe, as I said just now, that deep down in our nature, there is a unity between us of which we have no present knowledge. On the surface there are storms and tempests ever rolling and breaking; but they tell us that the deep sea is calm. So, deep down in Christian hearts there is a unity of faith in Christ, and a love of God, and of one another. Let us then never try, even for the sake of a better Prayer Book, to ruffle that deep sea of love and holiness which does exist, and which I trust will come ere long more and more to the surface.

TEMPERANCE HALL.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 5TH.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP OF NELSON in the Chair.

SYNODICAL ACTION.

(*a*) DIOCESAN SYNODS.
(*b*) CHURCH BOARDS.
(*c*) CENTRAL COUNCIL OF DIOCESAN CONFERENCES.

(*a*) DIOCESAN SYNODS.

PAPERS.

The Rev. W. W. ENGLISH, M.A., Rector of Kirkley, South Lowestoft.

THERE is a certain amount of prejudice against Synods, and I believe it arises from a latent fear that they would restrict liberty—become seekers after heresy, rather than promoters of peace. I take the opposite view. Law courts have power to punish, but no mission to teach; Synods have authority to teach, but no power to punish; the two are therefore complements, the one of the other. I do not, of course, mean that Synods should take up the work of biblical criticism; but questions of doubt or complaint would often be referred to the Synod, as the Church's authoritative voice, and the Synod would simply have to declare whether, in its judgment, the catholic creeds and canons of higher councils had been contravened; and as almost all doctrinal questions which have disturbed the peace of the Church in modern times have wisely, or by good fortune, been left open in the catholic creeds, the Diocesan Synod, as a first voice of Church authority, would be bound to take a liberal and tolerant course. Its work would be quite different to that of the Conference, with its lay element, and which would continue to exist side by side with the Synod. It would, however, not only hear complaints from Church members, and give advice in matters of dispute as to doctrine or ritual—it would have work of a constructive kind also to do, though this would be voluntary, or not legally binding upon the Church's members. Probably all the clergy would feel themselves morally bound to act in accordance with it, if rightly set in motion; that is to say, with their own sanction first obtained. But its decisions would not be legally binding. We largely work upon this non-legal principle now, and must increasingly do so till the principle becomes general. Twenty years ago, lay ministrations were hardly known or recognised in the Church; now they are general. It would not be easy to find an Act of Parliament authorising lay ministrations, neither would it be easy to find one forbidding them. The work of Synods would be similar, and the necessity for reviving them is this: the Church can no longer obtain useful legislation from

Parliament. The whole weight of either political party is necessary to get any Church bill through the House of Commons; but neither political party can command its whole weight in furtherance of any sound churchmanlike measure. What is possible to be got through is sure to be an injury to the Church; what is beneficial never can be got through. The Church is therefore driven, as it were, by Divine Providence, to take religious work into her own hands, where it ought always to have been, and would have been, had she been faithful to her trust; for religious work does, and always did, belong to her, and not to an outside secular assembly. No churchman can recognise the fitness or rightfulness of a secular Parliament to deal as it pleases with doctrines and forms of religious worship. This is work proper to the Church's Synods. As to modern schemes for extending this evil or anomaly, I mean for enabling the laity or unprofessional men outside the Church to deal with her doctrines and forms of worship, they all proceed upon the assumption that the Church has no real objective existence or spiritual independence, that the clergy, as a profession, have no professional rights, and that scripture and antiquity are things not to be taken into account in this age; but I shall base my remarks upon the contrary assumption—not meaning, of course, that rateability and household accidents have not claims of their own, but that among the claims which are their own, the settlement of doctrine and forms of worship is not one of them.

My remarks, however, must be confined to the *constitution* of Diocesan Synods, for the subject is too wide for me to deal with more than one point. And the position of the presbyter in Synods is the one point of greatest interest. He is already shut out from a place in Parliament; and if some of our bishops succeed in shutting him out of Diocesan Synods also, he will be in a pitiable plight indeed. The 23,000 clergy who have given themselves to the work of the ministry, and by consequence shut themselves out from all other professions or means of living, are virtually, though the most deeply interested parties, without any means of making their voices heard in legislative matters touching specially themselves. No other profession in the world is in like manner legislated for, talked about, and dealt with. But I shall hope to prove that participation, and an active voice in Church legislation, always was a right inherent in the office of presbyter; and the revival of Synods will be the first step towards giving them back this right, of which they have unjustly been deprived.

In Scotland, a fair sample of the primitive Diocesan Synod is retained. In England we have had three since 1851, and they have not been alike. In the Exeter Synod, in 1851, there was freedom of debate, and resolutions were left to the body of the Synod. In the two more recent Synods of Lincoln and Manchester, there was not freedom of debate, and resolutions were not left to the body of the Synod. I must, therefore, say that I think we had a fairly primitive Synod in Exeter in 1851, and that we have not had a fair Synod in Lincoln and Manchester in 1871 and 1881.* I will ask permission

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NOTE.—This sentence would have been modified had the author known the *actual procedure* in the Lincoln Synod. It has reference to the Bishop's published *Address* to the Synod, in which the right to decide by majorities is questioned; but the Bishop in a letter dated Oct. 16th, 1882, says:—"Every beneficed presbyter of the

to state the grounds of my belief; and I very much regret having to differ from the views of a bishop so much and so deservedly respected as the Bishop of Lincoln. But my contention is that Synods were either suppressed altogether or changed in the middle ages, and that we as English Churchmen cannot safely rely upon those Roman Catholic authorities quoted or referred to in the Bishop of Lincoln's address. I believe the Roman system of Church government to have swerved very greatly from primitive practice. In the primitive Church the presbyter had so great a share in the government of the Church that St. Augustine dreaded the office. In the Mediæval Church the presbyter is found stripped of much of his ancient rights. I object, therefore, to a precedent for a Diocesan Synod being sought for in that part of Church history where the presbyter is known to have occupied an altered position.

The Bishop of Lincoln refers in footnotes nine different times to Gavantus, and says his is "the most complete work on the constitution and proceedings of Diocesan Synods." But Bingham, a standard English authority, takes a very different view. In the preface to his nine volumes of "Antiquities," he refers to this Gavantus with others, and gives reasons for thinking him to be untrustworthy. He charges him and other mediævalists with imperfection and misleading statements, using the spurious epistles of the ancient Popes, and making it his chief aim "to varnish over the novel practices of Rome, and to put a face of antiquity upon them." Even Cardinal Bona, he says, could not refrain from censuring such writers who "measure all ancient customs by the practice of the present times, and judge of the primitive discipline only by the rules and customs of the age they live in" (Preface to "Antiquities" xxvii.)

Bingham, in the body of his work, makes further reference to these mediæval authorities, and says: "Little regard is to be had to these modern authors, who pretend to say that presbyters had not power to sit in the presence of their bishops, which is confuted by the acts and canons of almost every ancient Council, and the writings of every ancient author" (Book II., c. xix., s. 5).

And these words of Bingham are fully corroborated by the customary form of address to a Diocesan Synod in the tenth century, as directed by the canon contained in the collection of laws attributed to King Edgar. Prebendary Joyce gives it in his "England's Sacred Synods," and in his letter to the Bishop of Derry,

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diocese was cited to that Synod. Everyone so cited and appearing, was at liberty to speak and vote on every question proposed in it. Every resolution which was adopted in it was proposed and seconded by a presbyter in Synod, and was carried by a majority of votes in the Synod. Such motions as were made and seconded, but were *not* carried by a majority, were not made acts of the Synod." This leaves the Manchester Synod absolutely alone, the one solitary English attempt to revive *mediævalism* under the forms of synodical action. It is to be hoped that the Bishop of Lincoln will do the Church a further service, by assembling a Synod *annually* to consider and direct the affairs of the Church, instead of going to Parliament for instructions. This is the only way out of the dangers and complications which beset the Church, and it is the only rightful method of Church government. If Parliament will not confirm Church legislation and Church action, the Church must cease to ask further help from Parliament. She is on her own ground, in her own sphere, and exercising no more than her own rights in so doing.

on the "Crisis in the Church of Ireland." It is to be found in Wilkins' great work on English Councils (Conc. Mag. Brit., vol. i., p. 225, canon 3), and is as follows :—"Very Reverend Priests and Brethren,—Now that our prayers have been offered up to God, I bid you, with an holy exhortation, and in God's name I desire you, to hear reverently, and consider faithfully, all such matters as I shall propose to you concerning God, the discipline of the clergy, and the maintenance of pure morals. And if perchance any of you should dissent from my propositions, let that man, avoiding all admixture of strife, submit those subjects on which he feels a doubt to the *common judgment of all*, so that under God's guidance he may receive instruction himself, or impart it to others."

This form of address to a Diocesan Synod in the tenth century shows that at that time, and for generations previous (for it was an old customary form of address), the Synod was open to free discussion, and matters of doubt were submitted to the "common judgment of all." There may not have been actual division into majorities and minorities, but the sense of the Synod was ascertained in some way; and the decision was that of the body, and not of the individual bishop, apart from the body, or in opposition to it. I am unable to find any instance in early times of a bishop giving a decision in Synod, independently of the presbyters, or in opposition to them. And anyone reading over Johnson's translation of the "Laws and Canons of the Anglo-Saxon Church," though it does not contain all to be found in the great work of Wilkins, will find all orders of the clergy taking part in the discussions of Synods, and both presbyters and deacons signing the decrees like the bishops. There are not only, therefore, the objections, so forcibly expressed by Bingham, to such authorities as those on which the two recent Synods of Lincoln and Manchester were based, but there is this actual difference or antagonism between the principles and rules laid down in the one case, and acted upon in the other. The mediæval Synod had no likeness to the primitive Synod, or the Anglo-Saxon Synod. The position of the presbyter had undergone a complete change; half the rights belonging to his office had been taken away. And the question for English Churchmen, now that Synods are being revived, is whether the Roman *shadow* of a Synod, as known to the Middle Ages, shall be revived, or the primitive *substance* known to earlier times. I make no apology here for advocating the substance in place of the shadow, and what I believe to be the rightful position of the presbyter; and I shall add to the authorities already cited some further evidence and facts, which I venture to think bear out my contention.

In the Acts of the Apostles there is mention both of a Diocesan Synod and a Provincial Synod—not in name, of course, but in fact; but of the Diocesan Synod nothing more is said than that Paul went in unto "James, and all the presbyters were present" (xxi. 8). The account, however, of the Provincial Synod is fuller; and we gather that the Church, by a Divine instinct, made appeal in a case of doubt to both apostles and presbyters, and that "the decrees for to keep" were "ordained" or drawn up by the joint authority of apostles and presbyters, and sent forth in their joint

names. Nor can I find that this principle of government was seriously impugned till the Middle Ages.

In the "Apostolic Constitutions" (Book II., c. xxviii.), presbyters are called the "Sanhedrim and Senate of the Church." In the writings of S. Ignatius, "the admirable Bishop" is always joined with "the well compacted crown of the Presbytery" (Ep. Mag., ch. xiii.) S. Cyprian, addressing the priests and deacons, speaks of "a *common* plan for the administration of the Church;" and the presbyters and deacons, replying to S. Cyprian, speak of their being "not so much judges, as *sharers* in your counsels" (Ep. xxx.) This all implies a very close agreement in the early centuries between the bishop and the presbyter. We do not meet, of course, with the terms "Diocesan Synod" in the early centuries, there being no dioceses then to supply the terms. A town and the surrounding villages were usually under a bishop, and the district was called by another name (*paroichia*). The Council of Presbyters, answering to what was later called a Diocesan Synod, was variously named; by S. Cyprian it was called "The Sacred and venerable bench of the Clergy;" by Origen, "The Bishop's Counsellors, and the Council of the Church;" by S. Jerome, "The Church's Senate, and the Senate of Christ;" by St. Chrysostom, "The Court and the Sanhedrim of the Presbyters," because, says Bingham, "though the bishop was the prince and head of the ecclesiastical assembly, and nothing could regularly be done without him, yet neither did he ordinarily do any public act, relating to the government and discipline of the Church, without their advice and assistance" (Book II., ch. xix., s. 7). The "presbytery" and the "consistory" were also terms commonly used for what is now called a Diocesan Synod. They were *not* used, I think, for a cathedral chapter.

In the fourth century, presbyters still sat with bishops in the Consistory, or Diocesan Synod, Pope Siricius acting as Cornelius had done before him. Jovinian was censured, condemned, and finally expelled the Church with the advice of the presbyters in council. Sinesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, acted similarly in regard to the Prefect of Pentapolis. His case was first laid before the consistory, or Diocesan Synod, and with consent of the presbytery, excommunication was pronounced. The bishop calls this not his own act, but "the act of the consistory or Sanhedrim of Ptolemais" (See Bingham, Book II., ch. xix., s. 11). Bingham says: "The first ages afford the most convincing proofs of the divine harmony between the bishop and the presbyters. For anyone that ever looked into the writings of Cyprian must acknowledge that at Rome and at Carthage, the two great churches of the West, all things were thus transacted by joint consent" (s. 8)—and "joint consent" could not possibly be the same thing as "fatherly" commands on the part of the bishop, and "filial" obedience on the part of the other clergy. S. Cyprian would not ordain a subdeacon or reader without the consent of the presbytery. Cornelius at Rome acted in like manner. Epiphanius observed the same rule at Ephesus. The deposition of Arius was undertaken with consent of both presbyters and deacons. So was it in the condemnation of Origen. "In fine," says Bingham, "it appears

that this was an ancient privilege of presbyters to sit and deliberate with bishops, both in their consistorial and provincial councils. And if we ascend yet higher, we find matters transacted thus *ab origine*" (Ibid).

It is impossible to look at these facts and not feel that things were different in the Early Church from what they are now. In the fourth century, some think the power of the Presbytery was less than in the second. In the twelfth, it was certainly less than in the fourth. In a pamphlet published in 1878, by the late Mr. Scudamore, on the "Diocesan Synods of the Earlier Church," he speaks of a departure from earlier practice creeping on in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and says, "the bishops had then begun (*more Romano*) to dispense with the advice of the clergy, and simply proclaimed their own decisions to the Synod." He gives examples of this changed tone and language from Synods held in 1239, 1255, and 1256, but adds—"nevertheless we still meet with faint traces of the earlier and better practice, as in the record of the Synod of Man in 1239."

But I am unwilling to admit that the constitution of Diocesan Synods can be considered apart from the position of the presbyter in the higher and larger Councils of the Church. The diocese is a *unit*, the province is simply the *aggregate* of diocesan units. The principles of constitution and government cannot therefore be different or contrary in the two. Our Convocations or Provincial Synods ought to supply the principles which constitute and govern the Diocesan Synod, otherwise the gradation of Synods would be fundamentally inconsistent with itself. And I apprehend this is the ground for lately speaking as some have done of the English Convocations as something anomalous. But our Convocations are more easily defended than this form of attack. The taxing of the clergy never formed an essential part of our provincial Synods; and the same may be said of bishops sitting apart in the Province of Canterbury. These so-called anomalies are excrescences, not parts of the original body. Bishops and presbyters always sat together in the earlier councils—great and small. And in proof of their voting and signing decrees in common, it will be sufficient merely to name a dozen examples between the third and eighth centuries; as the Councils at Alexandria in 230; Rome 255; Carthage 256; Antioch 264; Arles 314; Toledo 400; the Council under Hilarius in 461; under Felix III. 487; under Symmachus 499; and under Gregory II. in 715. There is abundance of precedent for our Convocations in these great Councils, to say nothing of the Synods in the Anglo-Saxon Church. In the Council under Gregory, bishops, priests and deacons, all signed in the same form of words. In the Council under Symmachus there were 67 presbyters and 6 deacons, and they all subscribed as the bishops did. Bingham gives a larger number of proofs as to this; and there are important Councils mentioned by Hefele, not referred to by Bingham, which might be cited as proofs also. But what shows that the presence and acts of presbyters in larger Councils was not an occasional thing, nor depending upon the good-will of bishops, is the fact that in Constantine's "Tractoriæ," or letters of summons, presbyters were cited by *imperial* edict to appear, as well as the bishops. Chrestus, Bishop of Syracuse, was commanded to bring with him two of the "Second throne," the second throne being at that time a common

expression for presbyters, bishops occupying the first (never in early times the only) seat of government. "But notwithstanding all this (says Bingham) Cellotius, the Jesuit, and some others, have the confidence to assert, that presbyters were never allowed to sit with bishops in Council. Bellarmine does not go so far, but only denies them a decisive voice there; in which assertion he is opposed, not only by the generality of Protestant writers, but also by Habertus and other learned defenders of the Gallican liberties in his own communion. So that it is agreed on all hands by unprejudiced writers, and curious searchers of antiquity, that presbyters had liberty to sit and deliberate with bishops in Provincial Councils," . . . . and "anciently the privilege of sitting and voting in general Councils also. (Book II., ch. xix. ss. 12, 13.)

The argument put forward by Bellarmine, Hefele, and Romanist advocates generally, namely, that the presence of presbyters is admitted, while the decisive voice or voting power is denied them, is fully answered and refuted by a mass of facts in the pages of Bingham; and Hefele, himself, is able only to adduce a small bit of negative evidence in favour of his contention, while he shuts his eyes to the large volume of facts, in his own pages, which destroy altogether the validity of the argument.

But the practical point for us as English Churchmen is this—the revival amongst us of the Mediæval Synod, in place of the Primitive Synod, would be a great and serious loss. For there is hardly an evil from which the Church is suffering, which might not have been obviated or cured had bishops and presbyters, after the example set in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the primitive Church, met together in Council and consulted for the Church's welfare. Convocation, where alone the presbyter has retained a foothold, has been ignored or disregarded in legislation, and from this has sprung, not unnaturally, a state of things bordering on revolution. The spirit of opposition shown towards modern legislation is not owing to any question of vestments, but to the authority professing to regulate them. It is, therefore, much deeper and far wider than any mere question of vestments.

There was a maxim known to Hooker, that what touches all, by all should first be approved; but in ignoring the constitutional rights of the clergy in Convocation, and insisting upon acts affecting public worship being passed without them, it seems to have been a leading thought in this age to turn this maxim *(quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari et approbari debet)* upside down. Under these circumstances, and in face of the spirit of opposition which has been aroused, and is being every day aroused, to revive the mediæval Synod, in place of the primitive Synod, would be to increase existing evils. The feeling of wrong would be accentuated. And it would be better for Synods to slumber in the grave of negligence or forgetfulness, than to exhume them in a form which could only aggravate existing evils. On the other hand, if they were revived in the primitive form, the spirit of opposition to legislative authority would be shorn of its strength, peace would come back to the Church, and her usefulness and efficiency would be extended in every way.

(*b*) Church Boards.

Albert Grey, Esq., M.P.

I have been invited to bring before the Congress, so far as is possible in the twenty minutes allotted to me, some account of the considerations which have led me, at the instance of the Council of the National Church Reform Union, to introduce into the House of Commons a Bill providing for the establishment of Church Boards in the Parishes of England and Wales. In this Session, as in the preceding one, a variety of circumstances which we were powerless to avert, combined to prevent us from proceeding with our measure. But while we intend to lose no opportunity of pressing this question upon the consideration of Parliament, we do not at all regret any delay which ensures the fullest possible discussion of the measure; and I especially value the opportunity so kindly afforded me of making a statement upon this subject before this important and representative assembly. For it is in the confident hope of gaining from a discussion here a careful consideration of proposals, which no one who has at heart the welfare and the usefulness of the National Church can either accept or dismiss lightly, that I venture to plead the cause of the layman before you to-day, to assert his rights, and to claim for him the position which alone will encourage the mass of Englishmen to stand between their National Church and Disestablishment. The character of the Disestablishment movement should, I think, never be lost sight of, even in an assembly such as this. The whole question of the existence of any National Church in England, of any public recognition of religion, and of the secularization of the buildings and the endowments of the Establishment, may at any time ripen with unexpected rapidity, be pressed to the front by the exigencies of party, and be settled in a single electioneering campaign.

Every question, therefore, of Church organization which proposes to develop the scope, and therefore the hold of the Church upon the hearts of the people must be considered as urgent, and deserving of our immediate attention.

The season has passed when it was wise counsel to let sleeping questions lie. The defenders of the principle of Establishment, the believers in the future usefulness of the National Church, must be prepared to reconsider its position in connection with the new ideas of Democracy, and not to shrink from any changes, however sweeping they may be, that may be necessary to bring back the Church once more into its ancient sympathy with every current of national life and every class of society. It is vain to believe that an institution organised to meet mediæval needs, and to correspond to mediæval ideas, can, without some change, be made, even by the most faithful and devoted services of its officers, to answer to the requirements, or engage the sympathies of modern social life.

During the present century society has been transformed, and every political institution has been reconstructed to admit the expression of the sentiments of the people. The time has come when the National Establishment also must adapt itself to the same necessity; and it is the object of the Church Boards' Bill to provide the machinery by which, gradually and as need arises, the National Church may avail itself of the

desire of the people to take their share in the management of all that concerns themselves.

The idea of associating the laity with the direction of their own ecclesiastical affairs is no new one. Indeed, it is the opposite position —that the Church belongs to the clergyman—which is novel. From the earliest times the churchwardens, elected by the ratepayers, have been the representatives of the interests and guardians of the property of the parishioners in their Church. But the office of churchwarden, which embodies every principle for which we contend, has, as at present limited, become inadequate to the necessities of the times. *The Church needs more Churchwardens. The Churchwardens need further powers.* The growth of population, the increase in the number of men qualified to take a helpful interest in Church matters, the wisdom of engaging them in the support of the Church, and the desire of modern Englishmen to be thoroughly represented and frequently consulted upon all public matters—all these circumstances point to the necessity of Boards of Churchwardens, endowed with powers sufficient to enable them to give adequate expression to, and secure proper consideration for, the feelings and wishes of the entire body of parishioners.

The necessity of the fuller representation of the people in Church matters is no new discovery. Forty years ago, Dr. Arnold, in his "Thoughts upon Church Reform," asserted it as a fundamental essential, if the Church was to stand in close relation with the life of the people. It was reasserted by Lord Sandon's Parochial Councils' Bill, which was read a second time in the House of Commons in 1871. Three years later Mr. Gladstone called attention, from the other side of the House, to the expediency of protecting the laity "against precipitate and arbitrary changes of established custom by the sole will of the clergyman and against the wishes locally prevalent amongst them," and proposed that the House should pass a resolution to that effect. And in the following year, in 1875, the archbishop and bishops, in their charge to the clergy, laid special emphasis on the "changes in the mode of performing Divine Service introduced by the clergy without authority, and often without due regard to the feelings of parishioners," as the cause of the "serious alienation" from the Church which in some cases had taken place.

Nor has the recognition of the necessity of lay authority diminished of late years. For while I rejoice to think that the introduction of the Church Boards' Bill has led to a very wide discussion of the legal relationship existing between the clergyman and his parishioners, I do not believe it is possible to find, in the records of the proceedings of recent Diocesan Conferences, mention of a single speech in which the present powers of the clergyman have been justified and defended. Even those who have opposed the proposals contained in the Church Boards' Bill admit most willingly that, as has been well said by a distinguished clergyman, "the present system should be reformed, under which the people, for whose benefit both parish and incumbent have been created, have by law no more power over the Incumbent than the sheep on the common;" and that "the discretion as to all matters which may be legally done or forborne in the church or parish, instead of being exercised, as it now is, by the incumbent alone, should be exercised by a Church Council in which the incumbent and parishioners are united."

Mr. G. Russell, who moved the rejection of the Church Boards' Bill in 1881, nevertheless now admits (as appears from his paper printed in the Report of the Proceedings of the Ely Diocesan Conference last June) the claim of self-government by the laity to be just and sound, and maintains that lay co-operation and control is desirable

(1) In the management and decoration of the Parish Church;
(2) In the arrangement and distribution of the Public Services, which are the common devotions of all;
(3) In the disposal of the weekly offertories; and
(4) In all the multifarious matters in which the Church and its various Parochial organisations act collectively in the parish;

and adds that he believes that he will be supported in making this admission by the general sense of the Ely Conference.

The principle of the Bill is in fact conceded. Men only differ on two points:—(1) the machinery in which parochial lay opinion shall be embodied; (2) the people who shall elect and sit upon a Church Board.

Upon the first point I have not time to say more than this—first, that in my opinion it is absolutely essential that the Church Board should rest on legislative sanction, and not on the clergyman's changing will. The members of the board must have prerogatives and authority and status such as an Act of Parliament alone can confer. Secondly, that the adoption of Church Boards shall be optional in each parish, and not be forced upon parishes to which for many reasons they may be unsuitable.

The other point of discussion, who are the parishioners to elect and sit upon the Board, needs a somewhat fuller consideration.

Lord Sandon's Bill, which proposed to give the franchise to all rate-payers without any exception whatever, was, after a long and interesting debate, read a second time, without a division, members from every side of the House avowing themselves in favour of the principle it contained.

Again, we find so lately as in the July number of the "Churchman," the following admission from a Clergyman, who, in arguing against the Bill, writes:—"Whether the electors are all of them *bona fide* Churchmen or no, need trouble us little."

It appears, then, that no general or widely supported objection will be made to Lord Sandon's proposal *to recognise the right of every rate-payer to be included in the constituency which is entrusted with the duty of electing a Church Board.*

But the character and nature of that qualification which may be thought necessary for a person elected to serve on a Church Board is a question on which there exists a wide difference of opinion.

Some are in favour of a Council of communicants; others, would demand from members a subscription to the Nicene Creed; others, a declaration of *bonâ fide* adherence to the formularies of the Church of England; some, again, insist on the congregational test; while those gentlemen with whom I agree contend that the only qualification which is consistent with the mission, the principle, and the history of the National Church, is that of being a parishioner, or, as the law construes the term parishioner, of being a householder resident in the parish.

Now I cannot think that the Communicant test is one which will ever again find favour with any large body of our countrymen.

"We could not," cries Mr. Russell, "for a moment risk the renewal of the profanities of the sacramental test;" and I cannot help thinking that in this opinion he will be supported by the great majority of those present. The sacramental test has already been tried, and it has been found, like most other tests, not to answer the purpose for which it was designed; experience warns us that it was used by dishonest and irreligious persons without scruple for profane and secular purposes, and that it brought the Holy Communion itself into discredit by the constant profanities to which it was exposed.

But while Mr. Russell foresees plainly the risks of instituting afresh a sacramental test, he urges that, as a substitute, we shall demand from the members who sit upon a Church Board a subscription to the Nicene Creed. But why the Nicene Creed? Is it of more Divine origin than the other creeds of the Church? Whom would it be designed to keep out, and whom would it be designed to include? And what form of subscription would be demanded? Before assent can be of value, it must be intelligent And is no man qualified to speak on parochial questions until he has acquired that comprehensive mastery of the history of the fourth century—of its thoughts, its divisions, and its controversies—which alone can enable anyone to go clause by clause through the Nicene Creed, and to explain the value and the significance of each balanced phrase? How many christian nonconformists, how many churchwardens, aye, how many churchmen would undertake this? But if your subscription is confessedly a mere form, of what use is it, then? and why choose the Nicene Creed to be degraded to so useless a function?

Moreover, so long as the Church remains a National Church, every individual has a strong interest in the way in which the Church performs the work which the Nation has committed to it.

The future work of the Church will not lie altogether inside, but largely outside, the fabric of the Church. There may be many whose interest in the Church is not limited by its Sunday worship and preaching, but who are prepared to take the strongest sympathy in the Church's mission to carry social reform into the parish. Shall we set up a test, to deprive ourselves of their help, and to force men who are ready to work with the Church into an attitude of indifference, perhaps of hostility? It surely must be wrong to lay special stress on the differences which prevent christians from uniting. We look forward to a wider unity among christians, and a National Church is in our opinion deserving of support, because we see in it the most hopeful agency for bringing about the general co-operation of christian men for the promotion of the common good.

Then there are some who, objecting to the sacramental test or to the subscription of the Nicene Creed, demand that no one should be allowed to sit on a Church Board unless he shall have made a solemn declaration of *bona fide* adherence to the formularies of the Church of England.

Again I ask, what would be the value of such a declaration? Whom would it include and whom exclude? Every Englishman may on legal grounds describe himself as a member of the Church of England until he elects otherwise; and if he should so elect, is he likely to spend his time in labouring upon the council of the parish church?

To what, moreover, do we owe the creation of Dissent? Is it not to the inability of certain excellent and devout Christians to comply with particular formularies of the Church? We are now asked, having opened the door for the departure of Christians from our Church, to shut it against their return, at an epoch, too, when we all are agreed as to the wisdom of far greater variety and liberality in our Church's work. Nay, more: a new door would be opened for the exit of more Churchmen. For how many of those who object to the Athanasian Creed would make a declaration of *bona fide* adherence to the formularies of the Church.

Then we find some who, recognising the objection to the above proposals, contend that no one should be eligible for the Church Board who was not a member of the congregation.

It is unnecessary to point out the difficulties in deciding what constitutes a member of the congregation. Is a register of attendance to be kept, and if so, who is to attest it? and what number of attendances would qualify? It is sufficient to point out the absurd results to which such a rule would give birth. It might perfectly well happen that a change of minister would, in process of time, entirely alter the congregation, so that all those who were eligible under the first minister would become ineligible under the second, while those who were eligible under the second would have been ineligible under the first.

Having thus pointed out the objections—and, to our mind, insuperable objections—to all these proposals, we are driven back to the only one which remains to us: the Parochial qualification, in favour of which not only precedent, traditional practice, and custom declare themselves, but for which, in our opinion, the advancement of Religion and the promotion of Christianity loudly call.

That precedent and tradition are on the side of the Householders there can be no question. It cannot be denied that the Church, its fabric and its minister, have been created for the people; that the people have rights in the Church which they are at liberty to exercise whenever they may choose; and that the householders have the duty of electing the Churchwardens, whose province it is, so far as their very limited legal powers will allow, to look after the interests of the parishioners.

Therefore, historical continuity and ancient precedent require that if the necessity be proved, as we maintain it is, for increasing the legal powers of the laity, the body in whom the power is seated shall not be changed, but that the new powers shall be vested in the same body which the wisdom of the past has so far seen fit to trust.

But a stronger motive than that of respect for precedent and historical continuity urges us to bring forward these proposals. We believe that it is absolutely necessary to admit the parishioners to the fullest possible share in the management of their Church affairs, if the Church is to do its proper work.

What is the work of the Church? It will be admitted by all that its work is to hasten as quickly as possible the arrival of God's kingdom upon earth; and it will be admitted not less readily that, in proportion as men fulfil the duties which they owe to God and to their neighbour, in like proportion will the arrival of that kingdom be near at hand.

Now, it is a subject of frequent remark that the present parochial

organisation of the Church weakens it in its work as an inculcator of philanthropic duty.

The Dean of Bangor gave eloquent expression to this opinion when he complained, last July, at the Central Council of Diocesan Conferences at Westminster, of the multitude of earnest and devout men which the Church had lost because she would give them no part in her ministry. He pointed out how loth Englishmen are to undertake public work unless they have a regular public call to it, and that therefore, instead of doing their duties as active Churchmen, they too often degenerated into "paragons of passive virtues."

But it may be said that this is a strong argument for extending the powers of the conforming members of the Church, but it does not necessarily justify a concession which might possibly in cases admit Nonconformists into a position of power.

It is said, "Fancy entrusting these powers to an atheist." I say that until you have got a majority of atheists in a parish, the election of an atheist would be an impossibility; secondly, that it is difficult to imagine any opponent of the Church offering to serve on a Church Board, where his presence would be a recognition of the public value and position of a national religion and a National Church; and, lastly, even if the Board consisted entirely of atheists, they would have no power whatever to interfere with doctrine. The Law would continue to lay down the limits within which the services should be conducted; and, further, the decision of the Church Board would only have a binding effect on the clergyman provided it gained the approval of either the bishop or himself.

Finally, the chief use of a Board would be to strengthen the power of a clergyman outside the Church. Inside the Church its powers would after all be very limited; it could do no more than insist, with the Bishop's consent, on the clergyman making use of that form of service, allowed by law, which was most congenial to the wishes of the people; but outside the Church the change would be very great. Duties which were formerly entrusted to the clergyman alone would become the duties of the parishioners. No longer would active Churchmen be allowed to degenerate into nothing better than "paragons of passive virtues." Their activity would be called into life, and gradually a new spirit would be awakened in the parish. Gradually the Church would come to be regarded as an association of Christian men eager to remove those evils which prevent the mass of parishioners from rising to a better and nobler life; as an association in which every one who cared at all for the well-being of his fellow men would be called upon to take a part; as an association powerful against abuse, unfairness, selfishness, ignorance, and vice; and as an association never flagging in the task of bringing home to the conditions of modern life the great principles of Christianity.

ADDRESS.

W. U. HEYGATE, Esq.

I SHALL assume, in dealing with the question of Church Boards, that the points we are called upon to discuss are mainly these—*First*, whether it is desirable that some sort of tribunal should be constructed for the purpose of controlling the manner in

which the services and ministrations of the Church (including such items as the vestments worn, the arrangements for seating, the lights, ornaments, decorations, furniture, and fittings in the Church) should be conducted; and, *secondly*, whether, if some such Court should be established, with legal powers for enforcing its decisions, the Bill, lately submitted to Parliament by the honourable member for South Northumberland, contains the elements of a satisfactory solution of the difficulties of the case. I think too, I may assume, that there is no longer a question of the advisability of what is called "lay co-operation;" nor is any question of Church doctrine involved. Lay co-operation has been repeatedly discussed, and it is admitted on all hands to be, within certain limits, a thing to be desired and encouraged. But Church Boards, with legal powers, stand on an entirely different footing; and one may very well be a supporter of the utmost amount of "lay co-operation" without being persuaded that it is either wise or safe to start such an organisation as is indicated by the term Church Boards. Let me, however, admit at once that there is ample reason why some such arrangement should be desired. No one can deny that in various parishes throughout the kingdom strife has been engendered, congregations alienated, dissent extended, the parson and his flock divided, owing to ill-advised and unauthorised changes in the manner of conducting the services of the Church, inaugurated without due regard to the wishes and habits—to the prejudices, if you will—of those who attend the Church. All this is greatly to be regretted. It is unquestionably a serious evil, for which no adequate remedy exists. It cannot be denied that, owing to the present constitution of Parliament, there is a dead-lock in ecclesiastical legislation. We live in times when respect to "authority" is at a discount; the result is a state of complete *ἀνομία*, so that, if the remedy were not worse than the disease, any well-considered measure for dealing with these difficulties should receive a hearty welcome. These were the circumstances which created the desire to give to parishioners greater control over Church services and ministrations, and led to the enactment of the much abused Public Worship Regulation Bill; but all those who remember the strong feelings developed during the progress of those debates on both sides of the Houses of Parliament, quite irrespective of political party lines, can testify to the difficulty of keeping similar discussions within the bounds of moderation. No friend of the Church, who wishes to see her remain as broad and comprehensive as she now is, would willingly run the risk of evoking similar passions. The Lower House would be certain to "run away with" (so to speak) any measure touching these debated questions, however moderate and well-intentioned might be its original promoters; and this is an objection *in limine*, which, to my mind, is fatal to any appeal to Parliament on the subject. But, even assuming that Mr. Grey's bill could be carried without objectionable additions and alterations, it appears to me to fail in the attempt to provide (what all will allow to be a *sine qua non*), viz: a fair tribunal, justly representative of Churchmen. Clause 6 gives us the constituency by which the Church Board is to be elected; and who are they? No attempt is made to confine the electors to those who are even nominally Churchmen—not even to those who occasionally attend the Church! Every person "now entitled to vote for Churchwardens," in other words, every ratepayer, be he "Jew, Turk, Infidel, or Heretic," is to have a voice, and the latter are just the class of persons who would be sure to exercise their voices in these elections! What is the chief reason why the Public Worship Regulation Act has failed to command the respect which it

might otherwise have secured? Is it not that almost invariably the persons who come to the front, when dissension as to the mode of conducting Divine Service has arisen and that Act is appealed to, are, *not bonâ fide* attendants of the Church—*not* people who ever give a thought to religious questions, but outside agitators or their nominees, and not unfrequently, people whose characters will not bear investigation! Hence, and very often hence *only*, the sympathy we see with clergymen like the Revs. Tooth and Green; the result being not unfrequently, to rally on their side Churchmen who are far from approving all their conduct, many even who strongly object to some of their proceedings, but who cannot brook the intervention of those who have no possible claim to interfere in the regulation of services in which they have no tittle of interest or concern. Nor must it be forgotten that these Church Boards are not to be universal; they are only to be established where a wish is expressed, as directed by clause 4 for their establishment, in other words, where dissension already exists and a parish is ripe for agitation. It is hardly necessary to ask what would be the effect, and whether the formation of such a tribunal is likely to conduce to peace and charity in a community already agitated. A rector of my acquaintance, a man of good common sense, and much beloved in his parish, is in the habit of facetiously dividing his parishioners into four classes, A B C and D. *Ab*senters, *Beer*scenters, *C*onsenters, and *D*issenters; and I dare say it is a very fair classification of an average English parish. All four classes are equally entitled to vote for Mr. Grey's "Church Boards," and I doubt not, the classes represented by A B and D are quite as likely to win the day as the C's, who alone have an interest in the business in hand. I am aware that, in urging these objections, I am arguing against the prevailing current of opinion. There is a mania now-a-days for popular elective agencies for settling all sorts of difficulties and disputes; but, whatever may be said in their favour in *secular* matters, I contend they are altogether out of place *here*, and that, to make the "people" supreme, and practically ignore the bishops, is a subversion of the true idea of the Church of God. But let us see what these Boards, when legally constitued, are empowered to do. Two clauses in the bill briefly describe their powers. By clause 10 they can order "any change not contrary to law," (what is, and what is not, "contrary to law?" I should be gald to know) in the "manner of conducting the services and ministrations of the Church" and in various other matters; and by clause 11 they can prevent any change in any of the matters just enumerated. These are very extensive powers, and would doubtless often lead to very unexpected results. Let us take the case of a parish where the majority of the electors happened to be Roman Catholics. How would the "manner of conducting the services and ministrations of the Church, the vestments, the decorations, etc., etc., approved by a Board so elected, be agreeable to the feelings and wishes of the minority, who alone formed the congregation? Or, take the opposite and more probable contingency, viz.: that the ultra-protestant feeling of the majority (composed mainly of dissenters), vetoed any change in the direction of what is known as a "higher" type of service. I would ask, how many of the changes made in our own time, now acknowledged to be improvements, would ever have been affected under such a Board? Let anyone consider how many such changes have been gradually carried out within our memory. Here and there something objectionable or questionable, but for the most part vast improvements—Free and open seats; Hymns Ancient and Modern; chanting of canticles; the weekly offertory; the general revival of taste in Church architecture, etc., etc.

Every such change has met with more or less opposition, and might perhaps have been effectually opposed for *ever* under a constitution such as is proposed by this Bill, though now, I suppose almost universally approved. For my own part, I own to a natural conservative tendency of mind, and am certainly not prone to change for change's sake, but I am not prepared to say that the type of service should remain exactly the same as it is now to the end of time, or that no change should be ever made without the sanction of a popular majority. But it will no doubt be said that the bishop *has*, under the provisions of this Bill, a final authority, which obviates the objections I have urged. Let us see—it is true he is not altogether ignored—a power of appeal under certain conditions is given to him in the case of any change voted by the Board. He may, if he think fit, hear the case in dispute *in camera*, and his decision is to be final. This sounds well. But consider the position in which you place the bishop in such case! Such an appeal appears to me to be inconsistent with the very essence of the Bill. Having first established a Board resting on a popular vote, and thus acknowledged the right of the majority of ratepayers to interfere, you then say, the bishop may veto the result of popular opinion.

The Public Worship Regulation Act is far more reasonable than this! *There*, the initiative being given to any three parishioners, the diocesan may well interpose and put an end to vexatious proceedings, because the three parishioners are representative only of themselves. Much more difficult would it be for a bishop to withstand the action of a quasi-corporate body, chosen for the very purpose of speaking on the subjects in dispute in an authoritative manner and in a representative capacity.

Hitherto I have referred only to some of the sins of *com*mission which this Bil involves; but I would remind you that there are sins of *o*mission as well, and quite as grievous as those of *com*mission, and in *both* directions the Bill is equally at fault. It would never so much as touch the many points of importance in which interference is required, at least as much as in those covered by its provisions. I refer to such matters as—bad and inaudible reading—and unintelligible preaching. It would never compel a clergyman to visit his people—to minister to the sick—or to attend to the religious instruction in his schools. Depend upon it, these are defects which account more than anything else for the empty seats in our churches, and the indifference and alienation of the laity. If some remedy could be found for these evils, I should be almost inclined to accept the Bill, and forgive its other faults for the sake of the advantages we should gain. But I suppose it was deemed impossible to attempt legislation on such points, and I do not dispute the conclusion.

I have now freely criticised the proposed Bill for the establishment of Church Boards, and I hope I have persuaded my audience that it is not one which we should desire to see ever become an Act of Parliament. However troublesome the disease, the remedy is surely far worse, and would entail even greater evils. It is a case where—

> "'Tis better to bear the ills we have,
> Than fly to others we know not of."

I will only add a quotation from a recent utterance of a "Liberal" M.P. (Mr. G. Russell), who thus sums up his estimate of the probable working of such a measure. "Putting aside all extreme cases or unlikely results, this Bill, in its mildest operation, means giving the control, or mutilation of our parish churches, to men who never enter their doors; the management of our worship to men who regard it as an empty

form or grotesque parody; and the administration of our alms to men who do not themselves contribute a single sixpence to the needs of their brethren. It means, at its best, the Baptist member of the Board finding himself compelled to regulate the hour and occasion of infant baptism; the Independent making arrangements for a Confirmation; and the Quaker deciding the hour and days for the celebration of the Holy Communion."

Is there then no remedy for the acknowledged evils which now exist, and to which I have already adverted? After my own admission of these evils, I shall no doubt be told by those whose proposals I condemn,

> "Si quid novisti rectius istis
> Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum."

I reply that the case is one which does *not* admit of any certain, positive, immediate, and universal remedy. It is easy, however, to indicate the direction in which the real remedy should be found, viz.:—in larger discretionary powers to the bishop of the diocese, and in cheerful submission on the part of both clergy and laity to the decisions of their diocesan. Whenever serious differences occur, I believe there are generally faults on both sides, and that they can be best adjusted by reference to some outside and unprejudiced authority. What more appropriate referee than the bishop can there be? I shall, of course, be told that such a reference would satisfy neither party, and would please neither the rebellious priest nor the unreasonable "people." I shall be told that the clergy will not submit to the judgment of their diocesan, nor will the objecting laity be contented unless they obtain the whole "pound of flesh" for which they are contending. I refuse to believe it. The clergy clearly *ought* to obey their bishop, with whom the ultimate responsibility would rightly rest, and, even when his decision is at variance with their own feelings and predilections, they should feel relief at the responsibility being removed from their own shoulders, and placed where it has been appointed to reside by the great Ruler of the Church; and I am sure that by a dutiful submission to the authority of their bishops, the clergy would do more to regain their own authority, than by any victory they might otherwise achieve. Bishops live pre-eminently in glass-houses in these days, and cannot afford to be partial or unjust. Surely subordination to episcopal authority is alone consistent with true Catholic doctrine and the oldest Catholic practice.

(*c*) Central Council of Diocesan Conferences.

PAPER.

The Honourable Wilbraham Egerton, M.P., Rostherne Manor, Knutsford.

The Church of England has for the last half-century shown such vitality and power of adaptation to the wants of the age, by the revival of Convocation, the establishment of Congresses and Diocesan Conferences, that I need make no apology in bringing before you a new proof of the desire of Churchmen, and especially of the laity, for greater opportunities of freedom of discussion and united action in ecclesiastical matters.

Constitutions, as has been well said, are not made—they grow; and it is not to be expected that a newly constituted body, such as the Central Council, should arrive at once at a perfect form, or one which is not open to some criticism.

The Church of England has no general assembly, as the established Church in Scotland; nor a national synod, as the Disestablished Church in Ireland. Its convocations are provincial synods, not national; so that it may well be asked why it should not have such a central body, with greater freedom of action, and that, without separation from the State, which would be so prejudicial to both, but especially to the latter.

The House of Commons has long been by its constitution ill-fitted as a lay body to legislate for Churchmen.

Mr. Gladstone, on June 15th, 1871, speaking on the "Tables of Lessons" bill, admitted the incongruity of submitting to the legislature such details, "but such incongruities had on former occasions been cured by the good sense of the House of Commons. The House of Commons has felt that it was especially ill-constituted for the purposes of an Ecclesiastical Synod, and has been content to take a broad view of the measures submitted to it, and either to accept or reject them as a whole." That incongruity is more and more felt by Churchmen every day.

There is, therefore, a necessity, advocated at previous Congresses, for a body of Churchmen which will discuss the details of every Church Bill before it is submitted to Parliament, and which without legislative powers may, together with Convocation, have a recognised position, and exercise influence over members of Parliament.

The Diocesan Conferences, just as Chambers of Agriculture and Commerce, have been initiated and worked without any control of Parliament; and the influence of the latter on Parliament is undoubted, because they represent the united opinion of important classes of the nation. Why should not Churchmen, independently of party politics, do the same?

The Central Council of Diocesan Conferences and Synods is the legitimate out-come of those Conferences.

The late Bishop of Lichfield, influenced partly by his Colonial experience, long recommended and foresaw the establishment of such a body. "The time will probably come when every Diocesan Conference will send up its representative laymen to a general meeting, to assist with their advice the bishops and clergy assembled in Convocation." Archdeacon Emery, at the Croydon Congress, advocated this course, and as he has been one of the earliest supporters of Church Congresses, so he has been the prime mover in bringing this new body into operation. His untiring exertions ought to be publicly acknowledged.

The Secretaries of Diocesan Conferences, at their second meeting, held three years ago, at the offices of the Church Defence Institution, originated the proposal of forming a Central Council, to promote the consideration of all measures affecting the welfare and efficiency of the Church, and to obtain unity of action among the Diocesan Conferences, by recommending one or more special subjects for discussion by each Conference. The resolution passed at this meeting was forwarded by the Archdeacon of Ely, to the Archbishops and all Bishops of the provinces of Canterbury and York, "but no united or definite proposition from their lordships resulted." The bench of Bishops have generally maintained an attitude of reserve; but in most of the Conferences where this proposition was discussed, the feeling was either unanimous, or by considerable majorities in favour of nominating clerical and lay representatives. In several dioceses where no opportu-

nity offered to test the opinion of the Conferences, the bishops agreed to nominate members to the first meeting.

This is a short account of the origin of this body. I will now consider its present position :—

Twenty out of the twenty-four Diocesan Conferences have appointed three Lay and three Clerical representatives; only one Conference—Bath and Wells—suggested another plan. There are only four Dioceses which have no Diocesan Conferences—London, Llandaff. Newcastle, and Worcester; of these London, and I trust Newcastle, will before long follow the example of the rest.

The Central Council does not interfere with Convocation, which has already appointed a committee to discuss it, and reported in favour of it to the effect

"That in the opinion of this House, the best way in which 'the simultaneous discussion in the various Diocesan Conferences and Synods of subjects of general and pressing importance, and concerted action in matters affecting the interests and efficiency of the Church at large, may be secured,' would be to invite the agency of the Assembly called the 'Central Council of Diocesan Conferences,' consisting of united Delegacies of three Clerical and three Lay Members, nominated by each of the Diocesan Conferences. And that the Central Council be requested to consider what special subjects (one or more) it would be desirable for all the Conferences to unite in discussing in the course of each coming year, and to forward their recommendations to their lordships the Bishops, the Presidents of the respective Conferences."

The Lower House also discussed the question of Diocesan Conferences, and passed a resolution, carried without division—

"That this House recognises with much satisfaction the useful work for the Church which has been done by Diocesan Conferences, and trusts that the appointment of the Central Council will consolidate that work, and enable Convocation with more ease to inform itself of the results of the several Conferences, and so ascertain especially the judgment and wishes of the Lay members of the Church."

The action of the Council has, therefore, been limited to the discussion of subjects on which the Diocesan Conferences have already expressed an opinion, and to the suggestion of others, "that so, the general opinion of the Church at large may be obtained on matters affecting its welfare; with a view of their being brought prominently, if thought desirable, before the Convocation and Parliament."

There may well be, however, a natural disposition not to be satisfied with these restrictions, and a probability of the movement assuming larger proportions. I am prepared to admit that at present it is only in a tentative state, and that if it is to become a permanent body, its representative machinery may be more complete and defined, and it might be summoned, as suggested by Convocation, by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

These admitted defects have been the foundation of the jealousy with which the rise of this body has been received by some, at least, of our prelates.

At Salisbury, where the Diocesan Conference takes the name of a *Synod*, but which is in no wise more representative than some of the Conferences, many objections were taken to it, and on a division upon a motion of Lord Nelson, that representatives be sent to the Central Council, it was lost by a majority of (39 to 109) 70.

I will notice some of the objections, and endeavour to answer them. It was contended (1) that it interfered with Convocation; but Convocation itself is not alarmed, and the chairman of the Executive Committee of

the Council is the late respected Prolocutor of the Lower House, the Dean of Lichfield, who is not likely to do anything to detract from or injure the influence of Convocation.

(2) That it was not sufficiently representative; if the representation were more numerous the body would be unwieldy, and if the constituencies are unequally represented from the varied constitution of the Conferences, that is a matter which can easily be remedied, and does not affect the principle.

(3) It is not a Lay representative body, and stands in the way of the formation of such a body. If it was merely a Lay body it would not represent the two elements of Diocesan Conferences, and there is an advantage in those cases where members of Convocation are returned as representatives, that they form an unofficial link between Convocation and the new body, which may have useful results.

(4) The Bishop of Salisbury found fault with it because it had a "Lay archbishop," and no bishops were on the Council. Mr. C. H. Raikes, M.P., the late chairman of Committees, is well fitted to preside over a new body; but even if he were not, as it is objected his successor might not be, that is no valid argument against the council.

Convocation itself is anomalous in its constitution; in the Northern province the archbishop and bishops sit and vote with the Lower House; and in the Southern they sit and vote by themselves. Is this irregularity a reason why Convocation should not sit at all? The English constitution is full of such anomalies. Are Churchmen to wait till they have a reformed Convocation and a representative lay body? Well, they may have to wait for some time.

(5) Canon Sir J. Phillips said it would be a bear garden which the chairman could not control. There have been three numerously attended meetings, and the discussions have been conducted in a moderate and temperate, yet earnest spirit, which augurs well for the future, and will bear favorable comparison with any deliberative assembly in the country.

(6) It was said to contain germs of a most dangerous development, and to be a mixture of clergy and laity of a character to which Church history could afford no parallel. When the history of this quarter of a century is written, it will be found that a more grave departure from Church precedents has already been sanctioned by archbishops and bishops in ecclesiastical legislation, and I trust that this scheme will not be so disastrous in its consequences as the measure to which I allude. It is not founded on the letter of any precedent, but it is not against the spirit of ecclesiastical policy to make use of the best materials which you have at hand; and it is now an accomplished fact which we have to deal with. It has a fair prospect of permanency as long as it confines itself to the work which it has undertaken to do. It has already made valuable contributions to the discussions on Patronage, Tithes, the Extension of Church Services, the Education Code, Bishop of London's Bill, and summed up the decisions of the Conferences. It has circulated accurate reports of the position of all Church bills before Parliament through the medium of its publications, and its executive Committee, elected by the general body, has held several meetings, and placed themselves in communication with members of both Houses of Parliament, with reference to measures affecting the welfare of the Church.

The only alternative to such a body would be a formally constituted Synod of Clergy and Laity, alluded to by the Bishop of Salisbury; but even if it were appointed, it could not act legally without obtaining the sanction of Parliament, and at the present time unless the relations of Church and State were gravely endangered, an appeal to Parliament for such an object is a step to be deprecated on the part of Churchmen.

In reviewing the question generally, the real difficulty about a lay representative body, whether as part of Convocation or independent of it, is that as long as Parliament is, and it is likely long to be, the great lay council of the nation, no other assembly can have any legislative power. That weakness inherent in the Central Council is shared equally by Convocation, Congresses, and Diocesan Conferences. An attempt has been made by this informal body to remedy as far as possible the defects of Parliament as a body for dealing with Church affairs; and I wish to make a suggestion regarding it, which I have before ventured to make at the Croydon Congress.

Looking at the admitted deadlock in the business of the House of Commons, and the proposal by the Prime Minister to have grand committees sitting on different subjects to relieve it in its work, it seems desirable that there should be a grand committee on ecclesiastical matters, which might be composed either of members of Parliament, or of members of both Houses, for which there are precedents. It would be advantageous that some of these should be selected from members of Parliament who are representatives of the Central Council, and who would thus be able to ascertain the feeling of the Church before legislation was attempted, and to represent their views on the grand committee, and if the House of Lords were represented by some of the bishops, all parties in the Church and state would have an opportunity of conferring together on the great questions affecting the prosperity of the Church, which are now raised.

Moreover, when we see the difference of opinion on great questions, such as the Patronage of the Church, and the relaxation of the Parochial system, such subjects should be thoroughly discussed by a representative body outside Parliament, and the divisions of Churchmen should not be paraded as they often have been in the debates of Parliament.

The House of Commons of the present day rather follows than leads the opinion of the country, and I believe that it only requires Churchmen to be united to have greater power in the House of Commons than they now have. The Bishoprics Bill, a measure on which Churchmen on both sides of the House were generally united, was passed in spite of the opposition of the political Nonconformists.

I wish, before concluding, to revert to the objection that the Council is a self-constituted body. It must be remembered that the Diocesan Conferences are to a certain extent the creation of each individual bishop, and three of the dioceses have not adopted them. The suggestion was made in Convocation that the Archbishop of Canterbury should summon representatives from each Conference to form a Central body, but that is not likely to be done till all the Conferences are formed. Until, therefore, the Archbishop undertakes the reform of Convocation by a better representation of the Parochial Clergy, and summons a lay representative body, as proposed by the resolution of Lord Alwyne Compton, the present Central Council supplies a link between Con-

vocation and Parliament; and when its organisation is complete, it may be found to stand without extraneous aid, and to have sufficient weight to accomplish its ends by its independent action.

I have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to set before the Congress the aims and objects of the Central Council, feeling sure that it only requires a better acquaintance with them to remove any prejudice or alarms which may be entertained by some as to the character of its proceedings.

The Church of England requires greater freedom of action and deliberation, not only for the clergy, but for the laity. The clergy, when Convocation is reformed, will have their representation in Convocation, while the laity should have better means of discussing and deliberating on Church affairs than they now possess in Parliament. It is because I believe that the Central Council will indirectly tend to remedy both these deficiencies that I confidently advocate its support.

ADDRESS.

The Rev. Canon HOWELL EVANS, Vicar of Oswestry.

A ROPE of sand does not possess much strength, and what better type is there of the organisation which at present exists amongst the laity and clergy of the Church, either for meeting the assaults made on her by her foes, or for securing united action in that aggressive work which the Bishop of Lichfield told us in his opening address is so necessary. An army cannot advance or fight without organisation, was the remark of the honoured Bishop of Winchester; and yet if only this could now be obtained for our Church, uniting her laymen and ministers together for the vast work which lies before her, or for purposes of defence, what an irresistible power would belong to her. Only dwell on what has been done by her in the way of education, or of church building and restoration during the last twenty years, the enormous sum expended, and the zeal and energy shown, and some conception of her power may be formed. And yet, for the simple purpose of drawing up some few extra services so much needed, or for moulding and amending, for rejecting or passing one of the score of Bills touching her most closely, introduced into Parliament, how little weight does she possess as a body, and where is there any means of making the united voice of her laity and clergy heard? The smallest sect has more weight in the House of Commons, more power to secure the passing of any desired measure, than the great Church of England. Ask the Statesman, anxious to serve the interests of that Church to which he belongs, to help or guard them, and he will tell you how tied his hands are, because of the resolute independence of her members, and because there is no way of ascertaining the real opinion of the great body of Churchmen. Whilst on the other hand there is no doubt but that any measure on which Churchmen, lay and clerical, are agreed, could be easily carried by them if only expression could be given to that agreement. It is no answer—"Get your agreement first; where is it?" It does exist on many important points, a thorough and substantial agreement, as, for instance, to remedy the abuses of Church Patronage, to reform Convocation, to amend the Dilapidations Act, and to secure additional services for work amongst the masses, as well as to reject most of the Bills lately introduced into Parliament, and, shall I add,

amongst them that of Mr. Albert Grey on its present basis. One great feature of the present day, for which all are most thankful, is the hearty co-operation of the laity and clergy, their longing to work together; the realising that the clergy are not the Church, but only ministers of the Christian body, that in all connected with the Church, her services, her buildings, her endowments, her work of winning souls, the laity are the most deeply concerned of all; and not only their gifts of money, but their wisdom, business habits, practical knowledge, powers of speech, intellect, influence, are being freely offered and gladly spent for the work of Christ. What wonder, then, that the *need*, the desire of some means of working together, of taking counsel together on the part of the whole body of laity and clergy has given rise not only to this Church Congress, but to the various Diocesan Conferences: to the organisation, that is, of the different dioceses throughout the country. It is hard to measure what the fruit of them is, but, wherever established, only those who fear zeal, and to whom the quietness even of stagnation appears a desired haven of rest, would say, "We could do without them now." But together with this organising of our dioceses, as must needs have been the case, there has sprung up a longing for a completing of the system. We are not a Congregational body; not even a mere series of separate dioceses, but a Church—the one branch of the Catholic Church in England, and therefore, whilst bearing in mind the importance of diocesan organisation, it is yet felt that more than this is needed, that the strength of our Church may be focussed and brought to bear in various ways on the work that is to be done. And how is this to be effected? How is there to be this uniting into *one* of the forces of the laity and clergy of the different dioceses throughout the land? What practical way can be found of meeting this great and urgent want? Does Convocation supply it? A great and venerable name, and body, to which we give full honour—unreformed though it be. But there is no room for the laity there; to admit them would be to destroy it. Whilst to imagine for one moment that they will consent to send representatives to wait outside and dance attendance in its ante-chamber, is to call up a dream, and to close the eyes to what is practical and possible. Whilst the existence of the two Convocations would add another difficulty. And yet there must be a body in which clergy and laity shall meet on an equal footing to work together in perfect union for the welfare of the whole Church. Surely the Central Council of Diocesan Conferences supplies this need, and we possess in "it" the body we require. Almost every diocese does now, soon every diocese will possess its own special Conference, and representatives from these Conferences of clergy and laity, elected by the different dioceses, do constitute such a united and representative body as is required: and that it is so, has been already recognised by no less than twenty-one dioceses—the small minority will, we hope, not long hold aloof, and we trust ere long, when the work of the Council is consolidated, that the bishops will find it safe to bid the door open to them. The place of honour will be gladly yielded to them, and then the bond of union will be complete. I will venture to say, the proceedings of the Council hitherto may well challenge the support of all Churchmen. It gives expression to the opinion of the Church at large, as shown by the resolutions passed at the Diocesan Conferences, whilst on the other hand it seeks to ascertain the most urgent needs of the Church and the most pressing questions, and to suggest them as subjects for discussion to the different dioceses—observe, it makes no claim to dictate to any Conference what it shall discuss, it does but *suggest* to each

diocese, with its bishop at its head, those questions which, in the opinion of the representatives of all the dioceses, are most urgent for consideration. It is itself purely representative, all its strength consists in giving unanimous expression to opinions arrived at by the Church at large. It is work which lies outside the sphere of Convocations; it is work which, though as yet Diocesan Conferences have no one basis of representation, is in nowise hindered by this, and yet it is work the importance of which will appear more and more as vital questions concerning the Church are brought before Parliament. It is a moderate and yet a real movement towards organising our Church, and as such demands the support of all. It was the remark, I believe, of an American bishop—"When the Church of England is disestablished she must organise herself; if only she would organise herself beforehand, she never would be disestablished."

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. THEOPHILUS BENNETT, M.A., Bepton Rectory, Midhurst, Surrey.

SINCE the Congress opened we have heard a good deal about the battle of Tel-el-Kebir (where I had a son), and if there is one thing to be learnt from that battle, it is the importance of "touch." The bill which Mr. Grey has introduced to our notice will, I think, if passed into law, keep up *touch* amongst us. I am not, therefore, opposed to that bill. There is a good deal in a name, and the name I delight in most is that of minister. I think it is the duty of the clergyman to minister to the laity and to endeavour to act as much as possible in conformity with the laity. For that reason, I rejoice in parochial councils. I recollect at the Nottingham Congress being hooted at and hissed because I advocated parochial councils, and one of the objections urged against them seemed to be that if they were adopted the old ladies could no longer find fault with the clergymen. I heard of one old lady going to her minister and saying, "You think by your parochial council to escape my censure, but I shall blame *you* all the same." It seems to me that it is the tendency of old ladies to find fault with the clergy; but I should be glad to take the laity into my confidence, and hear what they have to say. Many of my brethren, the clergy, do not agree with me with regard to School Boards. I was told by my diocesan, that if I had the misfortune to see a School Board established in my parish I should try to get on the Board. I am one of those old-fashioned clergymen who like to obey their bishop, and, accordingly, I did my best to get on the Board. The Dissenters did their best to keep me off. But, next to a good friend it is well to have a good enemy, and my enemy was so virulent that he sent me in at the top of the poll. I had the opportunity of seeing the working of that Board for six years, during which time I occupied the post of chairman. We had a lot of quarrelling at first, but when we did settle down to work we did so in real earnest, and I think we improved the educational machinery of the district. Therefore, having seen the working of a School Board, I, for one, have no fear of the working of a Church Board. Mr. Grey tells us that we should always keep disestablishment in view. Well, perhaps there are not many at this Congress who have been vicars of the disestablished church in Ireland. I have had that honour. I succeeded as vicar the late Bishop of Cork, and I recollect the time when it was thought that the disestablishment of the church of the sister country was almost impossible. It came, however. The best way, in my opinion, to prevent disestablishment in England, is for the clergy and the laity to work together like one man, and I think the establishment of Church Boards would enable them to do that. I must allude to Mr. Heygate's A B C of the parish. He quoted a friend who divided his parishioners into "absenters, beerscenters, consenters or churchmen, and dissenters." I must confess that the absenters are the most troublesome people to deal with, but I think that if we were all in earnest and thorough we should soon diminish them. With regard to the beerscenters, it has been proved by the revenue returns, that they are getting into a minority. We have seen plenty of blue ribbons at this Congress, and I hope the movement which is now on foot will have the effect of diminishing the beerscenters very considerably. At the same time,

I hope that the consenters, or churchmen will increase and multiply, and that we shall not see much more of the dissenters, for it has been proved that every Church Congress that is held goes far to sound the death-knell of dissent, in whatever locality it assembles.

GEORGE HARWOOD, Esq., Bolton.

THE last speaker began by referring to "touch"; I would refer to touchiness; for it seems to me, judging from the reception given to the first and last papers, that the clergy are much more touchy about sharing power with the people than they expect the bishops to be about sharing power with them. The question, however, is not what is pleasant, but what is prudent; and anyone who looks at the political future cannot help seeing that, if we mean to preserve our Church as a national institution, we must bring it into harmony with democratic requirements. All democratic institutions must work on the principle of representation as well as on that of co-operation. Co-operation without representation is a sham, and the people will not be put off with it. We must have representation; that is the principle to go upon. The next question is, How must that representation be worked? You must find a basis of representation, and I say you can find no basis so practical or so hopeful as that suggested by Mr. Grey. I object to the spirit in which some people seem to regard this proposal. It is said that if the proposal were agreed to, we should have atheists coming in and meddling with the affairs of the Church. I suppose that if any clergyman could get an atheist to join in the services of the Church he would be glad of it, and surely there would be nothing more shocking in getting him to participate in the secular affairs of the Church than there would be in getting him to participate in its spiritual affairs. Is there not a chance that he may be brought through the organic into the spiritual? It is said also that you would have all kinds of meddlesome people interfering, and we have heard too much about the A B C D of the parish. Well, it seems to me that the position of the Church of England is too noble, and its prospects are too great, to allow the question to be treated in this way. I was brought up a Dissenter, and to suppose that the Dissenters as a body will come forward and meddle with the Church's affairs in this spirit, is to do them a gross injustice. I am an employer of working-men, and live amongst them, and my experience teaches me that if a clergyman is genuine—hard-working, self-sacrificing—he may have almost any kind of service he likes. The people generally care very little about those differences over which the clergy get so extravagantly excited, and they have an instinctive unwillingness to meddle with such matters. But these Church Boards would be a great opportunity for widening the influence of the clergy. We have heard complaints that the clergy have no political power; that they cannot go to Parliament, and, consequently, cannot act on the political mind of the country. Now I believe these Church Boards would give the clergy an opportunity of exercising an immense influence upon the political and social life of the nation. Do not forget that the proposal includes this condition, that no change can be made against the will of the clergyman without the consent of the bishop—and the bishops are certainly not the rashest of men. One word in conclusion. We all admire and strive after faith in religion. Heaven forbid that we should not value it, if possible, even more than we do. But there is another faith that I should like to see added to this—another faith that I should like to see more broadly practised in our Church—and that is faith in humanity: faith in our fellow-men, in our fellow-countrymen. The masses are becoming more and more our masters; let us take them into our confidence; let us think the best of them; let us have faith in them, and I am sure that we shall thus be best able to solve the difficult problems which lie before us.

The Rev. R. M. GRIER, Vicar of Rugeley, and Prebendary of Lichfield.

I SUPPOSE there is no clergyman in this hall who does not believe that the autocracy of the clergy ought in some way to be checked. The clergy at present are often too irremovable; if they prove unfit for their posts, it is impossible to get rid of them. But I do not think that the autocracy of the clergy needs checking because they have

introduced changes into public worship. It ought to be borne in mind that in three parishes where attacks have been made on the clergy for introducing unaccustomed ritual, the pastors have had their parishioners with them. It was found impossible to attack Mr. Mackonochie, except through a layman who did not reside in the parish, but who was the owner of a building in it; it was impossible to assail Mr. Enraght, except through the agency of a layman, who was refused re-election as churchwarden for his pains; and Mr. Green was prosecuted by three men who never went to Church, and one of whom had been only six months out of prison. Our present troubles arise out of legislation for the Church by Parliament as at present constituted. We believe that a body which includes within its borders men of all religious opinions, and of none, ought not to legislate for the Church. Mr. Grey proposes to establish a small Parliament of the same kind in every parish in the country. That would only make confusion worse confounded. We want Parliament to have less, not more, power than it has in ecclesiastical affairs. It is true that Dissenters do not, as a rule, interfere with our parochial matters, but by this bill they are positively invited to meddle with them. Mr. Grey tells us that the churchwardens have hitherto had considerable power, and he points out that they are elected by the ratepayers. Well, there was some reason for churchwardens being elected by the ratepayers when church-rates existed. Now that church-rates have practically ceased to exist, it is proposed that more churchwardens shall be elected by the ratepayers, and that they shall have more power. Why should the ratepayers elect the churchwardens? What special value is there in the compulsory payment of a certain sum towards the relief of the poor? Why should this qualify a man to say what should be the form of the worship of the Church of England? The worship of the Church of God, we have been told, is a secular matter. I deny it. It is essentially a spiritual one. It may be said that it would be impossible to have an atheist elected to serve on a Church Board. But an atheist has been elected to Parliament, and there is no certainty, therefore, that we should not have atheists made members of Church Boards, if the electors to the one were the electors to the other. Mr. Grey has made merry with the communicant test. I have no doubt something is to be said against it, but surely we may also make merry with the ratepayers test. I do not see why almost any test should not be as good as that of the ratepayers, and why you should not ask for a Church Board composed of men with noses not distinctly Roman. I think Mr. Grey forgets that for the most part truth has been with minorities. Our Blessed Lord tells us plainly that many are called, but few are chosen. That great and noble man who has just passed from us, Dr. Pusey, when he first endeavoured to throw life into the Church of England, was met by vehement opposition. Now that he is gone, he is everywhere praised and honoured. I mention this to show that we are much like the Jews in our Lord's days; we first persecute the prophets and then build their sepulchres. Faith in majorities seems to be the vice of all Liberal legislation. We ought first to find out what is true, and then, if we can induce majorities to accept it; but to say that because a thing is accepted by a majority it is right and true, is misleading. Then Mr. Grey should remember that the independence of the clergy is of great importance to this country. They ought to be the teachers of morality and religion, and therefore ought not to be fettered by interested people around them. Nor are the clergy the only persons who ought to be checked. Noblemen and landowners require restraint as well. If a young nobleman runs away with a neighbour's wife, and when she has been divorced and he has married her, brings her to a town where there are large numbers of people who have his custom, he is probably received with welcome, and if the clergyman protests he is looked upon as injuring the trade of the place. The Church Board under Mr. Grey's bill would be composed for the most part of men who would take the part of the landowner against the clergyman. I am speaking of what I know, and I say that if you have Boards to keep the clergy in check, you ought also to have Boards to keep the nobility in check. A great deal is sacrificed to trade. As to the danger of disestablishment, I can only say that the Establishment would be safer if people thought less about it. It is the duty of the Church, as Mr. Grey nobly said, so to work as to hasten the coming of the Son of Man. The business of the clergy, therefore, is to do what they can to win people to Christ; if we do that, we may leave the Establishment to take care of itself. Some time ago, persons in high position thought they were strengthening the Church by giving judgments which no one can think sound, and by passing a law which every one now considers mischievous. Experience has proved that no men ever struck a heavier blow at the principle of religions Establishment in this country than they have done.

The Rev. HARRY JONES, Prebendary of St. Paul's.

THE speaker who has just sat down told you that he spoke of what he knew. I shall endeavour to do the same. I think there is an alarm in many minds about these Parish or Church Boards as if they were new things, whereas, as far as I understand the proposals, or the principles which lie at the root of them, they are really a revival of one of the oldest forms of procedure in the Church, and which associated more closely than is realised now the clergyman and his lay parishioners. I cannot announce to you that I have myself seen the working of such a Church Board as Mr. Grey would like to see legalised, but for the past nine years I have been in close connection with a vestry. The vestry I refer to is that of a parish which has gained a somewhat unfortunate notoriety during the last twenty-five years; I mean the vestry of St. George's-in-the-East. After the ordinary municipal business of the vestry is concluded, occasionally the clerk of the Board calls "Church Committee," whereupon a large number of the members—the vestry is elected by the ratepayers—go into Church business, and I myself never heard anything so serious or so terrible as seems to have crossed the minds and terrified the imaginations of some of the speakers to-day. Where it is a genuine co-operation, I think the clergyman ought to be thankful to hail the opportunity of working with his parishioners, and, if he is prepared to give and take, I cannot foresee any difficulty. Having had experience of the working of the Church Committee I have alluded to, I should not be afraid of lay co-operation in a legal shape. One reason why Church Boards are looked upon with terror by some, is that they are regarded as very unchurchlike. People dread their interference with the clergy. Well, one phase of this operation of theirs would, I think, appear in a very wholesome watching of the parish, and the result would be that ritualistic proceedings which were disliked by the bulk of the parishioners could not be introduced by a man who had merely his own fads in the matter. But there is another thing to be considered. Church Boards might protect the minister. If there had been a Church Board at Miles Platting, we should not have now the terrible scandal of a clergyman lying in gaol for month after month. I say the Church Board would not only protect the parishioners from the clergyman who might be injudicious in his procedure, but it would also protect the clergyman himself. Of course this would involve a relaxation of legislation, and I myself should be glad to see the law about which most quarrels have arisen thoroughly relaxed. I should like to make it impossible to break the ornaments rubric by removing it altogether. I was talking to a distinguished authority on the question a short time ago, and he said that if that rubric were relaxed we should soon have a man in the pulpit with a red coat on. Well, what if we had? It would be so ludicrous that the common sense of the public would at once put an end to such a thing. But such is the naughtiness of the human heart that, if we had a distinct prohibition against men going into church with red coats on, we should immediately have a whole field of preachers in pink.

The Rev. C. J. THOMPSON, Vicar of St. John's, Cardiff.

IT has been remarked by the Chairman that the scantiness of the attendance this afternoon is no measure of the subject to be discussed. I venture to think that there is such a scanty attendance from one of two alternative reasons. I take it to show that either people think the bill of Mr. Grey is not wanted, or that they believe it to be, at present at any rate, outside the range of practical politics. Now Mr. Grey is a legislator, and I but a parish priest; but, speaking from the standpoint of a parish priest, I venture to think that my point of view may be quite as practicable as Mr. Grey's. The first thing I wish to say is, that I have no objection to the bill on the ground of its giving us an abundance of churchwardenship, for I have ten very good churchwardens in my own parish, and five lay preachers, whom you would scarcely distinguish by the vestments they wear in the discharge of their appointed duties, from myself. We have just had it from Mr. Grey himself, that the duty of his Church Boards would be to consult with the clergyman as to the arrangements of Divine Service. I take great objection to any such proposal. The Board which would regulate the Church Services might not even consist of baptized persons; it might contain members who greatly object to the free and open seat system; or who have violated in their marriages the prohibited degrees. I think there are very few parish priests who would consent to hold the offices they do on the tenure of such a condition. To talk of

a Church Board, where the only condition of membership is payment of rates, is to write impracticability on the very face of the bill. I pass on to my second point. Mr. Grey said, and I think we ought as far possible to welcome all suggestions for advancing the work of the Chuch, especially when they come from laymen—he said that the proposed Board was intended to forward the Church's mission. A body of this kind—of the unbaptized, unconfirmed and non-communicant, to forward the Church's mission! There are a number of such people, indeed, whom, I am glad to say, we hope to get baptized and confirmed. But how can we expect such people as these to forward the Church's mission? I will give an illustration. Some four or five years ago, the important office of sexton to our Mother Church of Cardiff became vacant, and I was made aware that there was a great wish to secure the man who at that time held office in the local Free Church schism. The leading spirit in the affair was a Dissenting undertaker of the most pronounced antipathy to the Church. I knew that if the vestry persisted in supporting this man, I must needs bend to the storm. A meeting was called, and the little vestry being filled, on my proposal we adjourned to the neighbouring school-room. I saw I had no power of resistance, and I therefore did not much care to resist. The man was appointed; and though I am glad to say that not long afterwards both he and his wife were prepared for Confirmation and Holy Communion, and there are now not two better Church people in the parish, yet it is clear that a very different result might have taken place. If Mr. Grey can make anything of this story, I will make him a gift of it. The moral I draw from it is, that it would be a very hazardous experiment to endeavour to fulfil the Church's mission in the particular way he proposes. I would adopt Lord Melbourne's saying, and ask those who are advocating schemes of this kind, "Can't you let it alone?" How is it that the Church has gained such a hold as she has to-day on the masses of the people? It is by earnest clergy, men who believe in their Divine mission, first gathering round them a faithful laity, communicant, believing, earnest-hearted Christians, and then working outwards from the centre, and so gathering the people to themselves. Surely this is still the only way in which the Church can meet the wants of the age. If Mr. Grey's bill be carried, and I do not believe in its present form it ever will be, we might very soon find ourselves left without any Church at all worthy of the name. There might be an establishment, a popular institution known as the Church, but it would not be the "Church of the Living God—the pillar and ground of the Truth."

The Rev. EDWARD BELL, Vicar of St. John's, Wakefield.

I ASK what is it that the Church wants? In my opinion, what the Church wants is a District Representative Assembly. When our diocesan conferences were began, now some twenty years ago, we were full of hope that these might eventually lead to such a Representative Assembly. But the one thing which we now complain of—and I think justly complain of—is that these conferences are not purely and distinctively representative. A speaker who preceded me, Mr. Egerton, said the Bishop of Salisbury gave several reasons why he did not encourage his own Conference to send representatives to the Central Council. I scarcely agree with Mr. Egerton when he says that the bishop gave several reasons. So far as I recollect the Bishop of Salisbury, at his last Conference, said that his reason for his not desiring the Salisbury Conference to send representatives to the Central Council in London, was because it was not representative. Some months ago the constitution of the Central Council was analysed in the *Guardian*. Out of forty-two members of that Council, three-fourths were found to be nominees. Those who dissent from that statement, can refer to the back numbers of the *Guardian*, where they can see the analysis. It may have been two-thirds, but if I recollect aright it was three-fourths, composed of archdeacons, and of other *ex-officio* members of their respective diocesan conferences. So long as the Central Council is not distinctly representative, it cannot, and will not obtain the confidence of the Church But where are we to look for the basis of a general representative assembly? We must look for such a basis in the diocesan conference. There are only three dioceses which approach to being purely representative. Salisbury, Oxford, and St. Alban's alone, approach to such a Constitution. Salisbury, to the honour of its Bishop, was from its origin so constituted, and Oxford by a distinct resolution of its Conference. In these conferences the only *ex-officio* members are the archdeacons. Until we can obtain in

all our dioceses, pure representative Conferences, it will be in vain to send representatives. We ought not to be laden with archdeacons, canons, and rural deans, as nominees, in our conferences. If the archdeacons sit in the conferences by the desire of the Episcopate, instead of being elected, it should be understood that they are ineligible to the Central Council. By this means the Central Council would become representative. Why should not the Church in England have its representative assembly, as the Church has them in all her Colonies? I have been present at the largest representative assembly of an Episcopal Church. I refer to the triennial Convention of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America: it consisted of four clerical, and four lay representatives, from every diocese in the United States. The Episcopal Church of America has diocesan conventions, consisting of elected members, and from the diocesan conventions are elected the representatives for the general or triennial Convention. The bishops at the triennial Convention form a separate house. This Convention as being representative, has the full confidence of the Church of the States. I do not wish to say a word against Church Boards, but I infinitely prefer organisation from within to legislation from without by means of Parliament. I wish we could see every member of the Church exercising his influence temperately, yet firmly, towards the attainment of this end, at the same time always rendering to the bishops the things which are the bishops'. In thus advocating that our diocesan conferences be purely representative, we are limiting in no way the functions which are peculiar to the Episcopate, but are only advocating a measure necessary to the organisation and development of the Church.

The Ven. W. EMERY, Archdeacon and Canon of Ely.

I WISH to say a few words on the question of the Central Council—a question with which I am very intimately connected. The preceding speaker seems to me not to have objected to the principle on which the Central Council is based, but rather to the details of the formation of that body. His text has been representation; and he hurls at the constitution, as he supposes, of the Central Council the same objections as he urges against diocesan conferences, viz, very imperfect representation, for he considers that there are only three or four conferences that are purely representative. I will merely state, in passing, that his objection would apply to the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and therefore it is a very wide objection, and one that, if assented to, would require the whole of the machinery of the Church to be reconstituted. I have taken a large part in the formation of diocesan conferences, in the promotion of the action of convocation, and in the origination of the Central Council; and my principle has always been to take what I could get and not to wait till I could obtain perfection. If we are never to move on until we have agreed among ourselves on the most perfect system, we shall never be able to work for the Church at all. The preceding speaker declared that he had gone carefully through the list of names in the Central Council and had found a large number who were simply nominees of the bishops. He must have been referring to the first meeting of the Council, and which was merely a tentative and informal one. The bishops were consulted and a great many gave in their adhesion, but as the diocesan conferences were not to meet for some time, some nominated members to act at the first meeting. But this is all altered now, and the two meetings that have taken place this year have not been meetings of bishops' nominees, but of those who have been sent up by the diocesan conferences, according to their own plans, with the assent of the bishops. I maintain that whilst we have episcopal government we cannot bind ourselves over or bind over our bishops to any hard and fast rule, or plan, or organisation, but must be content to let each diocese regulate itself as it thinks best, and be guided as far as it pleases by the results and working of other conferences. In forming the Central Conference care has been taken not to interfere with the internal doings of any conference, but simply to ask each conference to send certain representatives of their own choice. I am glad to say that we can now reckon twenty-one dioceses whose conferences have distinctly agreed to the principle for which we contend, and who have nominated or elected delegates for the Central Council. There are a few conferences which have not yet been consulted on the subject, and I cannot therefore say that they are in favour of sending representatives, but from my knowledge of members of these conferences I know that many are in favour of so doing, and only await the consent of their bishops. These are the conferences of York, Durham, Liverpool, London, and Exeter. The three dioceses that

have no conferences are Worcester, Llandaff, and Newcastle, and there are three diocesan conferences, Oxford, Bath, Gloucester and Bristol, before which the question is to be brought by the advice and consent of special committees of those conferences, and I have good hope that when the subject is discussed these dioceses will send representatives. On the whole, I think it is a wonderful result, and one to be most thankful for, that in two years we should have been able practically to get the large majority of the dioceses to send representatives to form a central body, not for the purpose of acting against Convocation, but with it; not against the bishops, but with them; not to advise new systems and new ideas, but to gather up into one the views of churchmen as expressed by all the diocesan conferences of the kingdom, to do their best to bring those views before the public, and, by humbly suggesting topics for discussion, to gather up by means of the conferences and the council the opinions of the Church on pressing and important matters. I have good hope and belief that the Central Council, having got through its earlier difficulties, will prove a most useful and valuable body in the Church of England. It is preparing a body of intelligent and most influential church laymen of all political parties to act together, and who, whenever Convocations can agree to consult them, will be ready to meet and advise with the authorities of the Church, and help to promote its best interests. I am very thankful for this, and I trust that in the few dioceses that remain we shall obtain for the Central Council general approval, and very soon have unanimity on this point. One great objection that has been urged against us is that we are likely to go too fast. Some people, however, say that we do not go fast enough. The only thing is to do what we can for the present, and leave the future, humbly trusting to the help of the Good Spirit to perfect our organisation, and guide our deliberations and doings as may be best for the glory of God and the welfare of His Church.

The Rev. W. O. PURTON, Kingston-by-Sea, Brighton.

I AM pleased to follow Archdeacon Emery here, as at the Leicester Congress. I have watched the proceedings of the Central Council with the greatest interest, as I believe that body has begun a good work, whatever may be the end of it, and I have good hope that its deliberations will be of great practical benefit to the Church as regards both the clergy and the laity. My impression is that if we had had some representative body like this twenty or thirty years ago, the divisions which are now harassing the Church would have been to a great extent prevented. That the Diocesan Conference movement, of which the Central Council is a part, has grown so strong and so successful, is largely due to the tact, large-heartedness, patience, and ability of Archdeacon Emery.

DRILL HALL.

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 5TH.

The Right Rev. The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE:

(*a*) THE UPPER CLASSES.
(*b*) THE DWELLINGS OF THE POOR.
(*c*) THE RECREATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

(*a*) THE UPPER CLASSES.

PAPER.

The Very Rev. ARTHUR P. PUREY-CUST, Dean of York.

I AM not responsible for the title of the subject which, at the Bishop's request, I have undertaken to bring before you, but I suppose that I must be responsible for the definition thereof, or at least for some definition, for the title is vague, and I am left to myself to say what is actually comprised therein. What is meant by "the Church," and who are the "Upper Classes." I can only say as regards them both what I understand them to be, and how they mutually affect each other.

As regards "the Church" I may shortly say, I understand "the Church of England," composed of laity and clergy, as she exists now, as "for better for worse" I find her to be—wide in her comprehension, manifold in her constitution, embracing in her loving arms men of widely differing apprehension and expression of Divine truth, but held together by a clear and loyal acceptance of Common Sacraments and Common Creeds; the Church of England of 1882, the complex, wonderful, grand outcome of the controversies, the persecutions, the labours of the past. A Church marvellously suited to meet the wants of the intelligent, busy thinking men of this generation.

Well, I am to speak to you of the "Upper Classes" of this Church, and my tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth as I utter those words, for there is something in the ring of them which seems to speak of separation, alienation, and want of sympathy, and yet it is only seeming, for although there must, I suppose, always be such distinctions amongst us in word, it is only, or almost only, in word that the distinction exists. I entirely repudiate the phrase, which I hear sometimes, of "the growing alienation between the 'upper' and 'lower classes.'" I believe it to be utterly untrue, and the exact opposite to be the case. That there may be less severance than there is, even now, we may hope, but that it ever has been less, would be a very difficult, if not impossible, statement to prove. Perhaps the picturesque and paternal attitude of

the days when Sir Roger de Coverley went to Church, may have passed away, but, to my mind, there is something even better now, something more compatible with true intelligence, independence, and unselfishness. And when I hear of the ladies of the "upper classes," yes, even the greatest lady in the land, God bless her, taking such deep and personal interest in the moral, spiritual, and temporal welfare of all, and doing personal acts of kindness to the sick, the suffering, and the fallen—when I hear of men of rank, and wealth, and talent (the mention of any one of whose names would elicit a cheer from this meeting), not only standing on platforms, but at bed sides, and in Sunday Schools—when I contemplate what their munificence has done in the Churches and Schools which they have provided, and in other substantial works too many to enumerate, I cannot regret the by-gone days of seclusion in the square pew at Church, and in the four horse family coach during the week; even though the squires and their ladies were greeted with bare heads and low curtsies on Sundays, and sometimes condescended to bestow a pat on the head to the younger, and a dole or an alms-house to the older generation around them. I may be mistaken. I hope that I am not unfair to those who have passed away, and are not present to defend themselves. I dare say that there are exceptions to this rule as to any other, but, in spite of some unwelcome features amongst us, I don't believe that if different classes of society are to exist, as I suppose they must exist, there has ever been a better understanding between them than at present.

And of this Upper Class, which commences in the very presence of the sovereign herself, and is identified with all the great schools in the Church, high, low, and broad (for they are recruited from all classes, and, thank God, belong to no one of them exclusively); if I am to speak honestly, and neither flatter or defame it, I should say that there is much to admire and much to regret in it. I won't compare it with the Upper Class of days gone by, or with the Middle and Lower Classes of the present day. Such a comparison demands a just recognition of individual opportunities and liabilities which I, at least, am quite unequal fairly to assess, but, speaking as far as I can from experience, I should not give the monopoly or even the superiority of Spiritual Christianity to any *one* class—not even of the intellectual knowledge or consideration thereof, for I have found diligent students and hard thinkers and independent minds and Christ-like lives in every class. Human nature is much the same in all classes, though selfishness, and pride, and sensuality may appear in fairer or darker guise. Be he as an Angel of Light, or as a roaring lion, the devil is still the devil, and the deeds which he instigates, and the passions which he inflames earthly, sensual, and devilish, however rough or polished. And if human nature has to deal with ease, refinement, luxuries, and accomplishments, it will be found rendering a very mixed stewardship, ranging from the sensuality and selfishness which makes even Dives, in his purple and fine linen, so loathsome and repelling, to that high standard of refined purity, humility, and unselfishness, which makes us, even now, sometimes tempted to doubt whether the gods have not come down in the likeness of men.

I will not then claim for the "Upper Classes" a superiority or inferiority, according to their opportunities, in the Spiritual life, as compared with others around them. The city which is set on a hill has

its disadvantages as well as its advantages ; its lights may be exaggerated, and its shadows distorted, and there are plenty of toadies and scandal-mongers to do both.

But the Upper Classes have their own special power for helping on God's work, and if I may venture to do so, I should like to remind them in what I think their special power, for good or for evil, in this generation, consists, and point out some, at least, of the channels in which this power may be most profitably exerted.

The great power, then, of the Upper Classes in these days I believe to be the power of example. Every one has this in some degree, but as long as there is an Upper Class, it must belong to that class in a very special degree. The country has become more democratic and may probably grow more democratic still. And just in proportion will there be an increasing sensitiveness of any attempt on the part of the Upper Classes, to instruct or lecture, and a growing inclination to repudiate and resent it. But the power of example will, I think, increase rather than diminish. Men and women no doubt outwardly repudiate it, but they inwardly affect it ; and what is done or said by persons of position or title, what their domestic, or social, or religious life is, or is supposed to be, has an influence in forming manners and opinions, and creating the complexion of society, more than perhaps they themselves are, or can be, aware of. Whether this is a good thing or a bad thing I don't say, but I say that it is so, that it always will be so, and that instead of ignoring it, or repudiating it, it is wiser to recognise it as the ordering of God's providence, and to take heed that it may be so exercised as to be a help, not a hindrance ; a support, not a stumbling block, to those around.

First, then I look to the Upper Classes to maintain by their example a tone of true liberality in religious matters throughout the body corporate ; I don't mean the liberality of latitudinarianism, which believes nothing, or only half believes, or half disbelieves anything, and therefore is very tolerant of all those who are likeminded with itself, and therefore very intolerant of all who have a definite creed; nor the liberality of indifference, which, like Gallio, cares for none of these things, and regarding all religion as superstition, alike that of self or of others, simply claims to go on undisturbed in its own worldly course; but the liberality which (fully convinced in its own mind) can be tolerant of others, and utterly uninfluenced by the wretched Shibboleths and party prejudices which still obtain amongst us. I can condone such things in the ignorant and half educated, but they seem utterly out of place in the "upper ten thousand." *They* ought to be above such things, and instead of encouraging and promoting them, to set their faces like a flint against them. If the Upper Classes cannot see that truth is many sided ; if they cannot perceive that the "narrow way" is not a mere rut, the width of each one's own proclivities, but as broad as Christ Himself ; if they cannot tolerate any who do not see with their eyes, and express their views as they do, neither more nor less; if they cannot discern the spirit which underlies much which may offend them, and admire and cherish it, instead of maligning and repudiating it ; if they cannot realise that the Church of England is no mere sect, no mushroom growth of yesterday, no froth of mere passing excitement, no creation of one man's brain, but comprehensive, and therefore grand and scriptural, and therefore worthy to be a National Church, and therefore to be maintained in every

part of its comprehensiveness. If they cannot see this, I know not who can. And I look to the Upper Classes to maintain a true temper and a generous large-hearted Christian spirit, which is of a great price, nay, which is indispensable to the solving of complex questions, and allaying unavoidable grievances affecting the real efficiency of the Church. And I do not want to see the Upper Classes allow this to be claimed as the monopoly of some prejudiced clique amongst themselves, or to sink into the hands of those who by their education and surroundings can only take narrow views on these subjects. I do not want to see the Upper Classes allowing themselves to be influenced by the writings and sentiments of those of whom they ought to be the teachers and not the disciples. It is their privilege, nay, their prestige, to be magnanimous and generous, to stand by the true-hearted, even if he dares to be unpopular, or fails to be perfect, according to the conventional standard of faith and practice. I look to them to exercise the influence and control which they are sure to have over the members of the school to which they belong, to counsel moderation in utterance, forbearance in action, patience in endurance, to claim for all the same treatment, as to what is allowed or disallowed, to take care that rubrics should be equitably construed and enforced all round, and that the lines of faith and practice should not be arbitrarily drawn with heavy penalties for one, and left vague and indefinite for others.

I look to the Upper Classes to make religous persecution impossible, persecution in courts, persecution in society, persecution anywhere, and in any shape, definite or indefinite, direct or indirect. I look to them to show by their example that they disapprove of it, and will have none of it, and I believe that herein there is a work—and a mighty work—to be done for Christ.

Secondly, I look to them for an example of living Faith. I believe that at this moment they have the privilege of being absolutely free in this matter. It was the fashion for men to profess to be believers; tests were jealously required in social as well as in public life; to acknowledge certain formulæ; to go to Church twice on Sundays if they wished to be considered respectable, once, at least, if they would not be thought reprobates; and, whatever their own faith or want of faith, they conformed. Now society is becoming more and more accustomed to see those who repudiate either alternative, and indeed Christian faith and obligations also, and of whom their fellows think none the worse; and this liberty which has justly been conceded to them, is, in its turn, growing into a *fashion* exercising a constraining influence upon others, who—perceiving that if they desire a reputation for independence or cleverness, they must abandon the old paths—are tempted to renounce what they have never really examined or appreciated. This change of sentiment is not altogether to be regretted, as it makes Christian profession more real and the attendance at Church, even though it be, as some say, less in number, all the more valuable. But this is just a matter where the consistent example of the members of the Upper Classes is of inestimable value. Our mouths are stopped, our remonstrances are vain. But if they do these things—not because it is still the fashion—but because, in spite of its even becoming the contrary, they believe in and value the truths, the sacraments and ordinances of the Church, their example will edify many and save not a few.

Thirdly, I look to the Upper Classes to promote the great cause of Temperance, in the forefront of which they ought to be, not only for their own sakes, for they have suffered really as much as any other class from the opposite, but also for God's sake, for they have a work herein to do, for God's and for their country's sake; for woe be to that nation where the "Upper Classes" are withholding their support from any great national movement, and appearing to regard that which the "Lower Classes" feel to be vital to their welfare as something to which they are indifferent, and not as a national movement. And if I have time to say one word on this subject, I feel that their influence and example are required (not to kindle the movement, that has been done long ago, or only to stimulate the movement, though they may do that too, but rather) to promote that spirit of moderation, which may enable all who abhor intemperance, whether abstainers or non-abstainers, to work side by side and hand in hand in the cause of National Temperance. Excess of zeal on one hand is provoking excess of impatience on the other, and many, in consequence, are hanging back from or deserting a movement which ought to have the sympathy and co-operation of all. I am not a teetotaller, though the friend and supporter of many who are, and I am not, therefore, pleading for an example of total abstinence. But I am conscious that if much has been done, much remains to be done, for if many evils have been abolished, many have been only manipulated. The cards, as it were, have only been shuffled, not a single knave has really been turned out of the pack, and they are simply being dealt out again in new combinations, that they may produce the same tricks as before. The consumption of stimulants is still, too generally, far beyond what is healthy, expedient, or necessary, and if we have abolished the long after dinner sittings, and copious libations of our fathers, we have found in the five o'clock teas, lawn tennis parties, picnics, matches, refreshment stalls, and a thousand other things, opportunities for what, to all intents and purposes, is the same. And if the Upper Classes are setting the example of drinking at any time and drinking at all times, they must not be surprised if others will follow them. Albeit, their stimulants are more refined, and they are teaching and warning their subordinates to do otherwise.

Fourthly, I look to the Upper Classes to promote, by their influence and example, purity of life in the interests, pursuits, and recreations in the world around them. That some are doing exactly the reverse, and prostituting their great opportunities to sensual and unholy purposes, admits, I am afraid, of no doubt; but I don't waste time and words on the scum of this great class. First, because they will neither hear nor read what I say, and will only scoff at it if they do; and, secondly, because I believe that such are but the scum, and not the great mass of what constitutes the "Upper Class" of to-day. But some are indolent as to doing anything in a cause of which they admit, nevertheless, the importance, and some are bewildered as to what to do, though they think that something ought to be done. I do not know that I can tell them, but I shall be very thankful if something practical may result from the discussion which I hope to provoke by this paper. I would simply appeal to them. Can you not do something, and whatever that something may be, it will be valuable, and whatever something is done, you must be the doers of it; to purify the stage, the literature (prose and poetry), the society papers, the tone and

conversation of the day? The demand creates the supply; you can, at least, abate the former, and your doing so will, in time, materially affect the latter. And if evil is encouraged and tolerated by you because wrapped up in refinement and culture, can you be surprised if it shows itself in more naked and less savoury forms a little lower down? The stage seems to be becoming an increasing attraction; is there not then, more than ever, need to endeavour to influence it? Is it necessary for wives and daughters, and heads of families, and brothers who profess to be jealous of their sisters' reputations, to sanction by their presence plays and operas, which, based upon some deed of sin or immorality, express in words or act what you know you would not countenance in daily life, simply because it is represented with skill and power, or accompanied by melody and harmony? Does the fact that a novel is clever or amusing absolve it, in your eyes, from the equal fact, only too transparently veiled, that it panders to unhealthy appetites, undermines principles, dissipates scruples, and insinuates inexpedient thoughts in the minds of those who read it? Is Poetry simply to be gauged by its poetic claims, without any consideration as to whether its noble powers are used to elevate faith and purity, or the reverse? Will you suffer to lie, unheeded by you, on your tables the weekly unsavoury records of frivolity, scandal, or worse, without any thought of the inconsistency of permitting these silent dispensers of what had far better have been unrecorded, to permeate the society of your houses with subjects which you would not dare to discuss at your dinner table, and to be far more greedily devoured, perhaps, and less delicately discussed by your households, who, of course, will regard what they find on their master's or mistresses table, as something for them to study and imitate? I believe that for weal or for woe, your example in these things is paramount. People do these things, read these things, tolerate these things, because they believe the Upper Classes do so; and though I am not so bold as to say that if you do the reverse so will they, still, I believe that there is a grave responsibility resting upon you with regard to these matters, to do what you can, and that the purity, the happiness,—nay, the very stability of our nation depend upon it.

And one word, if that inexorable bell will allow me to say it, as to how we, the clergy, should deal with the Upper Classes in the Church—certainly not as "lords over God's heritage," any attempt at this, they are sure to resent (and indeed there is sometimes on their part an unreasonable suspicion and unworthy apprehension of this, which they will do well to discard), but neither on the other hand by being in any unduly subservient way "servants of the flock."

I do not believe that they will respect us for being sycophants or toadies—rather our truest and wisest policy is, the honest exercise of that independence which is not the least of the advantages of the Established Church. That any of us will satisfy men of all parties is not to be expected, but there are certain qualities which are, or should be common to men of all parties, and those are required and respected by the Upper Classes, who are not slow to detect them, or ungenerous to recognise them. They expect us, I believe, whatever our views, to be earnest in them, to act, not from profession, but conviction; they don't want us to be the mere hangers on of society, they are willing to see us in their society, to concede to every Clergyman the status of a gentleman, as long as he

behaves as such, but they do not want us to forget that we are clergymen, and to sink the very character of the office which we hold for the sake of appearing what we are not; they are glad to see us take part in their recreations, perhaps to a greater degree than some of us would encourage, as long as they are our recreations, and do not take the place of sterner duties. A really hardworking clergyman need not be afraid, if his own conscience allows him to do so, to take his place in the lawn tennis court, or the cricket ground, or to be known as a good whip, or even a good shot. Muscular Christianity is believed in, not despised by "the Upper Classes," but then it must be muscular *Christianity* whose zeal and earnestness in worldly things sink into insignificance when compared with the same qualities in spiritual things. Let a man be real and earnest in his duties, I am persuaded that he will receive general support. And so too of his opinions, if there is a little tendency to impatience as regards dogmatism and controversy, there will be no ill-feeling towards the man who, at proper times, speaks out plainly what he himself believes in no carping or uncharitable spirit as regards others. We shall gain no advantage by unhealthy suppressions, dilutions, and compromises, by endeavouring in this to be all things to all men, and by adopting the spirit of Polonius, and affecting to see not only the clouds, but things far above the clouds, as to the great man whom we are speaking seems to wish.

The ecclesiastical tree-frog will earn nothing but contempt; narrow minded and prejudiced persons there are in every class, and the Upper Class even will condescend to snub and persecute, but consistency of life and reality of character win their way in due time, and even if the tardy exclamation, alas! my brother, is not uttered until our carcase is cast in the way, what matters; if we have fallen in the path of duty, we shall not have lived or died in vain.

ADDRESS.

FREDERICK ANTHONY WHITE, Esq.

WITHOUT defining again the sense in which "the Church" stands in the title. I would merely lay stress on the Dean of York's statement that it consists of both clergy and laity, as a fact to which I shall recur.

Neither will I redefine the term "Upper Classes." It is well understood, and conveys, as the Dean has told us, a distinction necessary, but not invidious.

There remain the terms: Domestic Life, Social Life.

By "domestic life" I understand the life of the family, the relations between inmates of the same home.

By "social life" is meant, I apprehend, the intercourse of the family with those outside: the relations between members of different homes.

If nothing had occurred to hinder or mar the Divine ideal, the Church life would be co-extensive with the domestic and social life of the nation. We all know, however, that from the earliest days, in varying degrees, these lives have diverged. Their perfect union will only be realised hereafter.

But although a large number of persons, who are almost unconsciously Churchmen, are living their social and domestic life heedless if there be a Church or no, it is happily true that there are multitudes of individuals, thousands of families, who, in spite of shortcoming and frailty, are recognising their high responsibility as members of Christ, and are carrying this into their daily life. They live with a realisation of the fact that they belong to a body corporate other than the body politic; and they expect from that body certain services in return for their fealty, just as is the case in their secular relations with the State.

Our subject then is: How is this reciprocal duty towards and from the Upper Classes of England being fulfilled to-day? Is the Church—the congregation of faithful men—enlarging its ground, recruiting itself from among the lukewarm or the hostile within and without the pale?

Who shall dare to answer so weighty a question; and yet who can be indifferent to the nature of the answer that might be given? Whatever it be, we must assume that if there be a gain it is all too small, and we do well to seek for the hindrances to such an extension of Church life that we may be led to find the remedies.

Many hindrances might be given. The following are among the most obvious; some of them were common-places in the days of our Lord and His Apostles.

(*a*). The demands upon time, fancied or real: "I have bought a piece of ground;" "I have married a wife," "Suffer me first to go and bury my father": one among many consequences of which is, that time is not given to the private study of God's word, to self-examination and devotion.

The worldliness of bringing-up.

The pleasantness of sin, or the extreme difficulty of breaking with it.

Custom.

Ambition of place and money, and the competition of social life, with their deadening effects.

The prevalence of agnostic philosophy taken up largely at second hand, and fostered by the cheap literature of the day.

Party spirit.

The inability to see in the Church as manifested that which attracts. This may be due to various causes, such as prejudice, indifference, a sense that the laity have too small a share in the Church's councils, and not least, to the smallness of the difference presented in their contact with each other between the worldly and the earnest, from which springs a *cui bono* feeling: "Who will show us any good?"

But, perhaps, no hindrances lie more nearly at the root of the evil than these two which I would emphasise:

(*b*) First, a vagueness of apprehension concerning the nature of the Church, and of our position towards it. Is the Church a body to which clergy and laity alike already belong, or are most of us outside of it? To judge by the common parlance it would seem that only those who take orders "go into the Church:" a fallacy which would involve the exclusion of all women. And, though doubtless, many who thus speak know better, yet I believe that this misuse of words does indicate (and not alone, though chiefly, amongst the laity) a widespread forgetfulness of the fact that every baptized person who has not sinned away his privilege—and of that we are not judges—is, in words taken from our Communion Office, "a very member incorporate in the mystical body of 'God's' Son, which is the blessed Company of all faithful

people." "For," as the Apostle reminds the Galatians, "as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ." (Gal. iii. 27.)

That this blessed Company is larger and wider than the Church of England is simply to say that the whole is greater than its part; but my point is that a very large proportion of the upper classes of England are, whether they are recognising the fact or not, members of Christ's Church: and that a great hindrance to the life of the Body is, that many such are acting as though they had no connection with it.

(*c*) Secondly, another hindrance appears to be that even where responsibility towards the Church as the Body of Christ is not entirely ignored, its nature is misapprehended, and its extent underrated. It seems, in fact, to be thought by some who admit the need of holiness, that there are three sorts of holiness; one, good enough provided you do not "profess;" another reserved for those who "go in for religion;" a third, proper to the clergy. Hence springs a failure in duty towards the whole body which is felt in every part, a lack of full understanding between clergy and laity, which shows itself in the absence of sympathy with each other in needs and difficulties, in failure and success, in sorrow and in joy. The special helps required by the laity are often imperfectly provided, while the clergy in their turn fail to receive due allowance for mistakes which are not wholly theirs.

There is not time to dwell on the more obvious remedies which these hindrances suggest: *e.g.* the teaching and influence of the clergy, their adaptation of sermons and services to the special requirements of their flocks, an intelligent and wise use of all the means of grace on the part of the laity, with a remembrance of the fact that we have gifts differing, and a general effort for consistency all round; such are a very few. But let us not forget that if the clergy are the *instructors*, as they rightly are of the laity, the *educators* are quite equally, if not more so, the laity themselves in their contact with each other. It is in the home that the friction occurs which, if lubricated by the indwelling oil of gladness, polishes the adjacent atoms. But there also are found the angles that friction sharpens if it does not rub them down. In society, too, the influence of conflicting relations is to develop on the one hand unselfishness, thoughtfulness for others, and through them for God; but on the other, bitterness, strife, envy and every evil thing. So then our domestic and social life can do as much for the Church as she can for them; in fact, they are necessarily intertwined with the Church's life if the latter is true to itself.

How many of us are conscious of these things, and stand aghast when we reflect how much truth there is in the taunt which even friends do not scruple to make; "How little has Christianity done for you." That is scarcely accurate, perhaps. *For* us it has done all, or rather, Christ has. But even where this truth is thankfully held, we are terribly conscious how little it has wrought in us. Still, we want it to do more, that through ourselves it may do more for our families, and through the families for society. Inwardly, this must surely be through increased watchfulness, prayerfulness, waiting upon God of each one: by a simpler faith in daily life, by a greater counting of God's mercies great and small, and continual giving of thanks. Outwardly, too, we may do something to draw towards the centre of the circle those who linger near the circumference. The Dean has dwelt on example, and may we all lay to heart his words on purity and temperance, as much needed to-day as when Paul reasoned of them to Felix. The exact thing to be done or altered in the life of each household will vary,

but if social life is to be raised in tone, it is in the household that the tuning-fork must be forged.

Do we, all of us, consider the importance of this regulation of our homes? Is it clear to ourselves, and to others, that our wish, at any rate, is that one inmate of our household, and the most honoured, should be the Lord? Do we remember that either He is standing at the door and knocking, or, that He is already within? In the one case will we open, in the other do we do Him honour?

Have our children no cause to doubt that what we most desire for them is faithful service of this honoured Guest? Does our day begin with worship and end with praise? Is prayer a reality in our family, or, are our sons passing their tenderest years without ever having knelt alone beside their father and heard him call on "Our Father" to hold up their goings in His paths that their footsteps slip not?

Do our servants feel that we care for them, not only for what we get out of them, but because they have been given to us as part of our family? Are the fathers of England, in short, recognising their priesthood, and seeking first to be trained themselves, and then to train their households?

But there are three remedies on which I would specially dwell.

I.—First, let us grasp firmly this great truth that we are all one Body in Christ, one family, one church, no matter how our individual attainments may differ—

> "One the object of our journey,
> One the faith that never tires,
> One the earnest looking forward,
> One the hope our God inspires."

II.—Secondly, let this apprehension of our unity find its expression in our practical life. Let there be everywhere a closer tie between clergy and laity. This must be the link of sympathy which can only come out of mutual knowledge. Speaking generally, this knowledge depends greatly on the initiative of the laity. Each of us should make a point of knowing his clergyman, of bringing him within our home and letting him learn our wants. It is not the cottage which is most difficult of access to the parish priest, nor the cottager who is most held back by reserve from acknowledging his soul's needs. Is it not the rich man's door which presents a barrier to the pastor's visit? And although those clergy who dare to make distinctly pastoral visits to their upper class laity would, I believe, testify, as you, my lord, have done to a reception that might surprise as well as encourage, I fear that it is too often the case that the nineteenth century, which patronises Christ and His ambassadors alike, does not acknowledge either as the ever welcome guest. But if it is objected that there are exceptions to the general tone of our clergy, which would make such a rule impossible of universal application, I imagine that the clergy, as a body, would be the first to admit and deplore it. Even in the ranks of Christ's ministers, even amongst those He has ordained to be as the salt of the earth, there are, unhappily, those who have outlived their vocation, and some who have mistaken it. But is not this just a matter that clergy and laity together should take in hand, and endeavour to obtain wise legislation that should facilitate the removal of ministers found gravely wanting in the discharge of their office. Such legislation must be hedged in by safeguards against injustice, and should be supplemented by the formation of a superannuation fund, so that when ill-health or great age has sapped a clergyman's strength and vigour, he would be assured of means to live upon if he resigned. I imagine there is no other

service in this country than that of the ministry of the Church in which pensions are unknown. Surely the institution of such a fund is one of the duties owing by the upper classes of England to their Church, one of the many duties omitted for want of the tenth of each man's income, which, even in the Jewish Church was the minimum of alms.

On these two remedies all will agree; the next is more open to discussion. And yet I venture to express my strong conviction of its importance. The Church will lay hold upon the Upper Classes in proportion as the life of those who respond to her teaching is deepened. Each man and woman has arrived this day at a certain stage of influence for good or evil. It is wanted that influence for good should grow, and that influence for evil should become small: that those who are most earnest and anxious should be realising that, as surely as the sun in heaven casts our shadow on all that we approach, so surely does our moral shadow fall on those with whom we tread life's journey, and their's on us. What that shadow is like, depends on what we are.

What is wanted, therefore, is that in every neighbourhood there should be a few fulfilled with the knowledge and love of God; men and women strong in the personal knowledge of their free forgiveness throuh the Blood that was shed on Calvary; strong in their evangelical liberty and yet well trained in the doctrines of their Church; realising in their own experience the truth and value of her sacramental system, and yet undervaluing no one of the other means and channels of Grace. Men and women who, *almost unconciously* live and work as Missionaries, casting, like St. Peter, the shadow of their influence on all with whom they come in contact in society, in business, at all times, and in all places.

In other words, if the Church is really to leaven our domestic and social life, she must consider the quality as well as the quantity of her work. It is a blessed thing to be gathering in the callous and the outcast; but it is not less blessed to be building up the Spiritual Temple. I question if a few great saints will not do more for this work of ingathering, and exercise a far more powerful influence on the coming age, than hundreds of average Christians, who remain in the childhood of their first awakening, instead of growing up into the fulness of the stature of the Manhood of Christ.

There, my lord, are three simple means by which the relation between the Church and the Upper Classes may become closer:—

I. Let there be a clearer apprehension of the one-ness of clergy and laity.

II. Let there be more earnest effort to embody this fact in the practical details of domestic and social life.

III. Let there be more strength spent on the inner body of the faithful.

So shall our light shine forth in every neighbourhood, and by degrees in every house of this great England; so the Church will be uplifted in the eyes of many who were in her, but not of her; and many who have been confirmed in carelessness, because they were too little reminded of holiness by the lives of Churchmen, will begin to consider their ways, to order their conversation aright, the first step, as the Psalmist has told us, towards seeing the Salvation of God.

(*b*) The Dwellings of the Poor.

PAPER.

The Rev. Canon J. Erskine Clarke.

Lord Beaconsfield in opening a block of Artisans' Dwellings in Battersea, said that "the Home is the Unit of Civilisation." It is so, but it is a great deal more. It is an important factor in maintaining morals and religion. Wherefore the Dwellings of the Poor is a subject not unworthy the attention of the Church Congress, though it is a subject on which little that is new can be said or suggested.

As it is a frequent objection to the Congress that it all ends in talk, my aim will be to consider what Church-folk can actually *do* to improve the dwellings of the poor. Though at the outset I wish to express my admiration of the way in which the home virtues are often maintained in the dwellings of the poor in spite of most adverse conditions.

The dwellings of the poor are so different in town and country, and what may be attempted for their improvement also so different, that I propose to treat of them :—

1. In villages.
2. In country towns.
3. In London and great cities.

1.—As to villages. The growth of Christian consideration and the spread of elementary sanitary knowledge have combined to improve the rural cottages in the last quarter of a century. Probably also the steady drift of the tide of population *from* the villages to the towns has removed the temptation to that over-crowding, which is everywhere the special bane of the dwellings of the poor. Still there is room for improvement even in the Arcadian villages. It is unfortunate that in so many cases the large land-owners round a village have sold sites for cottage property to small jobbing men who cannot afford to improve the houses, or to offend the tenants by preventing them from taking lodgers, contrary to the claims of decency and health.

I suppose that the reluctance of the land-owners to build cottages on their estates may have been fostered by the old Poor Law, which made every parish responsible for the maintenance of its own poor. Hence farmers preferred that their labourers should live in a village some miles off, seeing that when they became past work, the parish in which they lived would have to bear the cost of their maintenance. Now, however, the Union of Parishes Act throws the burden equally on all the parishes in the Union; nevertheless the hardship still remains from the old state of things, that labourers have to walk two or three miles to and from their work.

Where they can do so, the rural clergy may well urge on land-owners the duty of building cottages for their labourers, or of allowing them to build for themselves on some Co-operative or Loan Society plan.

And here it may just be noted, though almost self-evident, that village life seems to do better where the cottages are scattered here and there and where they stand back from the road with their little front garden, than where they are built in a row flush on the path-way.

The poor are very sensitive about advice on such matters, but I have

put in a note* the titles of some of the tracts of the Ladies' Sanitary Association for the Improvement of Dwellings, which may be useful for judicious distribution.

2. In most country towns the labourer, if in work and sober, can generally provide himself with a comfortable and healthy house on reasonable terms. The out-skirts of such towns as Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, York, show long rows of houses, which, if not very picturesque, are comfortable and convenient, and are let at rates which, while they repay the builder, do not press unduly on the labourer.

These, however, are not *the poor*. It is a misnomer to *speak* of men as poor—a grievous mistake to *deal* with men as poor—merely because they receive weekly wages instead of quarterly stipends. Many a black-handed artisan is far less poor than the incumbent of a Peel district with his half-yearly permanent annuity from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or the rector of a rural parish, who cannot find a tenant for his glebe.

Artisans and labourers, if even moderately sober, can have a convenient cottage, perhaps with a bit of garden, in most provincial towns.

The improvident, grown old or having lost health, widows and aged women without relatives, these cannot pay the rent of a cottage, and gradually sink, often by inevitable and unblameworthy misfortune, lower and lower, until they come to occupy only a room in the wretched tenements in the airless courts and alleys which I am sorry to find still exist in that parish of your town where I entered on my independent ministry now twenty-five years ago.

Into these courts there drift also the hapless wives and children of the men who spend their wages at the gin palaces, which are never far away from such quarters of a town. The airlessness of their homes, the poisonous closeness of the places in which they sleep, making spirits almost a physical necessity before the men or women can face the duties of the day, and spirits and the spirit vaults are their unfailing resource until they creep into the foul and loathsome dens in which they sleep. These, verily, are dwellings of the poor which need to be swept away. And do not think I have used too exaggerated words in speaking of foul and loathsome dens. I have the Report of the Artisans' Dwellings' Committee, presented to the Town Council of Derby, on Nov. 9th, 1878. I will gather a few statements from the personal observations of H.M. Inspector preserved in the archives of the Local Government Board in London.

There are in Derby more than a score of streets where the sanitary condition of the houses and inhabitants is bad. *Walker Lane*, in my first parish, and in the heart of the old Borough, is the largest insanitary area. Most of the houses are past repair, and in not a few cases they are in the hands of persons whose sole income is derived from the rental of habitations which are sinking into decay, and which they have no means to improve or rebuild. One tenement,

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* "The Secret of a Healthy Home." "Sanitary Duties of Private Individuals." "The Worth of Fresh Air." "The Use of Pure Water." "Sanitary Defects." "How do people hasten Death?" "What can Window Gardens do for Health?" Price 2d. each. "The Cheap Doctor." "The Black Hole in our Bedrooms." "The Mischief of Bad Air." Price ½d. each. Published by Jarrold & Sons, 3, Paternoster Buildings, London.

unworthy of the name of house, consists of two rooms on the ground floor, the living room, 11ft. 5in. by 6ft. 5in. and 6ft. high; the bedroom, 13ft. 10in. by 6ft., and 6ft. high.

In another court there are 24 houses all more or less ruinous; some are untenanted only because absolutely untenantable and unsafe through decay. There are windows which will not open, and window frames without glass, a cruel, yet merciful ventilation. A gutter runs through the sleeping room. The yard is mostly unpaved, uneven, full of puddles of rain water, and glutted with the ordure and filth of years. The whole aspect of the place is that of an experiment to degrade and dehumanise the inhabitants. The only proof of the existence of an owner is found in the collection of the weekly rent.

These are the words of the Government Inspector, and I might multiply similar extracts. I fear that in every town there are some such rookeries, in which the poorest of the poor have their habitation.

I suppose it would be called "grandmotherly government" to try to interfere with the law of supply and demand in this matter, and I know that it is the *people* you need to improve as well as the *places*. Still I think that it is wise economy in municipal bodies to put in force the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Acts of Mr. Torrens and Sir Richard Cross, and I am sorry to say that the Corporation of Derby flinched from the expenditure of £34,000, which, if it had laid £1,500 a year on the rates for one purpose, would have relieved them of far more in the *poor* rate and *police* rate.

It is in the eddies and back-waters of a stream that its scum and drift wood gather, and the vilest and most degraded of the population invariably eddy and drift into the courts and *cul de sac* streets, where there is not even the public opinion of wayfarers of the poorest class to save them from themselves.

It plainly is not the duty of public bodies to provide the working classes with dwellings at greatly lower rents than the market value paid elsewhere, but the municipality may well interfere to check such neglect of sanitary conditions as lead to pauperism and crime, so costly to the ratepayer, and to preventible disease, the germs of which are wafted from these plague-spots to adjacent neighbourhoods.

It is in these rookeries that you find those registered lodging houses which are the dwellings of thousands of the poor, who are just able to keep out of the Casual Wards of the Workhouse. Many of these are hawkers, coster-mongers, or beggars who day by day go forth from these insanitary over-crowded hovels to earn their scanty livelihood among the well-to-do or even wealthy classes, and who often carry with them the infection of fever or small-pox.

3. It remains to say something of the dwellings of the poor in London and great cities.

I can speak only of London, which of course presents all the features of city life in an intense form and in vast proportions.

The value of land in London, the consequent high rents, and the necessity for many workers, male and female, living within reach of the shops or warehouses which employ them, makes it very difficult even for the sober and thrifty to find suitable dwelling for a family, and the conditions under which children have to be brought up are truly deplorable.

A witness stated before the Lords' Committee on the Metropolitan Street Improvement Bill, in 1877, that she, her husband, three working sons, and a younger girl and boy, all lived in a room 14 feet by 13. In another case a husband and wife and eight children, the eldest twelve, most of them sickly, all lived in one room.

This one room cannot be had under six or seven shillings a week, and how can a labourer earning 20s. to 25s. a week afford this money for two rooms.

A manifest suggestion is that these people should live in the suburbs, as we know too well in Battersea, thousands of them do, but this is impossible for many workmen. Shoemakers and tailors have to go to the shops which employ them for orders often three or four times a day, and must live within a short walk. It levies a heavy tax on many labourers of lower work and wages, to add several miles walking to their daily labour, and to force them to get their mid-day meal at a public-house.

Moreover, there are disadvantages connected with workmen's quarters even in the suburbs, which I may note hereafter.

Perhaps there are few places in London where the dwellings of the poor are more depressing, where there is more terrible over-crowding than the district known as the Five Dials, in Soho; and it saves the philanthropist from absolute despair to find that character and family life of the most tender kind can be maintained under such difficulties. Miss Stanley, in an interesting volume, "Work about the Five Dials,"* writes, "Many working people I know have lived ten and twenty years as weekly tenants, paying there £12 or £13 a year for one room. One family I know have been in the same room 44 years, and another came into their room on the death of the mother, which has made an occupancy of the same family of over 60 years."—(page 243) "There are many families I know where the brightness and cheerfulness of the wife, the steady intelligent work of the husband, the well brought up children, make a London working man's home, though it may consist of one or two rooms, as happy as any in England."—(page 247). Vigorous efforts have been made of late years to provide better dwellings for the poor near the centres of employment, by building blocks of houses divided into small tenements.

A committee of the London Charity Organisation Society issued last year an exhaustive Report of the working of such schemes.†

It appears, however, that these tenements attract a class of tenants far *above* the very poor, and there is no reliable evidence that the very poor rise in the social scale to fill the places left vacant. The Peabody Houses, built from the munificent bequest of half-a-million by the American of that name, have been, and are an immense and increasing boon to the workmen of London for the last twenty years. An effort is made to secure the benefit of these dwellings really for the poorer folk. No man is *admitted* whose average earnings are over 20*s*. a week—but as the men become steadier and more industrious, owing in a great degree to their improved abodes, their earnings increase, and in 1876 the average earnings of each head of a family in these buildings was £1 4s. 4½d.

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* London, Macmillan & Co., 1878.

† Dwellings of the Poor—Report of the Dwellings Committee of the Charity Organisation Society. London: Longman, Green, & Co., 1881. Price One Shilling.

It is from a Churchman's point of view a defect in this noble benefaction, that the Peabody Trustees feel themselves precluded by the terms of the Trust from contributing to any place of worship, so that a parish already over burdened with poor, may have added to it several hundred struggling families, with absolutely no aid from those who are the landlords, and amongst these struggling folk there will be those who will claim the clergyman's aid in sickness or trouble, who will expect to find a place in his Sunday School for their children and in the Parish Church for themselves.

I fear that other companies which have blocks of industrial dwellings equally ignore any religious instincts in their tenants—which is as impolitic as it is unfair. The Shaftesbury Estate, in the Parish of Battersea, though its shares are largely held by clergy, yet has a bye-law that there is to be no public-house, no Church, no chapel within its borders. The result of the public-house proviso being simply to send a great accession of trade to the public-houses on the margin of the estate, which are under no special control, whereas it would surely have been more in the interests of temperance to have on their own ground public-houses at rents low enough to give their owners a livelihood, without being tempted by competition to adulteration or vicious allurements, and with specified hours of opening and closing. Yet the Shaftesbury Park Estate and the Queen's Park Estate, of the same company in North London, do provide excellent cottage dwellings, which are a boon to the artisan class.

As I have already said, poor folk, who seek a dwelling in the suburbs, have difficulties and dangers as well as those in the inner parts of the city. The parish of Battersea has increased more rapidly with small cottage property than any district of London, save only Tottenham. We have acres on acres covered and *being* covered with small houses. Yet even three or four miles from the chief centres of employment, rents are dear, and the dwellings run up for the labouring classes are in many respects worse than those which, in London itself, were built for a higher class, but have gone out of fashion, and are now crowded with the poorest. In those *old* neighbourhoods the roadways are good, the walls substantial, the drainage decent; but in such suburbs as Battersea and Tottenham, a landowner sells an estate to a speculative builder, who pays for it with borrowed money. He at once cuts down trees, if any exist. He carts off gravel and sand, and fills up with refuse. He marks out roads as close as the Metropolitan Board permits. He runs up rows of small houses of the cheapest brick, and the thinnest permitted construction. He gets his bricks and timber on credit, and pays this by a mortgage from an insurance office, which is given when the roof timbers are on. His one object is to sell or lease the houses as soon as possible, and so the drains are of the cheapest kind. The road is not made up, everything is scamped under a showy outside, to tempt the inexperienced purchaser. Thus it happens that, even in such suburbs as Battersea, poor folk have for years to wade through mud and slush to their doors because their landlords will not, or cannot, pay their apportionment to the District Board which is required before the Parish will make up the roadway and take it as public property. It should surely be a condition of building a new street that a sufficient sum should be deposited with the District Board for the channelling, kerbing, and paving the road. The poor tenants of these suburban roads find that vile smells and gases creep up through the thin floors,

and the untrapped drains which have no proper connection with the sewer in the street, and there is no official whose duty it is to insist on this connection being rightly made. Moreover, the rents are so high that pretentious so-called villa houses are built with two or three kitchen grates to *one* front door, and there is sad and demoralising overcrowding evèn in streets where the outward appearance would not lead you to expect it.

And what can the Church do to remedy these evils? Seeing the conspicuous place which sanitation holds in the Mosaic code, and the time which our Blessed Lord spent in doing good to the *body*, plain truths on these matters might well be rung out from time to time from the pulpit. In schools instruction and prizes might spread the knowledge of the simple laws of health. Mothers' meetings might have readings on the subject, and temperance teachers might show how close the connection between dirt and drink. Yet these are after all only indirect remedies. I would fain describe a direct method which has won signal success, not only in London, but in Leeds, Bristol, Nottingham, and other places. It is the method of Miss Octavia Hill, and is described in her "Homes of the London Poor."* The gist of the plan is that *landlords should do their duty*, and take as kindly interest in their tenants in the narrow lanes and courts of the city as they do in their tenants of neat cottages and cosy farm-houses on their estate in the shires. Many of these squalid courts and alleys really belong even to noble owners. In many cases, through collectors and solicitors, the rents of these poor places filter into the bank account of the rich and great, yea even of the religious, but alas! the tenements do not bear any marks of their care, though there are in those courts as loyal English hearts as ever loved or reverenced the squire of the village.

Miss Hill's plan is that the *duties of landlord and landlady should be righteously done*, and she has set the example of doing it herself, and of training others to do it. And her experiment has been worked on a large scale. Four years ago £50,000 of such poor property was managed by Miss Hill. Absence from England then obliged her to get rid of the responsibility, and now it is managed on the same lines by the owners or their agents. £12,000 worth was bought for such reformation in London last year. Time would fail me to follow her in the thrilling details. Those who are interested in the subject should read her papers, and if they wish to work, I am authorised to say, they may consult herself.† Miss Hill's successes have been won in dealing with the very poorest of the poor. To give only one example. Eleven houses of ten rooms each, in the worst court in Marylebone, were placed under her care. The occupants of the rooms were the poorest class of those who have any settled home. The next grade below being vagrants, who sleep in common lodging-houses. When Miss Hill took possession, the interior of the houses was sickening; stale fish, rotting cabbage, every sort of dirt lying in the passages, the stairs inches thick in dirt so hardened that the shovel had to be used, the bannisters were gone, having been burnt as firewood, there was hardly any water to be

*"Homes of the London Poor." Macmillan and Co., price 3s. 6d. An American reprint in pamphlet shape can be had, price 1s., from Mr. Chevens, 146, Marylebone Road, London.

† Miss Octavia Hill, 14, Nottingham Place, London, W.

had, the windows were smashed, and the openings stopped with filthy rags, the rain dripped through the roof. The front door of the dark passages stood open day and night, and when Miss Hill had at first to go in the evening to collect the rents, for most of the tenants were out all day and were afraid to trust the money to a neighbour, she had to grope her way to each door. Sometimes, when after knocking in vain she pushed open the door, she would find a drunken woman lying on a black mass which served as a bed, or in answer to her knock a man would thrust the rent money through a chink, putting his foot against it to prevent its opening wide enough to admit her. In *two* years Miss Hill made these houses clean and sanitary, and what was far harder, she changed the tenants from paupers or semi-paupers into independent workers, she got at the hearts of the people, reformed their lives, improved their whole condition, and yet made the property *pay* better than it did before. The principle on which Miss Hill works is that a lady becomes the real landlady of these poor tenements, and does the work personally, or by like-minded deputy.

The low class of landlords and landladies who own or manage the dwellings of the poorest are answerable for much evil. These landladies are either struggling, cheated, much-worried long-suffering women, soured by constant dealing with untrustworthy people, embittered by loss, a prey to the worst lodgers, whom they allow to fall into debt and are afraid to turn out lest they lose the amount due to them, without spirit or education to devise improvements, or capital to execute them, never able to use the power given by their position to bring order into the lives of their tenants, being too frequently under their complete control. Many landladies are even worse than this — bullying, violent, passionate, revengeful, cowardly. They alternately cajole and threaten, but rarely intend to carry out either their promises or threats. Harsh without principle, weakly indulgent towards evil, given to lying and swearing, too covetous to be drunken, yet indulgent to any lodger who will "treat" them, their influence is incalculably mischievous.

Instead of such demoralising relationship, Miss Hill and her workers themselves do the landlady's bounden duty with firmness, and yet with sympathy. Week by week they collect the rent. They allow no arrears. If the rent is not ready, notice to quit is served, and the tenants know that it is meant. This principle Miss Hill declares to be vital—(1) because it strikes one blow at the credit system, the curse of the poor; (2) because it prevents large losses from bad debts, and prevents the tenant from thinking that he will be allowed to remain, however bad his conduct may be, because so much would be lost by his being turned out; (3) because the mere fact that the man is kept up to his duty is a help to him, increases his self-respect and his hope of doing better. Yet underneath this firm discipline the tenants know that there lies a genuine individual friendliness based on intimate knowledge, and that the landlady will readily help to get them work, or even give them work, if it be possible.

It appears, therefore, to be proved by practical experience, that if we can get the richer either themselves to undertake the duties of landlord in a poor neighbourhood, or to ensure a sufficient measure of wise personal supervision by educated, Christian, sympathetic workers acting as their representatives, we achieve results not attainable otherwise. It

is little use for a landlord to put cottage property in repair and leave it. The work would soon be undone by the bad habits of the people. You cannot deal with the tenants and the houses *separately*. The only hope is that both may be improved together. The sum of the matter is, that all owners of cottage property ought to consider the immense power they hold in their hands, and the influence for good they may exercise by the wise use of that power. When they delegate their responsibility to others, let them take care to whom they entrust it, and let them beware lest *through sub-letting their property*, the power falls into the hands of those who have neither will nor power to use it aright.

The management of details will seldom remain with large owners, but they may choose trustworthy representatives and keep as much interest in their tenants as is done by good landlords in the country. Some persons who do not own such property, might well consider whether they might not by purchasing a court or street, and dealing with it righteously, confer lasting benefits on their poorer neighbours, without diminution of their own income, and perchance with the addition of a much needed interest in their own life. I can conceive no way in which a young man, who aspired to useful public life as a magistrate or member of Parliament, could better qualify himself to deal with the problems which affect the social condition of the poor than by undertaking such work. But the success of the plan does not depend on the houses being the *property* of the Superintendent; good yeoman service may be done by any one undertaking to manage a court or group of tenants for the owner.

If only those who have the love of Christ in their hearts, and who see even in the poorest, and most battered specimens of humanity, those for whom He died, would help the poor towards self-support and self-respect, with wise patience and true sympathy, then there would be, not only improvement in the moral and religious character of the tenants, but material things would amend also, and cleanliness, brightness, health, and order would be found, even in what seem now the most hopeless and wretched of the Dwellings of the Poor.

ADDRESSES.

C. MEYMOTT TIDY, Esq., M.D., Professor of Chemistry and of Forensic Medicine at the London Hospital, &c.

HOMES for the poor are of two kinds—small and separate houses, let out more or less in tenements; and what are popularly known as "model lodging houses." I stated the objections I entertain to this latter method of housing our poorer brethren, in a paper I read at the Church Congress eight years ago. Of what I then said, I have nothing to withdraw. The experience of ten years and more as the Medical Officer of Health of a London district of nearly three hundred thousand people, has only strengthened the opinions I then expressed. I gladly, however, accept the invitation you have offered me, to add a few further words, regarding the subject from a more general view point. I am fully aware that any doubts thrown on the advantages of the model lodging house are likely to provoke two classes of opponents.

The *first* is the class of successful shareholders (for model lodging houses have proved a good investment), and the *second*, those who look upon reform (no matter what shape it takes) as the right thing. But I take it as a principle that a reform which fills people's pockets, needs at all times to be very narrowly scanned. There are three sorts of reform. (1) Reform for the better, (2) reform for the worse, and (3) a reform which, with certain alterations, is practically identical with what preceded it. I will not say to which class the model lodging house as a reform in housing our poor in my opinion belongs, but in spite of what interested money-makers may say, I am certain it is not the first. But you may reply—well, at any rate, the model lodging house has met the evil of overcrowding. That I question. It is well known that the annoyance arising from a lot of children, is soon felt and remedied in the private tenement. Poor men, with their quiver full, find it difficult to get lodgings in London, for the proprietors know that there is no difficulty in letting their rooms to more desirable, or less undesirable, tenants. The resource of the large familied man has become the model lodging house, where everyone being an offender, no one dare complain of his neighbour. Hence comes overcrowding. Nor again is underletting uncommon in these buildings. I shall not repeat other objections I have urged to these huge aggregations of stalls for human souls. I am quite ready to admit that the question is a difficult one; all I mean is that the model lodging house *as now conducted* does not solve it. What then, you say to me, have you to suggest? I will trouble you with a few general thoughts only. Let us boldly face the difficulty. To supply existing defects, we require two factors, *first*, a poor man who values the health and the morals of his children, and *secondly*, a rich man, or a rich authority, who looks upon it as a matter of conscience to supply the poor man's needs. It is unfortunate that the former *thinks* too little, and often *cares* too little for the bodies and souls of his offspring, whilst the latter will mix up his schemes of benevolence with business, and his philanthropy with profits. First of all, then, you must *educate* the poorer classes to see the necessity and advantages of sanitary improvements; this done, give them the opportunity of exercising their knowledge. No theory by itself is of much good; it will evaporate on the first pinch. Large families, coming on fast and thick, commonly tend to dissipate the very highest principles. Who are the proper people to undertake the duty of providing house accommodation for our poor? Shall I have your sympathies when I say that large families, so far from being a curse, should be looked upon as a blessing to society? At any rate, he who deserves most of his country, is the father of the most children, for he is a citizen with a large stake in the country. And if this be so—and I honestly believe it—it seems to me that the buildings for the poorer classes (and that is practically identical with saying the morality of the poorer classes) should be taken in hand, not by building speculators, nor by building societies, but by the State itself, room being thus provided for the healthy development of the children of the poor—the future men and women of our country. But where are the houses to be erected? Now, I admit that our working population is more needed now than formerly at certain centres, and that, as a result, an impetus has been given to a narrowing of the elbow room of society. Still he would be a bold man who would dare to say that modern improvements had not kept pace with these requirements. The steam engine (that great civiliser) has annihilated space, and overcome the difficulties which

distance from the scene of work entail upon the labourer. Let me say plainly what I mean: The State, having taken the matter up, should banish workmen's dwellings out of London and large towns generally, and men should be encouraged by the superior and cheaper accommodation offered in outlying districts—in other words, the chances of good health for soul and body—to seek their homes away from the close and stifling atmosphere in which they work. That this can only be effected by State enactments that recognise the evil of the close packing of human souls, and supply the defect by opening out greater advantages in dwellings more widely dispersed, but still easily accessible, is evident. And here I digress for a moment. You say, you talked of health and of morality resulting from increased house accommodation. You remind me that our upper classes, with all the room at their command, with the most perfect of perfect sanitary arrangements, and with a hundred other advantages of which our poor are deprived, seem as liable to contagion and infection as the poor. You tell me that the morality of a crowded cabin is often higher than that of the noblest, airiest mansion. It is quite true. Separation—isolation—is not morality. But I contend all the same, "that if you huddle human beings together like animals, the chances are they will take the hint and make beasts of themselves." I should be the first to admit that you only see amongst the poor those uglier aspects of vice which are just as rampant, although perhaps less ugly because glossed over and palliated, amongst the rich. I admit, too, that the vice behind the silken curtain, is the same impudent loathsome thing as that which struts the streets, or sprawls in the dark corner upon its bed of frowsy rags. No one doubts but that one man is uncommonly like another, or that the richer classes are of the same flesh and blood as the poorer. Admit then (for you cannot help it) that men are men, no matter their position, and that humanity is one, we are tempted to ask ourselves—Where do they differ? It is certain that different classes of men do differ, and that entirely, from one another. For myself, I believe the difference to be this, and this alone, *that their temptations differ*. Our wisdom as Sanitarians, as Christians—will the clergy pardon my adding, it is essentially the wisdom demanded of the priestly office—is to learn what are the evils of a particular class. It is no argument against education to tell me that the nobleman's son trained at Eton has turned out a greater dolt than the gutter child, who picked up his learning in much the same way as he did his food. It is no argument to remind me that religious men have too often had irreligious sons; or that moral *philosophers* have not always been moral *men*. Admit it all, and we answer, it has occurred *in spite of*, and not *as the result of*, all that was done for them and all they learned. And now, one word on the general construction of the Dwellings of the Poor. We live in a country where there is little opportunity for the out-door life such as we find in warmer regions. If then we would cherish in our poor a love of home and family, and take them from the indolence and dissipation engendered in them by their making a home of the streets, there are some important points in the general arrangements of the poor man's house demanding attention. The *first* is plenty of light; the *second*, plenty of air (without draughts); and the *third*, a feeling of security. The latter point is the only one of the three about which I shall say a word. I mean by a feeling of security the arrangements necessary to make the poor feel they are not overlooked. And in the matter of house accommodation, I believe this to be of far greater moment than most people think. It creates in the inmates a proper sense of independence, and fosters the ties of family

life. The poor are very jealous of intrusion, and bitterly resent the inquisitiveness and curiosity of prying neighbours. Encourage this feeling, I say, in every possible way Much of the uneasiness of a poor man's life—the cause, in fact, of many a brawl—is this lack of security, which the higher and more ceremonious class possess. A long and very intimate association with our poor leads me to say that it would be a gain if some of our well-intentioned charitable folk would take this fact seriously to heart, and in their visits to the poor respect in a higher degree than is usual, the sacredness of family life, and the sanctity of a home. May a layman venture as a man of the world, to preach this little sermon to the clergy, even at a Church Congress. If religion wants to come at the *hearth*, it must be content to wait at the *door*. You will never reach men's *hearts* by invading their *homes*. But I should violate my theory if I were not to leave to the inmates themselves the arrangement of the interiors of their houses. Suggest to them broadly what will conduce to their comfort, ease, and repose, but there leave it. Teach that "cleanliness is next to Godliness," but having done so, leave the details to themselves. The praises of soap and water must still be sung, but it would be an insult to offer to scrub their floors. We must tell our marriageable girls that if they want to make good wives, and to have sober, contented husbands, they must be "*cooking animals*." And that last thought suggests the very thing I wish to urge, and which will illustrate what I mean. It has become common now-a-days to start "schools of cookery" for our poor girls. If this be considered a mere temporary expedient, I do not quarrel with it, but I contend emphatically that the best cookery school for a girl is her home, and that the best instructress is her mother. We do not need "culinary academies," or elaborate treatises on the culinary art, so much as to enforce upon the *mothers* of the present day, that one duty they owe their daughters, is to give them every instruction in their power in the art of *not spoiling good food*. I put this forward as one instance of a thought prominent in my own mind to-night, that in our attempts to ameliorate the condition of the families of the working classes, we must distinguish between *legitimate help*, which will not be refused, and *unnecessary interference*, which only irritates and annoys, without benefitting the class we wish to serve. One word more. The best way to help the poor is to *do* the thing, without discussing it. Build the poor man's house, so far as sanitary needs are concerned, just as you would your own, and so give him the same chance in the battle of life as you possess yourselves. But do not go out of your way to publish *schemes of amelioration*, or you will be suspected by our poorer brethren of belonging to the class of benevolent impostors. Be as chary of such schemes, as of that oddly-named thing a Charity Organisation Society, as though charity could be reduced to bookkeeping. I know very well that to adopt this course is a work of self-sacrifice, and will prove in the worldly sense unremunerative. But then charity on paper—a charity that is angry if it be not recognised as charity—is not charity. Depend upon it, *that* is not charity which only improves the Dwellings of the Poor, that it may be the better able to embellish its own.

(*c*) The Recreations of the People.

George Harwood, Esq., Brownlow Fold Mills, Bolton, Lancashire.

I have been asked to speak to you on the proper relationship of the Church to the recreations of the people. The problem involved is one about which the wisest men in all ages have differed, and therefore I cannot pretend to offer you any certain solution—I can only make a few suggestions. In the first place I would say that the true solution is to be sought in the principle of what is the right relationship between the Church and the World—using the term "World" for the outcome of that natural man to which the desire for recreation is a radical instinct. Now in all ages—from the days of the Nazarites down to our own time of the Salvation Army—many earnest Christians have had no hesitation in believing that between the Church of Christ and the Spirit of the World there can be only one proper relationship, viz., that of antagonism. The commands to "come out from among them" and to "be separate" are understood to mean that zealous Christians ought to have as little as possible to do with the recreations of the world. Now I take it that we can all respect such a feeling; for probably most of us who have seen much of life have felt at times impelled to seek a refuge from our sins and sorrows in some ascetic retirement—have had moods in which we could have welcomed the studious seclusion of a Jerome, or even the solitary exposure of a Simeon Stylites. But our human nature, in its best moods, tells us that such conduct would be a cowardly desertion of duty; and our Christian religion, in its best revelation, tells us that we are not to condemn the eye, but only its "lust"; not the life, but only its pride; and that we are not to seek to be taken out of the world, but only to be kept from its evil. The ascetic harbinger of Christianity declared that his own glory must pale before that of Him who was charged with coming "eating and drinking;" with being "gluttonous and a winebibber." Many people seem to imagine that nothing which is natural can be religious, so that this life is to be thought little of, and this world looked askance at. But the Christian revelation was made for this life and this world, and if it cannot bring itself into true relationship with these, it will be a failure. It is not for nothing that this life is so rich, for it is the only portal to any other; it is not for nothing that this world is so beautiful—that flowers have such colours, and birds such songs; that there is such a glory in the sky and in the clouds, in the grass and in the waves—for all this beauty is but the voice of God telling us that we must strive to be in harmony with nature; that we, too, "must make our lives sublime." Unless creation is a blunder, man's life ought to be beautiful and joyous—and this beauty and joy will, for the majority, have to be largely sought in what are called recreations—Heaven knows that they have little of either in their regular occupations. Which recreation, then, shall the Church condemn, and which favour? I would answer, "Let the Church act towards recreations as it should towards individuals—let it condemn only what is essentially evil, and where good and evil are mingled, as they are in most things—even in those which are called religious—let the Church stand by the good and help it to overcome the evil. There are not so many possible recreations that we can afford to lightly exile any; the spirit of humanity is so exuberant that it is sure to cause an explosion if we close too many of its outlets. One of the most anxious uncertainties of the times is that about the probable

future attitude of the masses of the people of England towards religion. I do not share the melancholy forebodings of so many people. I believe that the religious instinct is as strong among the masses as amongst any other portion of the people. But the religion which is to prevail in the future must have two qualities at least—it must be sensible, and it must be consistent. I say this with confidence, in spite of the popularity of certain religious movements which are not particularly distinguished by either of these characteristics. We may hold firmly to the belief, in which the early history of Methodism confirms us, that the religious future belongs to sense and consistency. Now, the masses will test a religion in regard to these two qualities very much by its attitude towards recreations, since the desire for recreation is undoubtedly one of the ruling passions of the age. But they will not require of a sensible religion that it shall patronise certain recreations and frown on others. This is not a question of action but of attitude, and the masses know quite well that recreation is not the primary business of religion; they also have no faith in fostered institutions. All that they will require is that religion shall stand in a sensible relationship to the human instinct of recreation; that it shall so sympathise with the lot of the poor as to welcome everything which can help to make their lives more beautiful and joyous. The Church of England has hitherto held, in this respect, to the path of manly reasonableness; it was not led away by the excesses of Puritanism, and will not be by those of Ritualism; hence it is strong now, and promises to be still more so. In respect to the other quality—that of consistency—the masses would be more exacting, for it is in this that religion seems now to be weakest. If I was asked to name one quality which more than another keeps working men away from religion, I should say unreality leading to inconsistency. There is so much gushy sentimentality—so much timid propriety—that men who are not milksops or humbugs are apt to be driven the other way. Look, for instance, at this matter of recreation! Now working men can understand those who are set against all pleasures both for themselves and others; but they cannot believe much in the religion of those who allow themselves the pleasures they like, whilst they taboo as irreligious the pleasures others like, though these are morally quite as good, and intellectually often much better; they cannot believe much in a religion that allows its ministers and votaries to be just as eager as the rest of the world about money, and position, and comforts, and luxuries, yet forbids them to sympathise with the recreations which are to the poor what these things are to the rich. I, for one, am utterly at a loss to understand why a good play is less religious than a rich dinner; or innocent dancing than parochial gossipping or tea-party romping. The miracle plays, which are the foundation of the English drama, had their origin in the Church; and rhythmical movement is everywhere an instinct of healthy humanity. What will the people require from you, then, so far as consistency in regard to recreation is concerned? Only this, that you shall be honest and natural; that you shall not let your Christianity displace your manhood, but that you shall make it invigorate and sublimate it. There is an article of the Creed we repeat so often, to which I do not think we attach sufficient importance. It is that which asserts our belief in the Holy Catholic Church. Yes, there is a catholicism which should be amongst our most cherished dreams—our most passionate longings: a catholicism which is to be found, not in any mere unity of organisation, nor in any mere uniformity of belief, but in a real universality of influence. As no human being should be beyond the reach of the Church, so no human interest should be beyond the

influence of religion. The Kingdom of our God must rule this broad life, as well as this broad earth, of which it is but the scene. So it must rule these recreations which are so necessary and large a part of this life. Thus we shall be reviving some of the glory of the past, for our great holidays—as Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide—stand like vacant castles whose master once impressed his rule and name upon the surrounding country. Let him again take up his abode there, and the land will then have abundant reason to bless his return.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, Minor Canon of St. Paul's.

ONE sentence in Dr. Meymott Tidy's paper reminded us clergy that the priestly office has a close relation to matters of health. I was grateful to him for saying so, for I venture to think that in the wide sphere of social and sanitary questions we might do more work and take more practical interest than most of us do. Charles Kingsley once said that he looked forward to the day when every candidate for holy orders should pass an examination in some one branch of natural science. I hope so too; but I am never quite sure whether I would not substitute some sound text-book of social science or political economy. For the Church and her clergy are not merely concerned with the next world. Our business is with *this* world, to teach men to live better and more righteously here, to lighten the burdens which oppress the sorrowful and the poor, and to strive that the world may be in some small degree the purer and the happier for our life and work. The Church may not only be described as the true Salvation Army, but as the true National Secular Society for the advancement of man's well-being, intellectual, moral and physical, here on earth. It is in this character, I take it, that this Congress has been discussing subjects purely secular, like those of the dwellings and the recreations of the people. I believe, that the people watch the proceedings of our Congress more closely and more critically than we suppose, and I believe that it will make outsiders among them think the better of the Church in the end, when they see that her rulers and her clergy are not indifferent to social and secular matters such as these. Town clergymen often complain that they cannot reach the working classes, the artisans who now form the most powerful element of our modern society. Let us see if we cannot find common ground with them by studying and taking up social questions. These are the matters which interest working men, which they debate in their own clubs, and consider when they choose their representatives in Parliament. I remember once hearing a speech from a typical working man at an East End Club, soon after my friend, Mr. Blackley had set forth his National Insurance Scheme. The speaker was opposed to the plan, but he began his address with these striking words: "At last a clergyman of the Church of England has done something useful." It seemed a new and surprising thing to him that a parson should come forward in the cause of social reform. And he was clearly better disposed towards the parsons in consequence; therefore I would say to my brethren, let us work for social reform. I do not agree with Mr. Mozley's opinion, expressed in his interesting "Reminiscences," which we have all been reading, that "social" is a modern synonym for "political." The early closing movement—the endeavour to shorten the hours and increase the comfort of the women employed in large places of business; co-operation in all its forms, especially that of co-operative production; pauperism and its remedy; our subjects for discussion this evening—all these are social questions. But surely not one of them need involve any undesirable meddling with questions of party politics. We can work for social reform, then, without that serious fear of being dubbed "political parsons," which seems to make so many of us nervous and uncomfortable about doing anything outside our church doors. I will occupy my remaining minutes in drawing attention to an important, but overlooked, branch of the recreations of the people—I mean popular songs. A famous saying was once adapted thus: "I don't care who writes the people's sermons, let me write their songs." And, unquestionably, the songs which the people sing at home, at their duty and social gatherings, and to which they listen in the streets and at places of amusement, at once express and act upon popular feeling. The now famous

nickname of "Jingo" is a rough example. It arose from a music-hall song. And though I have never gone to a music-hall, I have been at the pains to procure and examine with some care a number of the penny song-books which contain the words sung there. It is a curious and not wholly pleasing study. There are always a good proportion of standard English songs, patriotic, sentimental, and capital "motto" and "topical" songs. And you will seldom find a really bad or objectionable song in the penny books. But there are unpleasantly suggestive songs, and I believe that comic singers sometimes give a worse flavour to their songs in the parts spoken between the verses, or by gesture, or *double-entendre*. Moreover, the books do not contain all the music-hall songs; the copyright defiantly prevents it. What I have chiefly found in the song-books which is objectionable is the utter and meaningless nonsense of a large proportion of songs. It is a really grave fact that the people should enjoy such silliness as they do. What impression can you hope to make upon a population which can bawl about the streets for months, "Whoa Emma!" with inexhaustible delight in its monotonous imbecility? (The speaker was here stopped by the bell).

Rev. R. C. BILLING, Rector and Rural Dean of Spitalfields.

My friend, Mr. Shuttleworth, is generally most accurate in his quotations, but really I think he has done violence to the words of his author. I am under the impression it was not the "sermons," but the "laws," he was ready to allow another to make, if only he were allowed to write the ballads. We must not undervalue the important function of the preacher. In our zeal to promote the advancement of the people in morals and good living by other means, we must not neglect the ordinance of God—be careless about our pulpit utterances. The pulpit affords us one of the best of all instrumentalities for instruction and edification. But I agree with my friend as to the importance of the cricket club for the youths and young men, and I am ready to stand umpire and to take bat and ball in hand. But I have other duties to the people committed to my care, and these leave little time for the cricket club or the football field. I am glad we are talking about recreation, and not mere amusement—*i.e.*, about something that recreates the worn and jaded man, and fits him the better to do his duty to God and to man. The distinction is important. I am sure we need to watch over the young in their recreations, and to endeavour to provide what is useful and elevating. Concerts have been referred to. Well, let us encourage a taste for what is better than the Music-hall affords. That this can be done I have proved by experience. If we are to win from intemperance, we must allure from the places which afford so much temptation to the young. Our clubs must drive the common Music-halls out of the field, and provide good music, pure songs, and cultivate a taste for what is elevating and instructive. And then, as to the dwellings of the poor. They look to us as their friends to help to deliver them from the dreadful dens in which too many have to dwell. Leave them to breathe a vitiated atmosphere and they will have recourse to stimulants. Leave them in circumstances which make it almost impossible that the children shall grow up with a proper sense of what we call decency, and we allow ourselves to be heavily handicapped in our efforts to train them up in virtuous ways, and we allow them to be nurtured in what is utterly antagonistic to all our teaching of morality and charity. It is impossible to over-state the case. Much we have done, but very much still remains to be done. I venture to think that if we would for the next seven years abstain from building churches or schools in our over-grown and over-crowded parishes, and spend all our available resources in providing proper dwellings for the poor, we should, perhaps, not be doing very wrong. Our law is defective. In London, outside the city, the speculative builder may build where he likes—on the site of a vast and deep rubbish-heap, if he pleases. He may put in defective drains, and there is no authority that can interfere until the houses are inhabited, and then it is generally too late to remedy the evil so as to make the drainage thoroughly good. It is an evil, this, that requires to be remedied by legislation. Provide them, or encourage and assist them to provide for themselves, such recreation as shall do them good and not harm, and what fails in this respect is not recreation. Provide them with wholesome dwellings, in which arrangements are made for decent living, and add to the number of open spaces and play-grounds, and you will have taken an important step towards rendering your efforts for the good of the people less futile and ineffectual. Why are not school play-grounds—Board School play-grounds—more constantly utilised? The care-taker, who is generally

well paid, should not be allowed to block the way, and a few panes of broken glass should not be deemed a sufficient reason for closing the play-ground. There is ample room for reform here. No one who has lived and laboured in a great town parish can regard these matters as beneath his notice and concern. Let us endeavour to obtain for the poor and their children such homes and such places and opportunities for healthy exercise and recreation as shall assist them in their hard struggle, and make our work as ministers of Christ more permanently and more generally effective.

The Rev. HARRY JONES, Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral.

ALTHOUGH glad of the opportunity of speaking upon this subject, in which I have been long interested, I must at this hour confine myself to two or three comments which providers of entertainment should bear in mind. I think the clergyman should be very careful to draw a distinction—and see he does not overstep it himself—between recreations which really recreate and those which only enervate. We have far too much of the latter. Following that thought, the clergyman should never be too eager to provide that recreation for his people which simply produces laughter. Again, he should be very careful not to force recreation, as there is nothing more dismal than a deliberately comic song; and he should also be careful not to mix up too much science with it. Let the clergyman help his people to work when they work, and play when they play. I don't believe in recreation being made a sort of jam in which you seek to mix up a little science. I remember once testing this. I was in a large party visiting one of our glass palaces in London where scientific teaching was provided for those who went there for recreation—for play. The people did not attend to the science, but determined to play. I, however, found one lad who seemed to be trying to put into practice one of the botanical lessons he had been taught. I saw him wandering about by himself, looking on the ground, and it turned out that he was looking for a stone with which to crack a "coker" nut he had won, and eat it alone. I should like to have said something about hobbies, and a word or two with respect to open spaces; but I can only observe that much may be done in the way of turning our city and town churchyards into places of recreation. But with regard to the recreation of the people in the country, I grieve to think of the very few opportunities the poor have in that direction; and I am sure it would be a great practical lesson to take away from this Congress that Churchmen who wish to be useful in their generation in this line should do all they can not only in joining in the games of the people, but in endeavouring to atone for the unjust working of the law, or the working of the unjust law, which has robbed the poor man of his village green, and which drives him into the public-house and the game preserve, because there is nowhere for him to enjoy anything legitimate in the way of games or sport.

The Rev. Canon ELLISON, Windsor.

IN the few words I have to say I wish to approach this question from the temperance point of view. I take it that this is a matter which is intimately connected with the spiritual life of the people. I know my first duty is to preach the Gospel, but I find I am beset with hindrances of the most terrible kind. This is the experience of others besides myself, and when I ask the question, "What is the chief of these hindrances?" I receive the answer, "It is the drink." The late Bishop Wilberforce put the question to his clergy, "What is the chief cause which hinders you most in your ministrations," and he received a similar reply. What then is the remedy for this state of things? I shall be told perhaps, total abstinence. God forbid I should say a word against total abstinence. For twenty years it has been the right hand of my ministry among the masses. It has enabled me to go down amongst the people, and amongst those who have themselves been rescued, to find fellow labourers, whose worth it was impossible to over-estimate, but I venture to say that it would be the height of folly to suppose that total abstinence was all that was needed. There are causes for drinking which have to be remedied; among them the bad homes of the people. What has been said is true, viz., that the very moment a man commences to spend his money in the public-house he begins to sink lower and lower in the social scale, and becomes utterly careless how miserable soever the hovel may be in which he lives; but it is certain, on

the other hand, that the want of recreation and the terrible state of the houses in which the masses live become causes in their turn for driving men to the public-house. The question is what can the Church do in order to meet these evils. In the diocese of Oxford the subject was brought before the Diocesan Conference, and a resolution was adopted that a committee should be appointed to take cognisance of the matter. The result has been to draw the attention of wealthy landlords to the state of labourers' cottages. In one parish, with which I am acquainted, the most miserable hovels have been pulled down and replaced by houses which are just what they ought to be; and again papers have been drawn up giving an abstract of the existing sanitary laws and instructing the clergy what the law will enable them to do. The temperance cause is intimately connected with all matters bearing on the social condition of the people. Bear with me when I say that you have not the least notion of the power you will exercise over the working men until you have had temperance societies established in your diocese on the broad basis of the Church of England Temperance Society, in which total abstainers and non-abstainers can work together in attacking not only the evil of intemperance, but the causes which lead to it. In the diocese of Lichfield much has been done in the direction I have indicated. There has been an increase of working men's clubs, coffee rooms, bands of music, cocoa houses, and other establishments, all emanating from the temperance societies. Before I sit down let me say how infinite the bearing of this work is on another subject which has been discussed here—the restoration of unity among the clergy. For twenty years I have been chairman of the Committee of the Church of England Temperance Society in London. There, and throughout the country, I have been associated in this cause with men of every school of thought. During the whole of the time I have thus been working for the Society our unanimity has not been marked by a single vote of discord. We have felt that we were standing face to face with the common enemy, fighting under the banner of the common Leader and Saviour, and without, in any way compromising our opinions on men of points we have been able to hold them in charity with each other. Let Churchmen turn their weapons against the common foe, they will have no time or thought to bestow on discussing and aggravating the differences among themselves.

TEMPERANCE HALL.

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 5TH.

The Ven. Archdeacon Sir T. LOVELACE STAMER in the Chair.

TEMPERANCE WORK.

REMEDIAL TREATMENT OF INEBRIATES.

The CHAIRMAN.

I CANNOT but regret, although I am not surprised, that this section of the Congress has not commanded a larger audience to-night. When we consider that our subject comes into competition with another important and wide reaching one—"The Church in Relation to Domestic and Social Life"—which is the subject at the Drill Hall, we can scarcely be surprised that the members of the Church Congress incline to the Drill Hall in larger numbers than to this Hall. Upon the other hand, it is very satisfactory to find that those present have resisted the other attraction, and that they have thereby shown their deep interest in the very solemn subject, as I cannot but call it, which is to be brought

before us to-night. It is a different phase of the Temperance question which occupied the attention of the overflowing audience on Monday evening, before the actual work of the Congress commenced. But still it is in no way less important; for it is a very important division of the great Temperance question which interests us all so deeply. Our subject is "Temperance Work; Remedial Treatment of Inebriates," and this will be commenced by a paper by Dr. Norman Kerr.

PAPERS.

NORMAN KERR, Esq., M.D., F.L.S., Hon. Sec. to the Habitual Drunkard's Legislation Society, and to the Dalrymple Home for Inebriates; Foreign Corresponding Secretary to, and Honorary Member of, the American Association for the Cure of Inebriates.

SCARCELY a week passes during which I do not receive, either from a clergyman, a Christian worker, or some broken-hearted relative of the victim, a request of this kind:—"A. B. is drinking himself to death. His wife and family are neglected, and he is dissipating his fortune in drink. Pray send me a prescription for some medicine, as I feel sure you can, to give him a distaste for his destroyer." I quote this frequent, piteous, and despairing cry, simply in proof of the utter and wide-spread ignorance, even among educated and intelligent Christian people, of the true nature of habitual drunkenness.

There is no mystery about its genesis. It is

"The bitter harvest of our own device."

Drunkenness, occasional and habitual, is the inevitable outcome of our national habit of drinking intoxicating liquors. Their leading component, that for which we drink these beverages—the alcohol they contain—is a prompt and potent irritant narcotic poison. It is in virtue of an immutable natural law that the general use of so powerful a neurotic poison—which irritates the vital organs, destroys the mental balance, and inflames the passions—induces all the varied phenomena of intoxication in a certain number of the drinkers. It is not more certain that, in a given number of lives in an insurance office, some tolerably known proportion will die every year, than that in a given number of persons drinking our intoxicating liquors some proportion will annually drink themselves into drunkenness, disease, and premature death. Many of these —happily they are a minority, though their numbers are appalling —are so physically susceptible to alcohol that, once tamper with it, they are, humanly speaking, lost. Their nervous organisation is so defective, or the transmitted taint is so strongly implanted in them, that they are unable to arrest the natural development of the characteristic poisonous effect of alcohol on the brain and the will. Their only power of control is over the very beginning of the habit of drinking. If they never drink, no power on earth can make them drunkards; but if they drink at all, no human power can prevent them becoming drunkards.

The nature of the poison is always the same. A tendency to produce their characteristic poisonous effect is ineradicable from intoxicating drinks. Alcohol, no more than arsenic or opium, is a respecter of persons. Just as, by the operation of an unchangeable law of nature, will an adequate dose of strychnia kill a Christian as quickly as a heathen, and an opiate draught make an archbishop as sleepy as it will make a costermonger, so in like manner will the poison, alcohol, by its irritating properties, inflame the body, and by its narcotic properties cloud the mind, of a good man as of a bad man. No person, no profession, no rank is exempt from the working of this law. The most select circles of the educated, the loftiest positions in the State, and high places in the Church, have all contributed their quota to the mighty host of The Inebriate. Some of the worst cases with which I have had to deal have been clergymen and doctors.

Inebriety has a physical origin. Its signs are part of a group of symptoms characteristic of poisoning by alcohol, and its primary cause is a constitutional susceptibility to be affected by the poison. True it is that from pure wantonness it sometimes enters into the heart of man to take to excessive drinking; but the cases in which the first glass is drunk with the deliberate purpose of becoming a drunkard are very rare indeed. Inebriates, male and female, have, as a rule, never intended to become such. They had no fears for their safety when they set out on their alcoholic voyage, and it has generally been after repeated attempts to escape that they have finally been engulphed in the deep and all-devouring sea of intemperance.

PREDISPOSING CAUSES.—There are predisposing causes. By the operation of another natural law—the law of the Heredity of Alcohol—not a few human beings are launched upon the world with a tendency to inebriety ingrained in their very nature. If such drink at all, they drink to excess. Moderate drinking is an impossibility to them. Others, again, though burdened with no innate drink taint, are, not infrequently as a result of the drinking habits of their parents, endowed with so feeble a will, that they may truly be said to have no moral backbone. These, too, are predisposed to inebriety.

EXCITING CAUSES.—Besides the great predominant factor—the narcotic poison which produces the phenomena of drunkenness—and the predisposing causes, there is a great variety of exciting causes. A steady, regular-living, excellent man leads for many years a sober life. A sudden nervous shock—the unexpected loss of property, of children, or of wife—is known to excite him to that habitual inebriety, for the cure of which he enters an inebriate home. A scholar, calm, thoughtful, and temperate, doggedly pursues his studies when he ought to be at rest, all unheeding and unthinking, till the overtaxed brain gives way, and a very deplorable and intractable form of inebriety is the issue. A lady, chaste as snow, and in general abstinent as a hermit, has at times an uncontrollable craving for strong drink, and she finds her only security from a drunken outbreak to consist in seclusion in some institution

where she cannot procure intoxicating drink for a few days, till the exciting cause passes away. A hard-working clergyman frequently feels completely exhausted in body and mind. An occasional glass of fermented wine dissipates for a brief space this feeling of prostration. His one anxiety being to keep up to the work to which his whole heart is given, he despises his physical weakness, ignores his congested liver, his disordered digestion, his overwearied brain, and has recourse to his magical alcoholic pick-me-up. The oftener it is resorted to, the oftener is it required. The legitimate outcome of this breach of the divinely-ordered laws of health I have again and again seen in an inveterate attack of confirmed inebriety.

SOMETIMES A DISEASE.—What is Habitual Drunkenness? Is it a vice or a disease, a misfortune or a sin? Sometimes all of these; though, indeed, there are cases of what is rightly called dipsomania, or drink madness, where the anæsthetic action of alcohol has been so powerful as to render the subject apparently insensible to all external influences. I would not for a moment seek to weaken the force of your clerical rebuke of the immorality and sin of drunkenness, but there are now and again coming before me cases of confirmed inebriety, which present symptoms of disease as marked and as characteristic as I have ever seen in an attack of gout, of apoplexy, or of insanity.

DRUNKENNESS AS A SIN.—Whatever the sinfulness, for that there is but one remedy. No human treatment can heal the disease of the soul. It is our exceeding high privilege, for the cure of the sin of drunkenness as for the cure of every other sin, to have ever at command the unerring skill, the unwearied attention, and the loving care of the Infallible Physician, who has wrought for us an effectual cure by the sacrifice of His life—

> "Whose mercy ever liveth,
> Who repenting guilt forgiveth,
> And the broken heart receiveth."

DISEASED CONDITIONS IN INEBRIETY.—Habitual inebriety has a physical as well as a moral aspect. Whatever the original predisposing or exciting cause, the alcohol that has been drunk habitually to excess has altered the tissues of the brain, as it has altered the tissues of the liver, and pierced the walls of the heart with degenerated fat. You have thus to do with an altered state of the organ of thought, feeling, and volition. You have to do with a changed condition of the mind. The structure of the organ of thought having been deteriorated, the power of thought is diminished; the range of thought is limited; concentration of the reasoning powers is difficult, if not impossible. You have to do with a changed condition of the senses. The lower senses are deprived of much of their acuteness. Vision is disturbed, hearing is impaired, the tactile sense is deadened, and there is a lack of ability to enjoy the sweetest and most delicate perfumes. That the sense of taste is depraved, you have ample proof in the capricious appetite, when he has an appetite, of the habitual inebriate.

UNTRUTHFULNESS OF INEBRIATES.—This perversion affects also the higher feelings. If there is one feature which, more than another, is characteristic of the dipsomaniac, it is that of untruthfulness.

Habitual excessive indulgence in strong drink would turn the most truthful person in this assembly into an unblushing liar. Nor is this all. If he were to forswear his cups, and become a consistent abstainer, it would be long ere he recovered, if he ever did completely recover, his former power to speak the truth, and to discriminate between the false and the true. This utter overthrow of the truthful sense is especially marked in women. It has frequently been my lot to be assured most solemnly by an educated and refined lady that she had not tasted a drop of drink that day, when her breath was reeking with the odour of brandy.

WILL POWER WEAKENED.—Alcohol being a paralyser, the will is shorn of most of its strength, as you may see exemplified every day in the uncertain, irresolute, shifty confirmed drunkard.

THE DRINK CRAVE.—In addition to all this deterioration of structure and impairment of function, there is the specific symptom of drink craving. Of the terrible import of this phrase, none but the experienced in the treatment of dipsomania can have the faintest conception. In every fibre of the being is there an unquenchable thirst. There is no organ that does not clamour unceasingly for alcohol. The whole man is burning with an inward fire, which,

> "The more it brenneth, the more it hath desire
> To consume everything that brent will be."

INEBRIETY OFTEN FROM PHYSICAL CAUSES.—When I ponder over the subtle, potent, and pervading narcotic influence of alcohol on the brain and nerve centres, I cannot find it in my heart to point the finger of scorn at any drunkard. The difference between the drunkenness of one man and the sobriety of another, providing both partake of alcohol, is not unseldom the difference of their physical conditions. The one does not necessarily fall because he is worse morally. He often does fall because he is weaker physically. Hence, how frequently do we find the most abject inebriates to have been men and women of education, refinement, and high moral culture. The ablest, the loftiest of aspiration, and the most unselfish, are peculiarly liable to lapse into dipsomania.

REMEDIAL TREATMENT.—Such is the subject you have to treat. How should he be treated?

I. By rigid prohibition of the Primary Cause. Habitual drunkenness, with its degenerated tissue, its obscured perception, its corrupted moral sense, and its enfeebled volition, is the work of a physical agent which is a poison to both body and brain. Stop the poison, or the poisoning process will go on.

Again, the insatiable craving for the drink itself is kept alive by the smallest quantity of it. So long as it is taken at all, in ever so minute doses, so long will the longing for it remain.

For the fulfilment of both indications of cure, for the arrest of the poisoning process and the eradication of the crave, it is indispensable that there be absolute and unconditional abstinence from the offending cause. Except when life is itself involved, if it ever is involved, never ought the reformed inebriate, while in a state of consciousness, to taste the smallest sip of the weakest form of an intoxicating drink. I have never undertaken, and I will never undertake, the treatment of such a case unless on the express condition that, on no plea of friendship

of fashion, of health, or of religion, will the only safe condition of complete abstention be broken. In this line of treatment I am supported by Dr. B. W, Richardson; Surgeon-General Francis: Dr. Andrew Fergus, of Glasgow; Dr. Ainley, of Halifax; Dr. T. D. Crother, Hon. Sec. to the American Association for the Cure of Inebriates, and other experts. The drink crave, though starved out by abstinence, is not easily killed beyond recovery; and it is the essential nature of intoxicating drink to resuscitate the dormant unhallowed appetite,

"Et vivo prævertere amore
Jam pridem resides animos, desuetaque corda."

With some of the reformed from inebriety the crave soon subsides. With more, after a more or less prolonged struggle, it dies a natural death. With considerable numbers, however, it is never wholly extinguished, but smoulders on unseen, ever ready to burst into a flame on the lightest application of the old combustible,

"Which with a touch works miracles, boils up
The blood to tumults, and turns round the brain."

II. Subsidiary Treatment. If the physical man be weakened, care should be taken to build up anew the wasted body. Light digestible farinaceous food, with extract of meat, soups, butter-milk, and the like, are sometimes needed at first to meet the disordered digestion; but it is well to aim at good honest solid fare. Medicines are of service. Derangement of the function of any organ must be attended to. Tonics are often indicated. For those whom Zoedone and other phosphated beverages suit, nothing is better. But they ought to be drunk in moderation, as, indeed, ought every unintoxicating liquid.

If there has been an exciting cause, that should be traced, and, if possible, removed.

Genial occupation should be found. Nothing aids recovery of mental power and moral tone so much as to have the mind occupied with some external object, thus lifting the patient out of himself and calling forth mental and moral force. Kindness and encouragement are of the highest importance. A hearty grasp of the hand, a cheery salutation, or a genuine "God be with you," may be the little link that binds anew the chains of temperance and freedom. Get your *protégé* interested in temperance work. It is an excellent stimulant, the having a post in the great army of abstainers. I have seen a resort to earnest temperance work enable a dipsomaniac to succeed where before he had failed.

Gentle exercise is needed for the body, and the intellectual faculties should be sedulously and judiciously cultivated. Till the physical and mental health is thoroughly re-established, it is wise to rest the easily-fagged brain and recruit the readily-tired muscles by frequent interludes of pleasant and innocent amusement and recreation.

Importance of Religious Influence.—Apart altogether from spiritual considerations, in the successful treatment of the merely human disease of confirmed inebriety, religion is an important element. Habitual drunkenness can be cured, from secular motives alone, by the only method of cure—total abstinence. An infidel cannot continue to be an inebriate if he cease drinking the liquors which make drunken. Indeed, I know an old teetotal society which has never allowed prayer

at its meetings, and has persistently ignored religious considerations, and yet has been the means of transforming some of the most riotous drunkards and worst parents in the neighbourhood into sober, orderly citizens, and kindly, loving husbands and fathers, some of whom, I am happy to say, have in consequence of their purely secular reformation been brought within the hearing and understanding of the Gospel. But on the lowest ground, it is impossible for me to use too strong language in testifying to the great power of true religious feeling in aiding the shattered inebriate to pull himself together, and brave erect once more the reproaches and the temptations of the world. Just as, in time of great prostration from acute disease, I have seen the sense of forgiveness of sin lighten up the features of the apparently dying patient and infuse into his fainting heart such hopefulness and courage as proved the harbinger of his recovery, so have I seen the power of Divine love so invigorate the heart and nerve the arm of the repentant dipsomaniac, that success was at last assured. If inebriety have a physical side, it has also a moral side; and, speaking simply from a medical point of view, I know of no tonic in the whole range of the pharmacopœia that can compete for a moment with a real faith in a living Saviour in allaying the fears, dissipating the doubts, and strengthening the resolves of the fearing, doubting, feeble-minded inebriate.

No Antidote.—I know of no antidote to the drink crave. No physical agent can destroy an evil tendency which is partly physical and partly moral. But if the sufferer have an earnest desire to be healed, he will find considerable help in allaying the crave from ripe fruit, or from sips of warm or cold water, or from cocoa, coffee, or tea, or from some of the new effervescing unintoxicating drinks, or from a Turkish bath. What aids in one case will not avail in another. I have found a smart emetic the most effectual remedy for some, and the "Unfermented Port with Bark,"* with, where needed, a small addition of an aromatic, is often of great service.

The Dalrymple Home.—There are, however, cases with which you can do nothing. These unfortunates take the pledge every week, and cannot keep it for a day. They seem to be unable to resist the fascination of alcohol. They are consumed with a constant craving for their destroyer. All power of will seems to have fled. They are veritable slaves of the bowl. All they live for is drink, and their entire strength is put forth but

> "To confirm
> The very chains that bind them to their doom."

For such there is but one human hope—seclusion in some establishment where intoxicating drinks cannot be obtained, and where appropriate medical treatment may be carried out. It is for this class that the Dalrymple Home for Inebriates is projected, and I venture to appeal most strongly to you for aid and support to it.

Rescue Work.—Such are a few of the hints that some little experience in the rescue of inebriates has supplied me with. There are some who sneer at our endeavours to reclaim the drunkard. "Let the sots," say they, "drink themselves to death. The sooner the

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* Prepared by Mr. Frank Wright, Chemist, High Street, Kensington, London.

better." "Not so," say we. We know too well our own frailties to deny to brethren less strongly endowed and more strongly tempted than we have been, that mercy of which we are the privileged and thankful recipients. Do not be discouraged by failure.

> "Oft expectation fails, and most oft there
> Where most it promises, and oft it hits
> Where hope is coldest and despair most fits."

I was quite unsuccessful for years with female inebriates, but now I can take you to case after case where there has been a happy issue. There is a maiden lady of 50, of independent means, whom I had repeatedly to attend for drunkenness. She made many false starts, but now she has been a consistent Christian abstainer and a useful Christian worker for the past six years. There is a married lady, 36 years old. There could hardly be an apparently more hopeless case. After seven years' habitual drunkenness, paralysis overtook her, and she lost the use of both lower limbs. A resolute effort was made to keep strong drink from her. She had to be watched night and day. For nearly a month her entreaties, and demands, and threats for drink were heart-rending to listen to. But a blessed calm followed the storm. The craving manifests itself no longer. She is slowly recovering the use of her limbs. Her mind is clear. Her temper is transformed. Her heart is changed, and she now thanks God unceasingly for the stern measures of prohibition against which she rebelled, but which were the means whereby her emancipation from her grinding tyranny was effected.

CLERICAL AND MEDICAL DUTY.—There have been times in the history of our country when clerical and medical functions were a conjoint office; and if ever there were occasion for such a combination it is urgently called for now, in the interests not only of these weakly disease-tainted ones, but for a right understanding of the whole bearings and complications of our national sin.

The inebriate is the special care at once of the clergyman and the physician. In the exercise of our callings, you and we are his guardians. Let us then fulfil our duty. In every intoxicating cup his enemy lies in wait for him. Let us insist on fair play for our ward. Let us demand, as an act not of mercy but of justice, not as a favour but as a right, that the world shall no longer make its social customs a bar to his reformation; that the Church shall no longer endanger his safety by the proffer of his inveterate foe under the guise of sanctity; and that the State shall no longer use all its power to entrap him by the multifarious and well-nigh overwhelming temptations with which he is surrounded by our present halting and unrighteous legislation.

THE REV. R. M. GRIER, Rugeley, Prebendary of Lichfield, and Rural Dean.

IF the Son of Man has come to seek and save the lost, and establish His Church to carry on His work, there is no class with stronger claims upon her consideration than habitual drunkards, for there are none more lost than they. Too often they are

> "Lost to life and use, and name and fame."

They have thrown off the restraints not merely of religion but of reason,

are blind to the obligations, not merely of morality, but of self-interest, and are deaf to the dictates, not merely of conscience, but of common sense; and yet among them are to be found many of high culture, varied accomplishments, splendid intellect, and in the prime of life. Oh! accursed sin of intemperance, through which we so frequently have to mourn

> "That noble and most sovereign reason
> Like sweet bells jangled out of tune and harsh;
> That animated form and gesture of blown youth,
> Blasted with ecstacy."

Upon no sin is the mark of God's displeasure so terribly stamped, whilst to none, at any rate in England, ought the tenderness of man's charity to be more readily extended; for the poor victims of it are ruined by yielding to temptations incident to the common usages of English society. Trying to do what most of us have done with apparent impunity, they have stumbled and fallen. They are our failures.

And herein lie the chief obstacles to their recovery. They have to unlearn what they have been taught by the example of some whom they are bound to honour and love, and to be stedfast in refusing to be conformed, I do not say to this world, but to saints of God. Happily, as it is morally essential, so is it physically possible for them, wholly to abandon the use of alcohol. I have never known the wildest dipsomaniacs suffer more than temporary inconvenience from being suddenly deprived of it. But how can it fail to be a task of surpassing difficulty for one whose will has been enervated by long continuance in evil, and whose appetites, in a body weakened by dissipation, naturally crave for excitement, to go on day by day protesting against a universal custom, and fighting against a passion for stimulants, which he may have inherited and has developed and strengthened by indulgence? What we have to consider is how he can best be prepared for the life-long struggle before him, and acquire moral courage to persevere unto the end.

The question is often asked, "Is drunkenness a disease or a sin?" The reply is simple: It is both; sometimes a disease, but always a sin, and a sin of the deepest dye, inasmuch as it is a direct and immediate offence against the rational nature, that divine principle within us which discerns truth from falsehood, and right from wrong, and distinguishes man from the brute. As such it must, I am persuaded, be regarded by those who have fallen into it, if ever they are to be thoroughly restored.

Not that I undervalue the aid and skill of the physician. I should be no true Catholic if I did. The greatest ancient philosopher looked upon the medical art as of very questionable advantage. It ought, he maintained, to be tolerated, in so far as it served to cure the occasional distempers of otherwise healthy bodies. But when employed to repair constitutions inflamed and enfeebled by wine, it had no share of his esteem. We have not so learned Christ. In the judgment of the Church, whose Founder ministered to the ailments of the body as well as of the soul, the medical profession is a sacred one, and never more useful than when engaged in prolonging the term of a sinner's probation for eternity, and increasing his opportunities of repentance unto salvation. In early Christian times it was followed by the clergy themselves, and though with the growth of civilisation has come division of labour, still the doctor and the priest ought ever to be found side by side, the

one dealing with the symptoms and results of sin, the other with sin itself, brothers in promoting the cause of humanity, and comrades in unceasing strife against the evil of the world.

Frequently, too, in the effort to reclaim inebriates, the work of the medical man must come first. Very often nothing can be done with the soul until relief has been afforded to the body. You might as well think of preaching the Gospel to a starving man before you gave him bread, as of 'winning some poor drunkards to sobriety by first appealing to their consciences. In their shattered state of health, they can do no more than lament their sufferings, and long to escape them. To any institution to which they are sent there ought to be attached a doctor, who has made inebriety, in all its phases, his careful and special study.

But I do not recommend that every inebriate should be sent to such an establishment. The first step to be taken by his friends, if they wish to save him, is to eschew the use of alcohol themselves, and banish it from their tables. Wherever he may go, let him carry with him the consciousness that they feel for him, are bound with him, if he is bound, and have not offered unto the Lord in his behalf that which has cost them nothing. All the world over the cords of a man are the golden cords of love.

Still these may not be strong enough to bind him to virtue everywhere and under all circumstances. There are substances to which a magnet imparts its power of attraction. Vice, in like manner, can magnetise occupations, amusements, localities, persons. There are drunkards who chiefly want a new environment, to enable them to throw off their besetment, and who may beneficially be placed, without any money, in a family where total abstinence is the rule and God is served. In homes bright with an earnest and cheerful piety, they are more likely to drink in the ozone required to re-invigorate their impaired spiritual nature, than in an atmosphere which must more or less be charged with the germs of zymotic moral disease.

But many who might be reclaimed from intemperance, could not safely be received into a private house. They need more drastic treatment than is possible there; some ought even to be subjected to physical restraint. But this, unfortunately, cannot be legally done in England, except where a person voluntarily submits to it. For this and other reasons the Habitual Drunkards' Act is practically of little service. The bill, as originally drafted, was mild enough. Parliament made it milder still. It has been committeed into futility by "the collective wisdom of the English nation," and has hitherto been chiefly useful in pointing the advertisements of temporary homes for permanent inebriates. Our sensitively tender regard for the liberty of the subject was the ruin of it. The liberty of the subject ! ! ! I wonder who the gentleman is. He must, I conceive, be one who takes his liquor like a man. As for the unhappy beings, whose lives he robs of all freedom and all brightness, they, it seems, are not the Queen's subjects at all, but the drunkard's abjects, and such, so far as the Legislature is concerned, are destined to remain for many a long day to come. To my poor unenlightened sacerdotal mind, what is wanted is legal power to commit those who curtail the liberties of others to asylums, where the moral poison which has converted them into capricious tyrants, would be taken from them. In a country where the number of habitual drunkards is computed at

600,000, there is something to be said, even in the sacred name of liberty, for the old system of *lettres de cachet.*

Two objections however, would no doubt be raised to all measures likely to prove an effectual restraint upon them. Some persons might, if such a law existed, be improperly incarcerated, and the expense of maintaining a sufficient number of retreats would be enormous. But surely it is no more difficult to tell habitual drunkards than lunatics, and it would be perfectly fair to charge the cost of their support to the only trade which benefits by their existence. Moreover, if open and inveterate intemperance led to frequent, and ultimately, life-long imprisonment, the number of those who trifled with the sin would very soon be sensibly diminished.

Meanwhile, it is plainly the duty of the Church to establish homes for the inebriates of both sexes. A week hardly ever passes without bringing me letters from the agonised friends of dipsomaniacs, asking what is to be done with them, and I am often at a loss for a reply. There are institutions to which I can recommend gentlemen and poor women to be sent; there are none, so far as I am aware, for gentlewomen and poor men. I cannot believe that I shall appeal in vain to the Church, which during the last thirty years has founded so many Penitentiaries for fallen women, to open an equal number of retreats for that equally lost, and more numerous class of habitual drunkards.

In these, as a rule, they ought to be kept for at least two years, but I have known one who seemed a hopeless wreck, go forth from a retreat a changed and perfectly sober man after a residence in it of only six months, and I know others who will, I am convinced, never be safe, except under supervision, during the remainder of their natural life.

The *genus ebrium* varies greatly; but there are two rules applicable to every member of it; he should have no money and no alcohol. Moreover, the Homes should be isolated, built, I should say, on small islands unspotted by the liquor trade, such as Caldy, off the coast of South Wales, but, if this cannot be, in parts of the country where they would be at a safe distance from the world in general. This is essential to their complete success; for inebriates are dangerous to other people and other people to them. Some years ago, at the instance and with the help of that great and noble man, who had so warm a sympathy with suffering of every kind, Bishop Selwyn, I opened a home for inebriate gentlemen, and though I cannot say that it failed, as at least one third of those who passed through my hands are now living sober and useful lives, I was at length obliged to close it, mainly, though not wholly, because it was in a town. For drunkenness, it must be remembered, is often the companion of other vices, and if the poor victims of it cannot be kept from society until they have recovered their moral tone, they are not unlikely to corrupt it. Besides, until the reign of reason has begun, and the common use of alcohol has, together with the crippled feet of China, and the wicked waists of England, and other demonstrably mischievous customs, been banished from the world, many persons, in the fond belief that the one insufferable hardship which can be inflicted upon a free-born Englishman is to rob him of his beer, will help to keep alive a taste for alcohol in those in whom it is of the first importance to destroy it.

But if inebriates are thus cut off from association with others, they must obviously be provided with full employment for their time and talents.

Amongst them the most difficult cases are persons endowed with great energy of character. To these a dull, monotonous existence is intolerable. They passionately crave for work and excitement. Every institution, therefore, for male inebriates should include a garden, a printing press, a laboratory, a carpenter's shop, a gymnasium, a library, swimming baths, a lawn tennis ground, and, I presume, a smoking room. This last accommodation I mention with some misgiving, as those who eschew tobacco are better able to do without alcohol. Only the effort to abandon both uses at once may be too much to expect from those whose strength of will has been seriously impaired.

The plant of an establishment such as I have sketched would be expensive; but, once started, the institution should be self-supporting. Much of the work of the place might be done by men, and perhaps by women, who, in return for board, lodging, and care, would gladly give their services. As for other patients, those whose friends could pay might be received on remunerative terms, whilst some, who were less fortunate, made smaller payments, and a few were admitted free.

The institution ought not to be a mere commercial speculation. The inmates should realise that those in authority over them seek not theirs, but them. Familiarity with evil produces a suspiciousness which can only be counteracted by familiarity with absolute and transparent disinterestedness. The income of the warden, if he cannot afford to do without one, should be fixed, and whilst sufficient to maintain a gentleman in comfort and refinement, ought not to be so large as to excite cupidity and provoke remark. Whether he should be married or not is a question which cannot be answered off-hand. There is no more powerful human influence in the reclamation of sinners than that of a wise and Christian gentlewoman. But he ought not to have young children, or any other hindrance to his devoting his whole and undivided attention to the poor fellows under his charge. Living with them and present at all their meals, he should be competent to lead their conversation, and take an interest in their amusements and pursuits, as well as to exercise authority, and act with firmness should necessity arise; he should be a veritable ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, and in the best sense of the words, "a man of the world." It was, I think, St. Theresa who said that in choosing a director, you should prefer an ordinarily good man with practical wisdom, to the greatest saint without it. This certainly should be the rule in selecting the warden of a home for inebriates. They ought to feel instinctively that he understands them, and, let me add, there are no men more difficult to understand, for one frequent result of their sin is a preternatural untruthfulness, and those who habitually deceive others are quite sure to deceive themselves. But whilst he readily detects imposture, he must be wholly without guile himself, a man capable of gaining their confidence, and qualified to be an external conscience to them, with warm sympathies, and a generous heart, not puffed up, not easily provoked, who, seeing in every sinner a brother, and the object of a Saviour's redeeming love, will labour to restore him in the spirit of meekness, and not merely to win him from drunkenness, but through Christ to Godward.

In dealing with inebriates, nothing has struck me so much as the power of religion. I found, for instance, that there were no prepossessions so tough and tenacious as those which are made out of it. Men

who had been taught that total abstinence was a pestilent heresy, a survival of Manicheism or Gnosticism, were almost hopeless cases. You can prove to one who is persuaded that he will die if he gives up his wine that he is mistaken; all that you have to do is to keep him alive a certain time without it. But how can you combat objections which are purely transcendental, though supported by the dicta of eminent divines? An appetite, which seems a sacred thing, is well nigh irresistible. There is none so difficult to save from wrong doing as he who has a pious prejudice against doing what is right.

Again, some of the worst cases of intemperance I have ever seen were clergymen and others, who had for years been under exceptionally powerful influences for good. I remember a priest who, though he lived in the house and worked under the eye of a most saintly bishop, contracted bad habits, and came to me in a state of abject misery. He was a man of considerable ability and a fair scholar, but could never be brought to understand the heinousness of his sin. At length I was obliged to dismiss him for repeated intoxication and general cantankerousness, when he returned to his old excess of riot, and died not long afterwards on a doorstep in London. Always in speaking to him I felt that he had been hardened by wasting splendid opportunities of knowing and doing the will of God.

On the other hand, when there has not been such persistent and deliberate sinning against the light, it is easier to deal with those who have been brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Having witnessed the practical results of the truths which you try to instil into their minds, they know that you are not theorising; there is that in their hearts and consciences to which you can appeal. The recollection of a gentle Christ-loving mother, who lived as she prayed, has often opened the heart of a drink-besotted wretch to the Gospel which she loved, and which made her what she was.

Lastly, experience has shown me that if those who for a time are reclaimed are to be safe against relapse, they must be transformed by the renewing of their minds. Their unceasing exercise should be prayer, and their burning desire to extend to others the happiness and knowledge which they have gained themselves. Of what glorious work some of them are capable, we know from the examples of Mr. R. T. Booth and the veteran John Gough. The chief cause of the widespread use of narcotics is the discomfort of mankind. Diminish the sum of human misery, and you will diminish intemperance. Towards this end landlords may do something by improving the dwelling-places of the people. Doctors may do much by improving the sanitary condition of the country. Parents and wives may do more by improving the attractions of home, but, in spite of all their efforts, there will still remain the unrest of the soul which is alienated from God. Of those who break the pledge a large proportion are persons with uneasy consciences. Having fallen into sin they shrink from the thought of it, and instead of going to Him, who alone can pardon, and who ever helps the penitent, they dull their sensibilities by the use of alcohol, with the inevitable result of returning to their vomit. There are none who more plainly need to be brought under the expulsive power of a new affection than drunkards. The soul from which the evil spirit has been cast out must be filled by the Holy Ghost with His seven-fold gifts, if it is not to be re-occupied by the old

tenant, with seven devils worse than himself. To all, but very especially to those who have been in captivity, and whose moral nature is in process of being restored, are the words of Nehemiah and Ezra true, "The joy of the Lord is your strength."

ADDRESS.

The Rev. THOS. HUTTON, M.A., Rector of Stilton.

MR. HOYLE, a very trustworthy authority, says we have in Britain 700,000 habitual drunkards, and one million occasional drunkards, producing over two million cases of drunkenness every week in the year. These facts show the vast importance of the subject under consideration. Whatever remedial measures have been hitherto applied, they do not appear to have exercised much influence in diminishing the number of confirmed inebriates. The very existence of the evil in its present magnitude proves the practical difficulties with which it is surrounded. The *cause* is notorious, visible, and tangible, and, I believe, to a great extent preventible. Public opinion in regard to it is strong and vigorous, but it is not willing to run into act and take the necessary steps to remove temptation; and we shall strive in vain to purify the stream unless we can reach the source—the fountain from which it flows. The evil we are combating is incarnate in physical laws, and moral power alone is not able to cope with it. We want a combination of forces, legal and moral, adapted to the double nature of man, to enable us to solve this difficult problem. American experience in this matter shows that more than one-half of the huge army of drunkards might be reclaimed; but American experience is only in its infancy, and, therefore, we may hope for still greater results. Happily, public opinion is rapidly advancing along the whole line of temperance effort, and I am sanguine enough to believe that we shall in time achieve such a measure of success in the way of prevention and reform as will reduce the number of inebriates much below the American computation. It is well known that a large number of the greatest drunkards in the kingdom are made and kept sober by Act of Parliament, since the most inveterate victims of alcohol are obliged to forego the intoxicating cup so soon as they cross the threshold of the gaol door. On the outside of the prison walls they may delude themselves with the notion that they cannot live without the drink, but on the inside of those walls they are compelled to learn that they can and must live without it; and their health is all the better for its absence. During my ten years' experience as the chaplain of a gaol, I never knew a single case of any harm resulting from the sudden withdrawal of their habitual potations. Dr. Clarke, of Folkestone, who has had much experience in dealing with dipsomaniacs of the better class, says:—"I never knew anything but good result from the sudden withdrawal of all liquors." It was the high standard of health among prisoners that first convinced me of the non-necessity of alcoholic beverages to men in ordinary health; and this conviction has been strengthened by my own personal abstinence for more than thirty years. A few months ago an extract in the public journals from the Report of the Medical Inspector of the London prisons informed us that the mortality in those prisons for the past year had been at the rate of about nine per thousand, whereas the general mortality of the country is over

twenty per thousand. Did time permit, a great amount of other valuable evidence might be adduced to show that I am speaking in accordance with medical science and experience when I say that in the treatment of inebriates, the exclusion of the drink, either by voluntary or compulsory means, would not injure, but benefit, their health. This being so, I cannot doubt that such exclusion would give to the operation of moral means an infinitely better chance of success; and I believe, in a vast number of cases, the *only* chance of success. *The relation of moral evil to the food that it feeds on is admitted to be one of the greatest questions of the day;* and we readily assent to the proposition that a just restriction of liberty is the true extension of freedom; but it is not always easy to decide where liberty should cease and restriction begin. The Bishop of Peterborough has said that "he would rather see England free than England sober." Well, when England is sober, England will be free, and not before. Perhaps if we had thought less of the freedom of the drunkard, and more of the wretched slavery and misery to which his wife and family are constantly subjected through his neglect and cruelty, we should have made more progress than we have towards the solution of this perplexing problem. That persons should be sent to prison scores of times for the same offence—namely, for being drunk, or drunk and disorderly—is a shame and a reproach to our legislation. When liberty is so grossly abused, the law should step in with adequate penalties for the protection of society. What claim can a man have to the rights and liberties of a sober and sensible citizen, when, under an insane love of drink, created by the drink itself, he tramples under foot the rights and liberties of other men? If drink craving, induced by indulgence, renders him unable or unwilling to submit to ordinary correctives for its repression, then, it seems to me, there ought to be legal power to remove him from the temptation he is unable to resist, and which is bringing him down to a drunkard's disgrace and death. The Habitual Drunkards' Act is a mockery and a delusion. Its conditional clauses render it inoperative. It is very strange that the notion should ever have been entertained, much less embodied in law, that in order to avail himself of its advantages the inebriate should be required to make a declaration before two magistrates, and in the presence of two witnesses, that he is an habitual drunkard! Human nature is weak enough, to begin with, but that an inebriate, with his moral sense depraved or dormant, or both, would often submit to such an ordeal, is the height of absurdity. "I know many," says Dr. Clarke, "cured in secret, who but for such privacy would have been ruined." It is well known that confirmed inebriates have recourse to any and every species of falsehood, of low, unscrupulous cunning, in order to secure the gratification of their dominant desire, and it seems to be utter folly to attempt to subordinate their treatment to their own will and consent. I see no hope for such persons except in absolute legal exclusion from their dire and seductive enemy, with strict safeguards, of course, against all improper treatment. Homes or Retreats for the voluntary treatment of inebriates may be of great value, especially in arresting the disease in its early stages, before it has reached an uncontrollable development. It is to be hoped that the establishment of the Dalrymple Home, under new and more favourable auspices, will be attended with sufficient success to procure from the Legislature more feasible conditions, along with enlarged compulsory power. The patient himself should be impressed with the necessity of going to the *cause* of the disease, and becoming a co-worker with his physician in order to effect his cure. He

must be taught that it is as needful for him to be separated from alcohol as it is for a typhus patient to be separated from the germs of the fever. To create a deep impression of this truth in the patient, and so interest him intelligently in his own recovery, is the first of all subjective conditions, since it will take away all idea of harshness, and show him that his true welfare alone is aimed at. The way is then prepared for other moral influences, such as a sense of the sin of intemperance, man's utter powerlessness, without Divine aid, to resist temptation, the love of God, the purified love of self, and the strong power of hope looking towards a new and higher life. The employment of the mind in innocent, self-improving, and useful occupations should be provided for; an earnest interest in the temperance work itself will be found a powerful means and stay in the recuperative treatment of inebriates; so true is it, that he who helps to save others saves himself. Reformed drunkards have rendered important service to the temperance cause; their own recovery from the miry pit has given power and hope to their efforts to reclaim others from the same unhappy condition. In the meantime, our personal abstention from these ensnaring beverages will strengthen our hands not a little in dealing with inebriates. It is far more influential to say *come* than *go*. Precept is good, but it needs the power of example to support it. If one member of a family becomes the victim of this vice, how can the other members hope to reclaim him so long as the fatal temptation is placed on the table before him every day? "Many cures have been effected here," says Dr. Clarke, "most of whom have stood; but they stand, and can stand, only in carrying out total abstinence principles. I would not have the slightest faith in any one of these being able to take liquor moderately." Many of us little know what claims the drunkard may have upon our tenderness and sympathy; we little know how much blame is to be placed to the account of hereditary tendency; how much to bad parental example; how much to the customs of society, and how much to those legalised temptations which beset him at every turn. After all, as a means to national sobriety, the treatment of inebriates can be of very partial application. It is impossible to place more than a small minority under treatment; but if all could be so placed, their return to social life, *under existing conditions*, would involve a certain return to their former habits on the part of the vast majority. Present customs and legalised temptations are ever producing new crops of inebriates. Hence the necessity of connecting with remedial measures *preventive action*. We must endeavour to change social customs on the one hand, while, on the other, the law is invoked to remove the public temptations. We must surround the people with circumstances that are conducive to sobriety, morality, and good order, instead of those which are provocative of intemperance, vice, and crime. Just consider the state of society to which the reformed inebriate is to be restored; consider the corruption of human nature and the difficulty of withstanding temptation; consider the paralysed will engendered by past excesses—consider all these, and then let us ask ourselves, What right have we to expect that moral teaching *alone* will be sufficient to counteract those fatal incentives to intemperance which abound on every hand, making it so easy to do wrong and so hard to do right? Medical science has settled one point—namely, that whatever else alcohol may be, it is certainly not food. This is of immense importance, because, as Dr. Richardson says, "its supposed necessity as a food, a sustaining food, lies at the bottom of all drinking habits and all legislation." "It is unfair," says Dr. Acland, "to look for advice from his

profession as to the cure of disease which the State, philanthropy, Christianity, and the Church, and those who believe in the religious progress of the human race, *ought to have stamped out*, and never have allowed to come under the dominion of the physician." The statesman that would bring our liquor laws into harmony with the verdict of science and the claims of religion and national sobriety, would render an incalculable service to the cause of humanity, and would earn the lasting gratitude of his country.

DISCUSSION.

The Hon. and Rev. Canon LEIGH, Vicar of Leamington.

I THINK we are all pretty well agreed on one point, viz., that the only cure for inebriates is total abstinence. I believe that even those writers who have been dragging on a very dreary correspondence in the Church papers lately, would go so far as to make one exception as to drunkards, when they talk of teetotalism as a great, growing, and an unmixed evil. I cannot but think that it is a great pity that that correspondence should ever have been allowed to appear, for it has not strengthened our hands to do what we can to cure inebriety. Dr. Norman Kerr has shown us that it is a disease, and also that it is hereditary, or that there is a predisposing cause which leads to drinking. The question, then, seems to be how to convert the habitual drunkard into a total abstainer? There have been two great methods proposed, the one to remove the article from the consumer, and the other to remove the consumer out of the reach of the article. The first could only be accomplished by depriving those who may be inclined to indulge moderately in the use as well as those who indulge immoderately. Now, although we know that there are zealous reformers—called by the outside world fanatics—who are quite prepared to see the poison banished entirely out of the country, and who are ready to go in for uncompromising and total prohibition; although it must be admitted, so far as license and prohibition diminish facilities for procuring intoxicants, and the use is thereby diminished; yet experience has also shown that legislation has not materially diminished the consumption, whilst we know that it has often increased it. The craving for drink will always create a demand, and attempts to stop the supply have not been successful even in the State of Maine, for we learn that in Bangor, in that State, although public-houses have been closed, there are no fewer than forty drinking clubs, and in the "Liquor Directory" there are the names of one hundred and seventy-six liquor dealers in Portland. The city of legislation might, however, treat as nuisances places of sale which are dangerous to the community. This admits, of course, the right of regulation and prohibition, but it recognises also the necessity of an intelligent earnest public opinion to the enforcement of the law. Then there might be a civil damage law holding the seller liable for all damage resulting from the sale. A case in point appeared the other day in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, viz., that of a labourer at the small town of Aylesford, in Kent, who boasted that he would drink as much spirits as could be supplied to him. A publican supplied him, and the man died. I am glad to know that the police have taken that publican into custody. What the magistrates have done with him I do not know, but I hope he will be severely punished. It was certainly a case of manslaughter, if not of murder. The liberty of the individual should be, to a certain extent, limited; and this should be applied not only to the victimiser, but also to the victim. Now as to how to remove the consumer from the article. Dr. Norman Kerr said the other day, before the meeting of the British Medical Association, "They do these things better in America." We certainly could not do them worse. But they are by no means perfect in that country, for I find this statement was made by Dr. Channing, of Boston, last November, at a meeting in Saratoga: "The cure and reform of drunkards is, it seems to me, one of the most vival questions of the present day. It is a question which States have evaded or handled with feeble courage, and as yet but little progress has been made towards its solution. Over and over again the efforts of religious and other institutions have proved to be almost futile, and we seem as far off as ever from the needed solution." And Dr. Bucknell was of opinion, after having visited six inebriate asylums, that they were all unsound from the top to the bottom, with the exception of Franklyn Home,

in Philadelphia. And that would hardly satisfy my friend, Dr. Norman Kerr, because it starts on the principle that intemperance is *not* a disease, and that the habitual drunkard must be put on his honour, and have no restraint placed upon him. It seems to me that there should be a sort of classification among the inebriates. First, there should be homes or retreats ; secondly, asylums ; and thirdly, houses of detention. Into the first, persons could go of their own accord, with the full purpose of amendment, and an earnest desire for reform, and here I think, what is called in America "the cottage system," should be adopted. In the second, could be placed the uncontrollable victim by friends who should be able to take the habitual drunkard before a magistrate, having first obtained a certificate signed by two medical men. He could then be treated in just the same way as if placed in an insane asylum. As to the third class, it is very important that there should be houses of detention for criminal inebriates where they might be maintained sufficiently long to do them good. Only a few weeks ago there was a deplorable case of this sort in the London papers. I mean that of Jessie Mason, only twenty-seven years of age, and who had yet been convicted over one hundred times in the London police courts. The only witness to her character was a female friend, who herself had been convicted sixty times. The touching words of the poor woman were: "Do what you like with me ; give me as long as you can." She was, I suppose, detained for a few days and then sent forth again into the streets, probably to end her wretched career in the way she had before attempted—in the dark waters of the Thames. It is clearly then the duty of the Legislature to try and do something. It was said the other day by a well-known philosopher, who has lately died, "The Licensing Laws are laws to give to publicans and grocers license to do what they like to extend the sale of spirituous liquors." And we might add—to produce such degraded specimens of our English womanhood as Jessie Mason. Upon the legislative body rests the onus of indirectly causing the manufacture of these victims, and upon the Legislature should rest the responsibility of providing asylums for their victims. Unless, indeed, our statesmen are prepared to grapple fully with the question, and not to indulge any longer in mere patchwork legislation, or wild leaps in the dark, they should do something both to restrict the sale of liquor and to help to cure their poor victims. Otherwise this sin—this national sin—will continue to be a reproach to our people, and we cannot expect that righteousness will continue to exalt our nation.

Dr. Eastwood, J.P., Darlington.

As a member of the Habitual Drunkards' Committee, along with Dr. Alfred Carpenter, of Croydon, and Dr. Norman Kerr, I think I can lay claim to say a few words on this subject, in whtch I have had considerable practical experience. Consulted as I am in all cases of brain disease, including insanity and cases of dipsomania, and also other cases of nervous affection, I have had considerable experience, and I have also cases of insane patients under my care living as private patients in my own house. Persons subject to dipsomania come to me with the wish to place themselves under my care, but the law says, "No, you cannot receive such patients, they must have their proper certificates under the Acts of Parliament before they can become your patients." On one occasion, a gentleman came to my house suffering from dipsomania, bringing his luggage with him, which he put down in my hall, and before I had time to say anything to him his luggage was placed in the house. He was making himself ready to stay with me, but I was obliged to send him away, because the law would not allow me to receive him as a dipsomaniac. He was very much disappointed that he could not stay, but the law would not permit him to do so without his having the necessary certificate. I am also frequently written to by friends of patients to know what they are to do with their suffering friends. Of course, I could not tell them where they could send them, but I gave them the best advice I could. There is a great necessity for something being done to meet these cases. Dalrymple Home is not yet established, and at present only a few cases can be treated under the Habitual Drunkards' Act, which is a permissive Act, and therefore shorn of its beneficial privileges. These patients of whom I speak are difficult to provide for. I have been consulted by persons of good position in society, and who are able to pay for the maintenance and care bestowed upon them, and in some cases are able to pay liberally for it. But on account of the deficiency of the law it is impossible to provide for them, but sometimes they will come and be treated by me. I had one case in South

Wales, who, although I wrote to him that I was not allowed to take him, insisted upon coming. I gave him advice, and put him upon mineral spa treatment for some time, because I thought even if it did not cure him it would be better than drinking alcohol. He remained under the care of his friends for about three months, and then he was completely cured of a complaint which he had had for over four years. About two or three years afterwards he wrote and told me that he was continuing quite well. Here was a case of complete cure of a disease which had existed for about four years. That is, however, only one instance out of many which I could give you of a complete cure. But when proper treatment cannot be adopted, patients should be kept entirely away from alcoholic liquors. In no case whatever should that be allowed. These facts have proved to me from my experience that it is really a disease, but I do not say that every person who gets drunk is suffering from disease. In a great number of instances the disease is as distinct as any form of insanity, or any other disease of the body can be. To give you only one instance of this, I may mention a case of a medical man of Middlesborough, who had been suffering for months from dipsomania, until he got into a very bad way. His medical adviser sent for me, and upon inquiry I found that the sufferer had been attended by no less than three medical men. They did not think it was a case of disease, but one of drunkenness. I found the patient in a very bad state, and I advised certain treatment, which was successful. The man improved, but the friends and the attendants did not see the seriousness of the case, and they left the patient to himself; and one night he got hold of some aconitine—an alkaloid poison—and took a quantity of it, and when his attendants came to him shortly afterwards, they found him dead. That is only one instance in which there is a connection between dipsomania and actual disease. Another case, of a person who was thought likely to commit suicide, was put under my care for some time, and after treatment he perfectly recovered, and went home again, and some time ago I learnt—I think you will consider this a proof of his recovery—he got married. I think then I have shown the necessity for private institutions for such persons being established, not only the Dalrymple Home in the neighbourhood of London, but in other parts of the country, and I trust that when this institution is started there will be one in the centre and in the north of England, where patients can go and be properly treated and cared for. This Dalrymple Institution, which is proposed to be erected and carried on, will be registered under an Act of Parliament, which allows of no profit being obtained therefrom, so that it will not be a commercial speculation, and will be intended for persons not enabled to pay large sums. Other institutions should be established for those who cannot afford to pay so much. My experience has been mainly among the upper classes, and I am very sorry to say that there are numerous cases of dipsomania among them. Only the other day there came to my knowledge the case of a clergyman, who, for the fifth time, had been brought before a magistrate and sent to prison, because he was unable to pay the fine that was inflicted. I know that was a case of dipsomania. I could also mention instances of medical men and others of the educated classes, who were constantly coming under my care or notice, persons who had not only received good secular education, but were of a religious character. I would say of such cases as these especially that the influence of religion would be all important. Clergymen can work hand in hand with the physician. Unless the two professions can unite together for the cure of the habitual drunkards, it seems that no provision can be made for religious education in being cured, and therefore I urge those who can do anything for the Dalrymple Home to do so, and encourage its formation, and that of other institutions of a similar kind.

W. WOODWARD, Esq., Tenbury.

As at one time I was unhappily addicted to hard drinking, and before I could break myself of the habit, was obliged to place myself under restraint and enter a Home for Inebriates, I have, I feel, some right to speak upon this subject. During my two and a half years' stay in the home, I made the acquaintance of thirty-nine men who were there for the same reason as myself. Not one of us had ever drank with the intention of becoming a drunkard. Nay, where is the man who would commit so gross a sin? But it was our moderate drinking that led us on until we became drunkards, and yet some of these poor fellows, when the Warden was not present, would talk about the moderate use of alcohol as possible in their case, and a remedy for drunkenness. I need hardly say that this theory proved fatal to them. The plan was one

which they had tried long before they entered the institution. They had, moreover, had the daily example of the moderate use of alcohol set them from childhood by those who were nearest and dearest to them, had endeavoured to follow it, and knew the result. But the experience of the past was thrown away upon them. Twenty-six of the thirty-nine closed their ears to all moral and religious teaching and to the warning of our Lord "to cut off the right hand which offended them," and the persuasion of those who told them that their moral recovery was impossible as long as they indulged their appetite for strong drink, even in the smallest quantity. All experience teaches us that it is in vain to attempt the reformation of the drunkard as long as he tastes alcohol. You must take from him the promoting cause, all intoxicants, and this, like the rolling away of the stone from the sepulchre of Lazarus, is a work which God calls on human power to carry out, before the different means of grace can be effectually used. These means of grace are to be found in our Church, with Jesus Christ at her head, where the drunkard, after man has removed the stumbling block, can come for the strengthening of his soul, the quieting of his conscience, and the receiving of comfort. I would especially point out to you one means of grace that she has given us, because it is too frequently and ignorantly condemned. I allude to confession, and maintain that it is absolutely necessary in some instances before a man can be saved from his sin of drunkenness, and I, as a layman would not have called your attention to this means of grace, if it had not been that I myself and others I know have received a direct benefit from it and a blessing. The drunkard, who is honestly endeavouring to reclaim himself, knows well his weakness; nor will the evil one let those whom he has once had in his full power go free without a tremendous effort on their part to regain themselves; and we cannot (I speak as one of them)—we cannot afford to lose the benefit of any one of those blessed means of grace that God's love has provided for strengthening our souls. It may be well, therefore (in order that access may be as free as possible), that there should be an Oratory within the walls of the Home, and that there, at any rate, the penitent should find every opportunity for prayer, and communion, and reconciliation. Let the men have every opportunity offered them so that they can obtain the different means of grace, whereby they can reform themselves, and while you teach them to be earnest in the use of them, let them not neglect human means. The total abstaining pledge should be set before them as a pledge between themselves and Almighty God, and having realised this they should be persuaded to pledge themselves anew to Him night and morning, praying to Him to give them strength to keep their pledge to Him throughout the coming day, and to take away from their hearts all thoughts of strong drinks, as well as to deaden their craving for it. But after all, the whole of man's time cannot be occupied with the observance of the ordinances of religion, and, therefore, to avoid idleness, with its train of evil consequences, provision must be made for the full employment of all his faculties. A careful reader of men's characters and dispositions (and a Warden has need to be such) will have little difficulty in finding out the physical or mental capacities of those under him, and providing means and opportunities for their employment. The mind of the inebriate too readily recurs to the past, and, therefore, there is all the more necessity to keep it lawfully occupied. Yes, he is too fond of reading trashy novels, the very worst class of book the reforming man can read, as parts of them are sure to remind him of his past life, thus keeping alive in him that which every effort should be made to destroy. Above all things, encourage him to read the Word of God, that Book of books, and other literature with good, sound, moral teaching, and plenty of life in it, and let there be amusements and games for him of every sort and kind. In short, let the home be made as cheerful as it possibly can be made, and to encourage the inmates to do that which is right let there be constantly with them a Warden who understands human nature, firm, yet kind, to deter those who would talk lightly of alcohol and their past lives, as well as to stop all loose and demoralising talk. It is absolutely necessary that the head of the institution should know the disposition and character of every man in the place, and this can only be obtained through his daily studying the men's lives and conversations. Some men will be found who delight in loose, debasing talk, and when such are left to themselves without supervision they are apt to demoralise all that listen to them. But when restrained and encouraged to do that which is right and good from a Warden, consistent in his daily life, firm yet kind, the very worst may, by God's grace, be turned into a fellow helper with the Warden. What do I say? Into a fellow helper with God, and come once more to deserve the name of Man. For he needs to be such a Man—a true Man. Directly he leaves the home he is face to face with his old enemy, strong drink. He has often to sit at the table while it is used by those who once rightly judged him a drunkard. The smell of it, the very sight of it, awakens his appetite for it, and gives him a longing to taste

it again. I ask you, as Christian people, what do you suppose the battlefield of the reclaimed man is like? It is not that of a sailor, who, in the heat of excitement throws a bucket of water over a live shell, and then picks it up and puts it into a tub of water, and rightly and justly receives the Victoria Cross. No; it is a continual watching and warfare against the enemy he once yielded to; and there are moments, he knows not the day or hour, that he may be attacked and have to fight a fearful battle with the evil one, and if it were not for the Grace of God he would infallibly fall. I appeal to you then, "That no man put a stumbling block or occasion to fall in his brother's way," but banish from your homes that which caused your brother to offend, and may be the cause of his offending again. Self-denial is required from you; not self-denial involving the renunciation of a necessary of life, but what has proved to be a most dangerous luxury. Our Great Example denied Himself not only the luxuries but the necessaries of life. Will you, who are His followers, refuse to give up your glass of beer or wine for the sake of your weaker brother? Forgive me, I am pleading not only for myself, but for 600,000 men, who, like myself, have yielded to habitual drunkenness; we need your prayers and your help, and would be far more likely to forsake wickedness and do that which is lawful and right if you in your charity would set us an example which we could safely follow.

The Rev. J. COWDEN COLE, Vicar of Upton.

INTOXICATION has been treated as a physical disease. I venture to ask whether that is entirely in accordance with our practical experience? Intoxication is a thing we know something about, and those cases, of which we do know, come certainly more within the category of moral diseases than physical ones. I venture to think that the answer to this question will settle the matter as to the treatment which inebriates should undergo. We have had set before us the physical treatment, the separation, and the denial of drink. But will that settle the matter? Ought we not rather to try by moral measures to produce a greater impression upon the greater number. For it comes to this: here are a few cases—I venture to say a very few—and they belong to one section of the people who have long purses, and can go to these homes, and can be put under these particular gentlemen, and follow these measures to restrain themselves, by which they hope to be cured. But now how is it with regard to classes? There is one large class which falls a great deal into habits of intoxication. I allude to the working classes. You may account, perhaps, in some individual cases for it being a disease, but I ask you as reasonable men whether you would say that it was so of a large number of those who form this section of the working people, and whether it can in their case be called in any manner a disease at all? I will come now to what I think would be one way of dealing with intoxication as it concerns this section of the people, viz., by making drink cheaper and so familiarising them with it, and then, secondly, I would place the whole drinking habits of the country under more stringent control. Take the case of beer. The working men of England are perhaps people of one liquor—they drink beer. Is it so very wrong, I would venture to ask in an assembly of English people, that English workmen should drink beer? It is the ordinary drink of the country, and moreover it is the drink which is, I believe, more especially adapted to the people of this country. Well, now, what has the Government done for us in regard to beer? It has said to the working men, "For every glass of beer you drink you shall pay double what it is worth." It has told the working men, "You may drink beer, but you must pay more for that beer in the form of taxation than ought to be paid." The State has dealt so with the working man, and I say that it is a moral shame that a working man should be called upon to pay a heavy tax every time he drinks a pint of beer to his dinner. And not only this, the State has placed no real control over the opportunities for the working people to obtain liquor. They have said, "Drink as much as you please, and go where you please, and have all sorts of opportunities of drinking all that you wish to drink, only on this one condition, that you pay this tax." I venture to say that we do not owe the State very much for what is being done in connection with the reform of inebriates. The State offers in one form almost a premium on intoxication, and at the same time does its best to raise a revenue for paying the cost of the Egyptian campaign. I think, therefore, we should try and saddle the right horse, and put the burden of the intoxication of this country upon the powers which are able to make an alteration in it. Do not let us go and speak ill of these unfortunate people who are seeking their pleasure. They take

to intoxication because it brings to them and is to them a source of pleasure. They take to it because it brings them into what is called society, and it enables men to be jolly good fellows among that class of people in which their special lot is cast. And why should we speak of the habits of the working classes in the special way that we are in the habit of doing with regard to their intoxication? I venture to think that the more we can see that it is a moral disease and not a physical one, the better chance there will be of putting it down. There is a bette r chance of curing intoxication not only in individual cases, but also in the concrete as well as in the abstract. If we regard it as a physical disease, it will have to be placed, I fear, among the section of diseases which physicians and doctors tell us are incurable. I have known instances—every clergyman has known and can call to his mind's eye, whenever he chooses to direct his mind to the subject, within his own knowledge, instances which will bear this out. And I ask them whether these particular cases which they have known can be pronounced in any sense of the word curable? So far as my own experience has gone as a clergyman, I have never known such.

The Rev. W. ACRAMAN, Vicar of Crich.

As a worker for twenty years on this subject, I think I am entitled to say something about it. It seems to me that total abstinence provides the one special remedy for those men who are addicted to that which causes their sins to be visited upon their children. With reference to the medical aspect of this question, I thank God for the able speech which we have listened to from one medical gentleman to-night, and for the change which has come over medical men during the last ten years, but still there are a large number who are tempted to give wine as a tonic or restorative. I have known some instances where they have ordered wine with fatal results. Medical men can best be reached through their professional brethren, and we ought, therefore, to be very glad that so many men of the fraternity are coming forward and teaching total abstinence as a special remedy for those who are addicted to excess. Much has been said to-night, and many comments offered, as to legislation not having gone far enough. There are many cold water hydropathic establishments existing. There are thirty to forty at Matlock, where the social element is brought out, and there are other places elsewhere. I would suggest to my brethren who are workers in this matter, that for want of something better, they might recommend this place to those who might be tempted to go there. With regard to the two systems of medicine—homœopathy and hydropathy—they have to a great extent won their way in public opinion, but the question is, how can we use these systems for the recovery of the drunkard? As workers we can speak of the faith which elevates the soul and the mind, which looks to God and Jesus Christ, and we can educate our people, we can flood our parishes with temperance literature. We need not confine ourselves simply to Bible meetings, but with every Scripture tract which is given away we can give a temperance tract, and thus we can reach many of those who do not attend public meetings. A clergyman doubles his influence with his parishioners as soon as he takes up this temperance question. I am able to speak practically on this matter, having worked from the time of my ordination. One great result of the temperance movement is this: not the world of total abstainers in our ranks, but the far greater number of people whom we have lifted up, and by the influence of temperance, have made sober, faithful, and prayerful. Why is this drink so great a temptation? Is it not this: that it it is a brain power, and if Satan can get the reason captive he gets the whole man at last? The work here is temperance. I look at it not only as a wide field of work, but that in connection with it the remedial part must mean total abstinence. Without going into the vexed question of uniformity I would suggest to those who are tempted to take too much, to come and join in the work of helping the drunken man in his struggle, and to give him a new, better, and holier life. It has been well remarked to-night how great an influence have all these intoxicating liquors, not only upon the spiritual but upon the moral being, the sad conclusion being this, that the conscience is so much affected by them that the conscience at last ceases to speak. And when that is the case, looking at the question in a moral point of view, we may say that a fatal step has been taken on the road which leads to ruin. Drunkenness must always be taken up in the spirit of Christian love. Without that nothing good can be done. "In prayer, in faith, looking up to Him who is able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by Him." There is an old Christian writer who says "that plaster sticks

best that is laid on with a warm hand." That is what we want in our sympathy with the drunken man. Buried down in the human heart there are feelings which Christian love and sympathy can restore. We must work in this spirit, and put our faith in God for the result.

The Rev. WILLIAM AYERST, Vicar of Hungarton, Leicester.

I can speak from my experience of the great change which has taken place amongst the poor in London. There has been a great change coming over the people in St. Giles's since I was curate there in 1859. When I first went there the people used to come to me in the vestry, and their presence was quite offensive. They smelt so much of drink and of squalor that I did not know what to do. I used to always carry camphor about with me, for the air was poisoned, as it were, and I never cared to eat my dinner until I had a walk in the park. But this has been changed very much for the better, and I am able to notice a great improvement in the dirty habits of those who used to drink. I congratulate our country and the noble profession of medicine which has taken up the question of sanitation, and which has helped to bring about the great improvement in the condition, of our streets and houses, and also greater purity and cleanliness in the outward habits of the life of the people. And I congratulate you in Derby, that you have such a noble hall which is called the Temperance Hall, for it shows that during the past twenty years great changes have taken place in this land. While you were working in the temperance cause in England, I was working in it in an humble way in India. I could tell you of many a sad tale of the effects of drink among the British soldiers. They themselves knew the evils of drink by the names they used to give to it. They used to call it "hell's blazes," "fixed bayonets," and such like names, for they knew what destruction it was to them when they gave way to it. When I first became a chaplain in the army, some twenty years ago, it was not uncommon for a soldier to take so much drink at night that he would be found dead in the morning in the cold and wet after a night's debauch. All these things have been very much improved, by God's blessing, owing to the various temperance organisations. Throughout the British army the sad tale was told in the defaulters' list of those who were drunk. We have had deaths from drinking, and I remember many sad effects upon the poor wife and children owing to the drunkenness of the husband. To-night something has been said with regard to the sisterhood of two professions, and I say that medicine and theology go hand in hand together. But I venture, with all respect to the noble profession of medicine, to say that while the department of restraining from drink lies a good deal with medicine, the department of giving up drink lies a good deal with theology. Some consider it impossible that a Christian should not be a teetotaler. That is a great mistake, but it is very difficult for a drunken man to become a teetotaler unless he be a Christian. These two things should go together. Real reformation has always been supported and strengthened by Christianity. To-day I was in the company of some friends at dinner, and one of the guests hearing that I was about to speak at this meeting, related the following anecdote. A little girl said to her mother, "Father will not drink any more wine." The mother said, "Why not?" and the little girl replied, "I have been praying God that he shan't." The father overheard this, and, thank God, it was blessed to him. But to speak in the language of philosophy, I would say, "The will-power has much to do with it." I can tell you of one case of will-power, and could instance many more. I was called in to visit a dying colonel. I received a letter from his wife asking me to come, and although I had cholera very bad about me, I hastened up and rushed off to the place. Before I went into the sick room, I followed my usual rule and said to his wife, "Now tell me plainly, I want to know all about your husband. Tell me what has been on his mind." And she told me all about him; and so, when I went in to see the officer, I said to him, "I know there is something wrong, tell me what it is." I knew all about it, of course, from his wife. He then told me that he should not live. I said to him, "I am sorry to see you so ill, but you are not going to die." He said in plaintive tones that he was certain he was, but I appealed to his will-power, and he recovered, and that man is alive now. The will-power is necessary to the giving up of drinking, and you know that the will-power is nothing but the power of the Holy Ghost. We can point to the convert in proof of the influence brought to bear upon the will, and thus the inner man is changed, and so it is with the drunkard. The two professions, as I have said, should go together hand in hand, and I rejoice

to find medical men advocating this great cause. I remember the time when medical men laughed at the idea of total abstinence, but that has been given up very much now by the most able of medical men. I notice that another change has taken place. When I first became connected with the army, at the officers' messes it was nearly always the case that wine was pressed upon you, but now things are very different. You can look along the line of a table with fifty officers, and sometimes find but a very small portion of them drinking wine, and it is far from being pressed upon you. You are simply asked if you will have it, but nothing beyond this. That I call a very great change. I am told by politicians that the revenue is affected by the reduction of the quantity of liquor consumed. The State does not get so much now as it used to do, and the Egyptian war will not be so completely paid for as former wars were from this source of revenue. I hope in future the State will have very little drink money with which to pay for their wars. I say, God grant that there may be no wars, for wars come from the passions, and passions arise a great deal from drink. So thank God we are improving. I believe we shall presently find ourselves in a yet brighter life, and I hope England will soon no longer be the basest of nations with regard to the liquor trade.

The Rev. A. GLEN BOTT, St. Peter's, Preston.

I MUST make an apology for presuming to speak to-night, but as I am a curate of a parish of 8,000 souls, most of whom are working men, I feel deeply on this subject of temperance. I think we have not had sufficient prominence given to the main point, viz., the remedial treatment of inebriates. It has been assumed that inebriates are habitual drunkards. It has been my painful experience to learn that many among inebriates are far from being habitual drunkards, and to learn that many a home has been ruined and many children neglected in cases where the homes are the homes of people who, although drunken, are by no means habitual drunkards. Some of us feel strongly on the subject. I myself, in my own professional life, have many times been obliged to confess—and I appeal to all to confess it—that when we hear the utterances of one who has fallen a prey to that craving for drink it is very hard to be repressed. When we have heard it stated how hard the struggle is by one who has himself been a sufferer, and he has told us that he met thirty-nine more in the like terrible affliction, and that they are but the representatives of 600,000 who are in a like condition, it becomes to us a very anxious matter and a very terrible thought whether the Church is doing its duty as regards the social life of the people. How comes it, when this terrible subject is being considered, that there are so few present to deliberate upon it? I do think, that when we are appealed to to put away from our tables, and to put away from ourselves, that which is the cause of so much misery and sorrow to others, we ought to respond more warmly. The real remedial treatment of inebriates is to put away the cause of drunkenness altogether. There is another point to which prominence certainly has been given, but upon which sufficient stress has, I think, not been laid. It has been my painful lot, as doubtless it has been of many of my clerical brethren, to take the pledge of those who have been drunken, and to hear from them the sad tales of the power of drink and the misery it entails. How are we, when we get them to sign the pledge, to make them keep it? How are we in our daily contact with these people to bring about the prevention of drunkeness? Must it not be by the power of prayer? Must we not pray that they may be firm in their resolutions? And we should teach them to pray too. Daily prayer and daily pledging are very powerful factors in remedying drunkenness. The putting away of all unnecessary temptation from the drunkard's road, and not merely in classing them as those who have been guilty and who are now less guilty than they were, but by putting away as far as ever we can from their path all that which has been to them, and which may be again, and is again in very many cases, the cause of their sad and mournful fall. By fervent and earnest prayer, not merely for the drunkards, but for those who are filling the great Hall over yonder, that they may take more interest in the question, and help us to stimulate an indifferent and slothful legislature to a right feeling on this important topic.

The CHAIRMAN.

THAT brings the meeting to a close, as I have no more cards of speakers. It must be a satisfaction to us all to feel that the speakers and readers will address a much larger audience than those we have in this Hall, and through the medium of the press I trust that the words we have heard will go a long way towards obtaining a greater consideration of this very important subject.

DRILL HALL.

FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 6TH

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

THE DEVOTIONAL LIFE.

DEVOTIONAL STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.
THE HOLY COMMUNION IN RELATION TO PERSONAL DEVOTION.
THE CONSCIENCE: ITS NATURE AND NEEDS.
ASSOCIATION FOR PRAYER AND PROGRESS IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE.
THE HOLY COMMUNION IN RELATION TO CHRIST OUR EXAMPLE.
THE DEVOTIONAL USE OF HYMNS.
ENRICHMENT OF PRIVATE PRAYER.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

IT has been the custom for some years past at this meeting of the Congress, when we consider the devotional life and endeavour to stir each other up to seek after higher attainment in this life, that we should refrain from all applause, and still more, I need scarcely say, from all expressions of disapprobation, even if it were conceivable that occasions for such should arise. I need hardly also suggest to you how desirable it is that the newspapers should be put aside in order that we may fix our thoughts on the momentous subject which is this morning to be brought before us. We have arranged this year that at the close of each address there should be the singing of a hymn in order to relieve the strain, greater to-day than any other day, which will necessarily be felt by many of you in listening to what will be brought before you. It will be well if those who are obliged to leave before the end of the meeting will do so at one of those intervals, and not during the reading of any of the papers. I only further express my hope and prayer that this meeting may be blessed to all of us as the means of deepening and strengthening our spiritual life, and that we may all give heed to what we hear with that purpose and that desire.

Devotional Study of Holy Scripture.

The Rev. T. B. Boultbee, LL.D.

Controversy, or at least controversial feeling, must have been occasionally aroused by matter or manner during the course of this Congress. Now a hush should fall upon our spirits while we consider how we may best listen to the voice of God. No doubt, even on this subject, there are great differences of opinion and of practice. For our subject has two sides, the intellectual and the spiritual. There is the devotion and the study. If there is study, the varying tendencies of differing minds and differing training will manifest themselves, and diverse systems of doctrine and practice must ensue. But we should wrong the idea presented to us were we perversely to approach it on this side or on that, and regard the study as one thing and the devotion as another. We are not thus to gaze at them from the two sides where they front the outside world. We are to approach their inner harmonies where they blend. We are to behold them with no "middle wall of partition" reared between them; but where study kindles devotion, and devotion excites study. Yet so that the key-note shall be found rather in the word devotion than the word study. It is not a studious devotion, but a devotional study. The painter who speaks to us through the eye tones his colours so as to bring all into harmony with the dominant expression. "That inner eye, which is the bliss of solitude," is not less susceptible to the subtle harmonies of tone. Mere study is a human thing, profitable indeed and necessary. It has the strong broad light of an earthly day streaming over it. On devotional study a softer radiance is resting. It comes through the Gate of Pearl from that inner sanctuary where "the Lamb is the light thereof." Here, therefore, is Bethel. Here is the ladder between heaven and earth. For here the Word of God comes to the soul, and here the desires of the soul go up in answer to the Word. Anything less than this falls short of the ideal presented before us now. For the ideal itself we seek, whatever be the deficiency of our own attainment.

One thing our subject requires of us all—a full conviction that the Holy Scripture is the Word of God, so as nothing else is; that in it and through it God speaks directly to us. I am not concerned with any theories of inspiration. These will differ as other intellectual conceptions differ among thoughtful men. I am not demanding assent to any special theory how this came to be God's Word, or how the human and the Divine are either blended or conjoined, or may be separable in the Scripture. I have heard from an eminent man, commonly supposed to have cast away the olden belief in inspiration, a fervent declaration, that from the first page in Genesis to the last page in Revelation there is the Divine element, the very power of the Spirit of God, speaking to his soul and conscience within, as no book, no voice, no power in the world beside could speak. For my present purpose I would stir no controversy, and ask no more than a union in this belief—but this much I do ask.

It is written that there "arose not in Israel a prophet like unto Moses whom the Lord knew face to face." To him the promise was given, "There," before the veil, "I will meet with thee, and I will commune

with thee from above the mercy-seat, from between the two cherubims which are upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel." Shall the new covenant do less for its children, to whom it was written : "They shall all know Me, from the least to the greatest"? Shall "the true tabernacle which the Lord hath pitched, and not man," have less power to bring the soul into converse with God? How, then, in no mere mystic longings, no rapt enthusiasm, no confusion of the creation of the human brain with the Divine Word, shall we know that God communes with our souls? In what way more clearly, more certainly, less ambiguously, than when the voice comes to us through that which all Christians confess in some sense to be His Word? "Bibliolatry!" do some exclaim? Surely an idle word. No doubt due respect would be paid even to the outward form of the Bible. We would not place our foot upon a Bible for convenience, as upon another thing. The true instinct of childlike reverence would forbid. But it is not that of which we speak. We make no fetish of the Bible. It is not a mere symbol, a thing before which empty homage crouches. It is instinct with thought which lives and teaches and consoles from age to age! Still the taunt comes. "So you would bring us to a book!" With what scorn men can speak of this book-bondage! Yet what is there in the whole world so trustworthy, so full of that which conquers death? What conveys so unfaded a record as a book? What is Homer but a book? Yet in its third millenary of years it stirs men's blood as with a trumpet. What is Shakespeare but a book? But what poverty would fall upon the world if the book were gone! What is history but a book? and what is Stonehenge but grey weather-beaten stones? But say, what would you give if record, however brief, remained of the lost races who reared them on the wide moor, and wherefore they undertook the arduous toil? A book! It may often represent man's corruption, man's folly, and man's untruthfulness; but there is nothing which God has given us so full of undying power, handing on its message and its trust from age to age. Oh! how the longings of man have gone forth "for God, for the living God!" How the ancient Veda imagined Him in the dawn or the fleeting breeze, and the Buddha sighed to be lost in Him! Passing sighs, crowned with no revelation! But a book in which God has spoken! What a fulfilment of these longings! What a gift worthy of the Father in Heaven, above all gifts! It might be blurred here and there—or men's misdeeming might fancy that it were—in the course of many ages. Some figures might be miscopied, many things might be mistaken. Yet what a Divine gift! A book that should contain, in whatever guise or fashion, the Word of God—what else could be so certain in a world of uncertainty? What less destructible where all perishes? There is nothing else, on the worst supposition of vitiated manuscripts, that has changed so little. Ceremonies, institutions, formularies, usages are modified almost past recognition as the centuries pass onward. That which the holy Apostles wrote is in our hands, our minds, and our hearts still! I speak to believers. I speak to English churchmen whose Sixth Article pronounces this faith so clearly. And so I come back to this Bethel of ours where the ladder between earth and heaven is. To be brought so that God speaks to us, we must come before Him, if He is to speak. And then, when we have spoken to Him, He will "answer

with a voice." Yes, a voice, articulate, assured. Not a fantastic echo in the bewildered brain, but a clear utterance of the undoubted Word.

This mode of meeting with God has, beyond all others, continuance, readiness, variety. We can commune with Him not on one subject, one temptation, one difficulty, but on all. The range of Holy Scripture is so wide, its instruction so manifold, its inner principles, that underlie the simplest admonition, so fundamental to all human conduct and all Divine administration, that it speaks to mind and to heart at every moment. It is "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." Why? Because in devotional study, head and heart combine their powers under the uniting hand of the Holy Ghost. Study gives the knowledge and stores the memory; devotion bows the soul in obedience to that which God has said, and evermore further incites the continued study. "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" is still the cry of obedient devotion, as it was of Saul crushed before the Divine presence. And there is no such question which may not find its answer when prayer waits upon God in His Word. If self-will and the restlessness of the unsatisfied intellect are not to revel unrestrained of God, can there be elsewhere so noble an obedience as this, so rich a devotion? Not to the will or advice of another mind, however saintly in holiness or rich in acquired knowledge, is this obedience rendered. It is the voice of the King himself that speaks to His servant. "Henceforth, I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth; but I have called you friends." What freedom, but what obedience! What exaltation, but what humility are here! It may have been study—it cannot have been devotional study if that humility be absent. "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity buildeth up." Devotional study! It forgets the fellow-man. It bows the sinner low before his God. Nothing elevates, but nothing crushes like that. To have the glimpses of that awful majesty, that spotless holiness, that ineffable love, which the Word of God flashes into the soul. To look within and behold the corruption, the littleness, the limitation there. Ah! if humility does not grow, if self-admiration and self-assertion flourish, can there have been either true study, or true devotion?

Why should we shrink from this reproach? Does the Divine Word, does Christian antiquity, recognise any other way? "I burn," cried St. Augustine [*Confess.* xi. 2], "to meditate in Thy law, there to confess to Thee my knowledge and my ignorance, the dawn of Thy light, the residue of my darkness, until weakness be swallowed up of strength."

Are we afraid or ashamed to appeal to the direct promises of the Word itself? I will again use the words of that venerable Father [*Confess.* xii. 1]: "My heart, stricken with the words of Thy Holy Scripture, is much busied in this poverty of my life. The Quest has more to say than the Finding. Petition is longer than Receiving. The hand that knocks labours more than that which obtains. We hold the promise; who shall break it? "Seek and ye shall find." Who may fear to be deceived when the Truth promises?"

We also have the promise, "When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He shall guide you into all the truth." "All the truth!" What is it? Certainly not all things knowable; certainly not all things scientific

or philosophical; perhaps not all things theological; but surely all that which the Divine Speaker at His most awful moment meant when He said, "For this cause was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth My voice." Are we "of the truth"? Do "we hear His voice"? Do we go where we may hear it in His own word? Are we guided into all the truth? Have we that Spirit?

Are we startled in speaking thus by the spectacle of manifold divisions? Why should we be? There are many things which circle round the truth, and which may be true, but are not the central truth itself. Must He who guides into all the truth produce uniformity? The very Speaker who uttered the promise created the diverse mind of man, with all its shades of thought and apprehension, some grotesque, some opposite in beauty, yet blending with infinite gradations, like the colours in the sky of the dying day. The very Spirit Himself, who guides into all the truth, deals very differently, as the Apostle teaches us, with varying minds—"There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit." And after all, "we know in part, and we prophesy in part," and if we do not all receive the same part, how can it be uniform? The whole may be full orbed, but we may discern only a fragment of the crescent. And if we see more, still it is only "through a mirror in an enigma," and we may read that enigma with varieties of solution. But if we are guided into "all the truth," there shall be a central unity of which the diversities are only a dusk parti-coloured envelope. Who shall understand what that last Prayer of Our Master meant when He prayed, "That they all may be One, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be One in us." I suppose that he who has learned fully what that means has seen God. What is that Greek, ἓν (John xvii. 22), that mysterious One thing, One being? Can it be a bare uniformity, a monotony of tone, of utterance, of movement? Must not the Divine Oneness be unutterably rich? Its variety of manifestation in this world of nature and this world of man is such as no tongue can tell. What must the life of God Himself be in its infinite complexity and infinite unity? This only seems clear. There is unity of will in the Triune: one life of love in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, going forth in harmony for our salvation. And if the central unity is to be ours, it must be found in the surrender of our will to God's will. That shall be accomplished when the Holy Spirit, sanctifying devotional study, bows us low before the Word of God. So may the Divine will be wrought into the texture of our spirits, and so may the prayer be fulfilled that His will may be done as it is in Heaven.

The Holy Communion in Relation to Personal Devotion.

The Rev. George E. Jelf, Hon. Canon of St. Alban's, Vicar of Saffron Walden, Essex.

By personal devotion is meant either private prayer, or the surrender of the soul to God. In each case, such devotion reaches its highest point in the reception of the Holy Communion, because therein we chiefly realise the greatness of our sins, the greatness of Christ's Sacrifice, and

the greatness of His Presence. Every one of these considerations helps to create and sustain that deep reverence which the ministering servants of our Lord are alone privileged to observe in communicants of various minds and every condition in life, kneeling to receive that "Glorious Body" which makes not only their secret hearts quiet and trustful, but even their eyes (to use the Laureate's expression) "homes of silent prayer."

Let us try to think the subject out a little; for indeed it is a most important one, both in connection with the spiritual life at all times, and with special reference to those responsibilities, and perils, which the revival of sacramental blessings in our own day has brought in its train. The hearers at a Church Congress will, at least, be ready to meditate on these things, however little the speaker may be enabled to instruct his brethren and sisters in Christ. But we are in conference together, and can pray for one another, especially when we are talking about prayer. As we go on we shall see that what is said concerning prayer, applies also to self-surrender.

I. First, then, prayer is the language of repentance. It is a golden rule, when we are about to pray: "Begin with an act of contrition." To the true Christian this may be instantaneous, but only because he is clothed with humility, in the abiding sense of his own sin. Still, self-humiliation is of the very essence of prayer, since we know that "God heareth not sinners," except they repent. But when there is this habit in the heart, this sincere utterance of the lips, the sacred Communion, whether actually or spiritually received, is bound up with the soul's desire, and becomes its perfect satisfaction. As we were taught long ago by the saintly son of the English Church just passed away—teaching given at bitter cost to himself, but proved most true before and since by thousands of us who needed restoration from great falls—the Holy Eucharist is a comfort to the penitent.

Now probably one reason why so many nominal churchmen seldom or never go to the Holy Table is that they do not truly or thoroughly repent. They have just so much sense of their sinfulness as to dread the participation of mysteries which they know to be holy; but there they stop, instead of going on to that godly sorrow which worketh repentance, and which brings them, in prayer first, in Communion afterwards, to the Saviour of the world. And so they lose His blessing—they have neither the joy of the Eucharist, nor even the full benefit of speaking to God. When, on the contrary, the soul goes deep down in its penitence, it finds the Rock, and anchors on it, and is hidden in it, and gains refreshment and renewal from it. The very knowledge of our sin constrains us to go forward for pardon and peace, and there is neither pardon nor peace apart from the Christ, and the Christ does not stand far off from us to give us these, but provides for us a membership with Himself; and this cleansing and consoling membership, as to sin before Baptism, is granted in the Sacrament of regeneration, and as to sin after Baptism, in the Sacrament of living Communion. But, so far from this Divine fellowship taking the place of prayer, and making it no longer necessary, prayer is never more earnest than in the approach to the Altar and in the worthy partaking thereof. Not even the priest, who communicates the faithful, knows, except through his own advancing life, the intensity of self-dedication concentrated on these moments of great

joy. Personal devotion, at its best, *is* Holy Communion; but not a mere mystic feeling; rather, it is a drawing nigh by faith, with groanings that cannot be uttered, really to receive to its comfort the Body and Blood of Christ.

II. Then, again, prayer brings us to the Cross. This truth is closely interwoven with the other. For repentance, as centring in Holy Communion, leads the sinner on to a crucified Saviour, shows him the tremendous death of the Son of God, and his own interest in, and utter need of, that one atoning sacrifice, the only one possible for a lost world of souls created by the Word. But the Cross is inseparably connected, for those who believe the Gospel, with the two sacraments ordained by Christ Himself, the one enabling us to share His sacrificial death, the other to show it forth continually. If, then, prayer leads us along the path of penitence for sin, and then points out to us, as our hope for forgiveness and acceptance, the one offering of the Cross, it follows that that sacrament wherein we specially proclaim that saving death is the appointed means to lift the prayer of faith to God, and to gain its desired answer, its expected end. For what can be a nobler exercise for prayer than to plead, in the ordered way, that one full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction which He made upon the Cross for the sins of the whole world, instituting, and in His holy Gospel, commanding us to continue a perpetual memory of that His precious death? We reach here the very heart of evangelical prayer, whether we think of the individual worshipper, of the two or three communicants, or of the whole adoring Church. And as we are now regarding the Holy Communion in relation to personal devotion, we may surely go on to say, remembering our own secret experiences at that Heavenly Feast, that it is there that we feel nearest Heaven—there that we most freely pour out our hearts before Him who is our Hope—there that we gain most fully that holy, blessed stillness which comes from communing with God, that quiet Christian faith which, like the ideal watcher,

> "Dwells
> Down in a deep, calm, whatsoever storms
> May shake the world."

III. Once more, prayer is the plaintive, penitent cry of the soul changing gradually under the Cross of Jesus Christ into the voice of thanksgiving. Such gratitude, of course, must ever form a large element in the personal devotion of the true disciple. The knowledge of the great things which He has done for us—the abiding conviction that He is calling us one by one to seek His face—the remembrance of the love of Christ to *me:* this, to all of us who are at least trying to go forward, should tend to make us reverently happy in our prayers, assured that not far from any one of us is the Lord of life, mighty to save us to the uttermost, even as He has helped us hitherto. And it is the union of that call "out of the deep," and this voice of joy and health, that is the spirit of the prayer of faith. Where can we blend the two together more completely than in that holy sacrament which shows us that we are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under God's table, and yet that we may approach without fear, because of the merits and death of His Son, the Altar of the God of our joy and gladness, and find the Saviour present there to bless us with His own endless life?

There surely, with the fullest confidence possible on earth, with the deepest rejoicing of which a sinful man is capable, we may offer to Him ourselves, our souls, and bodies, to be that reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Him, which we mean by personal devotion.

Let us close with a few words of caution, most necessary for him who ventures to speak of such things as these, and, perhaps, for some who have been willing to listen to him.

1. We must be careful not to allow the frequency of our communions (right as it is to increase them) to make our private prayers infrequent. The use of such blessings should intensify our devotions. Yes; the blessing itself will overflow on every side—to make us more diligent and thorough in our self-examination, not always by books, but in heart and life—more devoutly reverent and full of intercession at the time of the communion—more ready afterwards to wrestle with the besetting sin.

2. On the other hand, we must recollect our need of constantly partaking, for the promotion of effectual fervent prayer, and for quickening the habits of personal devotion. To adapt for our present purpose that striking simile put forth by one of the great spiritual writers—the occasional, even enthusiastic, outbursts of religious zeal—the occasional fitful use of the means of grace—resemble those sudden copious showers which bathe the surface of the earth, but do not penetrate or make it fruitful. But the small thick drops of continuous rain, which, gradually sinking in, become very blessings to the thirsty land, are like those who persevere in the thoughtful thorough employment of Divine gifts—who "pray without ceasing" and make the Holy Communion less and less a form, by making it more and more a part of themselves. If, indeed, the Holy Communion is to be the vehicle and mainstay of personal devotion, the soul must be constantly seeking it, without those long intervals of worldliness and half-religion which so fearfully deaden, or at least chill and impede, the Christian's inner life.

3. But further, we must not in our public worship think less of Matins and Evensong, because we think so much, and rightly, of the one Divine Liturgy, the one most sacred Offering. All these other services should be most fully entered into by those whose prayers go up with acceptance at God's Altar. The devout communicant indeed is the man, of all others, to appreciate and make his own the august simplicity, the scriptural fulness, the holy earnestness, of our daily or occasional offices. They all tend to the Eucharist: their joy is drawn therefrom; their humility points thereto; the Great Presence which makes *them* comforting to us is identical with that which, though eminently spiritual, yet needs to be sacramentally partaken of. Let us be men of prayer, and the grace which comes from above will find its proper level in all religious exercises, and always "according to the proportion of faith."

4. But lastly, if, as we have seen, the Holy Communion does bear a particularly important relation to the devotion of each separate soul, each individual member of the Church, we must see to it that, however many or however few are with us in the celebration, we yield ourselves heartily and completely to God. The very position of the celebrant reminds us that we must sacrifice ourselves. And when we are engaged in the Eucharistic worship of the Lord of all, we must lengthen out our litanies. English people are far too ready to hurry away from their true home in the sanctuary—far too easily wearied of those

invaluable opportunities for secret confession to God, loving supplication for our brethren, earnest prayer for particular graces—which are given us when others are communicating or when there is utter silence in the Church. Can we willingly lose opportunities which are really priceless? We have the witness in ourselves. For assuredly heaven's gate lies open to us, when we kneel before the Altar, and see beyond the Cross and through the precious Death the glory of the Great Intercessor, and the eternal life which He offers to those who show by habitual prayer in His Name, that they trust in Him alone, as their One adorable Lord, their only atoning Priest, their all-prevailing Mediator, their perfectly-sympathising Brother, their loving, beloved, never-absent King.

The Conscience: Its Nature and Needs.

The Rev. W. H. Hutchings, Clewer, Windsor.

The question whether man possesses any original knowledge, or whether he acquires all that he has through the medium of his senses, is a fundamental one. It touches the very foundations of morality and religion. If all our perceptions are gained from without, then conscience itself becomes a product of our physical organisation, of our surroundings, and of our past history. It ceases to be the direct voice of God, and becomes only the voice of nature. When it has been dethroned from its exalted position, and is no longer regarded as "the Oracle of Heaven," its degradation is soon afterwards completed. Conscience becomes, as Hobbes defines it, "the opinion of evidence;"* or a variety of the love of power, or a far-sighted selfishness, or "a twist in primitive and untutored man," or, according to the thesis of materialism, "matter in motion"; or, perhaps, a species of indigestion. It is not surprising that Locke should "have devoted especial research to the refutation of the doctrine of a natural moral sense,"† for the existence of such a faculty as conscience was, and still is, the gravest obstacle to the establishment of his theory. We refuse to believe that man is sent into this world in a state of abject darkness: that he must await the instructions which are received through his senses—through his eyes and ears, his palate and nostrils, and the surface of his skin—before there can be any kind of knowledge within him. On the contrary, we contend that he is originally equipped with certain moral intuitions, that he has within him an inner light and monitor, which are his prior to all experience. This is the basis of our thought.

Time, and the special character of this meeting, forbid our entering upon the purely metaphysical and philosophic bearings of our subject. We only note, by way of commencement, the momentous importance of the distinction to which we have adverted—that man has an inborn sense of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood. We will consider first the *nature* of Conscience; secondly, its *needs*.

I. Man is endowed with this faculty of conscience by virtue of his creation in the image and likeness of God. Whatever else this may

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* Hobbes, English Works, vol. iv., ch. vi. 8.
† Lecky, Hist. of Europ. Morals, vol. i., 129.

mean, it involves the bestowal upon man of certain moral qualities, differencing him from all other creatures. "That which specially distinguishes man from the other animals," says Aristotle, "is that he has within him a feeling of good and evil, of right and wrong." This light, in St. John's words, "lighteth every man that cometh into the world."* It is described by St. Augustine† as "a certain irradiation of the eternal law of God," which "every rational creature" possesses. The Gentiles, St. Paul asserts, who had not received the outward law, were not, therefore, left without guidance. They had "the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness,"‡ etc. Conscience is not only an original element of our being, it is also the supreme one. "It is," says Bishop Butler, "a faculty in kind and in nature supreme over all others, and which bears its own authority of being so."§ The question would naturally arise if there were no external guidance, which of the movements of my complex being, which of the voices which I hear within me, ought I to follow? The passions make themselves felt as well as heard; they beat noisily at the door of the will for consent, and "the still small voice" opposes their claims; why should I listen to the one more than to the other; both are interior voices? Because conscience "bears," as Butler well says, "its own authority of being 'supreme.'" We have in ourselves the evidence of this supremacy. We may trace it in the workings of conscience in relation to the past, and in its suggestions as to the present. In the one case it operates by means of the memory; in the other, it seeks to direct the will. In the one it acts as a judge, condemning or acquitting; in the other as a dictator, commanding or forbidding.

(i.) Conscience asserts its supremacy in regard to the past by the sense of guilt or of innocence which depends upon its verdict. If we have followed conscience, we are at rest; if passion, we are in misery. If a rebel has been permitted to occupy the throne of conscience, it ceases not to testify to its inherent dignity. Wrong is no less wrong because it has been yielded to, and the faculty which proclaims it wrong we are conscious is our rightful guide, God's vicegerent within our breast. For order to be restored, conscience must be re-instated, and must assume again the reins of government.

Memory recalls the past, and conscience quickens its exercise. The past is brought back more vividly whenever reminiscence is associated with guilt. If it is attempted to picture some distant scene when the voice of conscience was resisted and sin incurred, and some other scene, equally remote from the present, but not associated with guilt, it will be found how much more vigorous the memory is when stimulated by conscience than when acting alone. Time cannot efface the past when it is arraigned at the bar of conscience. The agony of a guilty conscience is an evidence of the divineness of the faculty. It calls up no mere sense of imperfection, as those would have us believe who identify conscience with good taste, and make it but a sort of perception of the beautiful in the moral sphere. The poet may, and if he is a genius will, in his effort fall short of his own ideal. The painter, as he surveys the canvas upon which years of labour have been expended,

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* St. John i. 9. † St. Aug. de verâ Relig. cap. 31.
‡ Rom. ii. 15. § Butler's Works, 1804, vol. ii., Ser. ii. p. 112.

may regret the inadequate realisation of his thought, but he will not, therefore, have a sense of guilt. He will not feel that in his very self he has sunken. He will not be haunted by the jarring sound of his verse, or the defects of colour or perspective. He will not be tormented by such remembrances in his dying hour. Conscience does not pursue us with the regrets of intellectual or æsthetic imperfection or lack of attainment, but *with remorse for sin*. Conscience is reason exercised in the moral sphere, and past defects in that sphere it invests with the awful character of guilt. "A guilty conscience," says St. Bernard, "is a sort of hell."* How does our own poet, rightly called "the dramatist of conscience," depict by contrast the terror of the guilty, and the peace of the guiltless conscience, in *Richard III.*:—†

> "O, coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!
> The lights burn blue. It is now dead midnight,
> Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.
> What do I fear? Myself? There's none else by."

And then the opposite in the repose of *Richmond*:—

> "The sweetest sleep, and fairest-boding dreams
> That ever entered in a drowsy head,
> Have I since your departure had, my lords."

The sense of guilt is folly, if what "has been must have been, and could not have been different:"‡ if man be only a marionette, the strings of which are pulled from without; if he be but the victim of circumstances, and can do absolutely nothing *proprio motu*. And thus conscience is an abiding and original witness to the presence of freedom in man, and proclaims him a moral agent by that "unutterable pain" which nothing but the remembrance of sin ever excites.

(ii.) If conscience by its verdict upon the past testifies to the gift of free-will, by its suggestions in the present it witnesses to the same truth. What can be the use of that voice, saying, "Do this," or "Do not do that," unless man is master of his own actions? "I am lord of this moment's change," says Daniel Deronda, "and I will change it with my soul." Unless our sense of freedom is a deceit, and penalties for crime a cruelty, and rewards for virtuous and noble actions an injustice, and laws an absurdity, and the Judgment Day a mockery—man is able to choose between right and wrong, between light and darkness, and is accountable for his choice. If conscience in relation to the past is associated with the notion of *guilt*, in the present it proclaims the grand idea of *duty*—duty to God and man. St. Augustine says, "God made me free that I might serve Him better."

Conscience is itself to many minds the strongest witness to the existence and moral character of God, stronger than any that can be derived from the make or design of this visible world, or from any *a priori* arguments. Conscience asserts the claims of duty, but duty is an abstract idea, unless it be associated with a person. If conscience has any claim upon my obedience, it is because it is God's voice within me. If moral distinctions have any reality, it is because they are a reflection of the objective perfections of God. St. Paul notes the two directions in which conscience acts, and the order in

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* Serm. de Quatridus, &c., vol. i. 2148 (Gaume).
† King Richard III. Act. v. Scene. 3.
‡ Spinoza.

which it should act, when he says of himself that he has striven to have a conscience void of offence "toward God and toward men."* The Two Tables of the Law bind religion and morality together, and teach that the one must be based on the sanctions of the other. Without the first, the second would soon disappear. Conscience bids me be just and true towards others; not because of the consequences of an opposite line of conduct, but because otherwise I should offend God, whose voice it is. As has been well said, it is a "majestic imperative, which predicates a power which is not only within, but above man."†

(iii.) "But conscience is only a good guide," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, in his "*Ductor Dubitantium*," "when we are truly informed."‡ Conscience, as every other part of our being, is liable to defects; or, to what is worse, to have other voices—those of prejudice or passion—called by its sacred name. Conscience is sometimes so ruled by desire that the latter is mistaken for it, and—

"Quodque volunt homines se bene velle putant."

We have only time to glance at the varieties of conscience, noting some of the chief, In Holy Scripture we find such expressions as "a weak conscience,"§ "a good conscience,"‖ "a pure conscience,"¶ "an evil conscience,"** and "a seared conscience,"†† marking a diversity of texture or condition in this organ. We should, however, premise this branch of our subject by a distinct statement of cardinal importance in reference to the spiritual life; it is this—we must never act against our conscience. This is an invariable rule of morals. "Whatsoever," says St. Paul, "is not of faith," that is in this connection—agreeable to the dictates of conscience, "is sin."‡‡

(*a.*) Conscience, then, may be either erroneous or false, scrupulous or lax, doubtful or probable, or irregular. The original light may be lighter and clearer in one soul than another; or by faithfulness to it, or the reverse, it may become more clear or more dim. A false conscience may be a misfortune or a crime. The ignorance which vitiates the balance, the flaw in the lens which throws the objects seen through it out of just proportion, may be the result of neglecting means of illumination within reach; or of practising deceit and tampering with the scales within until they cease to weigh rightly; and this habit at last becomes second nature, so that the untruth almost passes without our cognisance—

"With all his conscience, and one eye askew,
So false, he partly took himself for true."§§

Whereas in another case, an erroneous conscience may be without fault, and arise simply from circumstances over which the man had no power. Ignorance, too, may increase or lessen the degrees of guilt, according as it is more or less excusable or not. When our Lord prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,"‖‖‖ the prayer implied that there *was* something to forgive, and yet a sufficient want of enlightenment in the soldiers to constitute a plea of extenuation.

(*b.*) Again, another defective type of conscience is the scrupulous. It

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* Acts xxiv. 16. † Martensen, Christian Ethics, p. 359.
‡ Ductor Dubitantum, 1697, bk. 1, ch. i., page 27.
§ 1 Cor. viii. 10. ‖ 1 Tim. i. 5. ¶ 1 Tim iii. 9.
** Heb. x. 22. †† 1 Tim. iv. 2. ‡‡ Rom. xiv. 23.
§§ Tennyson, Sea Dreams, 176. ‖‖‖ St. Luke, xxiii. 34.

is unable to draw the line firmly between infirmity and sin, or it exaggerates lesser sins into greater ones, or even into unpardonable offences. A scrupulous person sees sin in actions which other persons regard as innocent. This state of conscience destroys inward peace, is an offence against the goodness of God, leads to depression, and, if not cured, to despair. If the chief remedy of an erroneous conscience be prayer for light, that of a scrupulous conscience is trust in God.

(*c.*) A lax conscience is the opposite of a scrupulous. In both the former, the understanding is at fault; in this latter, the will chiefly is to blame. A lax conscience is the mark of a slippery character. Neglect of prayer, softness of life, familiarity with sin, and a spirit of worldliness, enlarge the meshes of the moral net, until at last nothing is regarded as sin but crime. Such a person substitutes an outward for an inward rule of conduct. Such a conscience is like a flexible cuticle, which expands at call. It needs the tonic of a course of mortification, that the fineness of moral perception and the strength of moral purpose may be recovered. (*d.*) It is possible that these two kinds of conscience may be combined, though so opposite in their nature; as a net may be closely spun in one part, and in another have an open mesh. The Pharisaic conscience was something of this kind—straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, an irregular conscience. But it is not confined to the character of a hypocrite. The original perception of, and hatred for one form, or type of sin is often keen, clear, and intense, whilst for some other kind of sin a remarkable obtuseness of conscience, and a want of adequate aversion are to be found in the same person.

(*e.*) Conscience probable or doubtful, is a conscience in a state of uncertainty. It sees before it two paths, and does not know which is the right or true one, or debates about questions upon which there have been divided opinions amongst moral theologians. This state of conscience gave rise to casuistry. With regard to this science, it must he remembered that *usum non tollit abusus.* We want no moral hair-splitting, no too close assimilation of Christian morality to the spirit of the age, no lowering of the maxims of the Gospel in order that a lax state of society may not have too great a strain put upon it, no "probabilism," such, for instance, as that in the sixteenth century which arose in Spain, and, spreading far and wide, disgraced the Roman Communion and gave to Pascal, subsequently, such an opportunity for the exercise of his sparkling wit and withering sarcasm. But, notwithstanding all this, souls will continue to have perplexities and have need of counsel and advice. The moral light does not burn so brightly within us as to remove all doubt, whenever the principles of morality have to be brought to bear on individual duties in practical life. Our own Church has its casuists—Taylor and Sanderson, amongst others, may be named. In 1698, a book appeared, entitled "*London Cases,*" in which cases of conscience are ably dealt with, in reference to communion with the Church of England on the part of Dissenters. If the conscience is awakened, and a high ideal, such as that of the Perfect Life of Christ, be set before it, perplexities are not unlikely to arise as to the best methods of reproducing it under different times and circumstances. But whatever counsel or help be given, it should be given not for the purpose of lessening the personal responsibility of the individual conscience, but with the motive of increasing the sense of it, and directing its efforts in the right course. What must be aimed at is robustness

of conscience, interior sound rule, not annexation to another's dominion. I may quote here the words of an American bishop, who, by his power and eloquence, is said to remind those who are brought into contact with him of the late Bishop of Winchester; and bishops are accredited with using language in a still more guarded manner than clergy in a less responsible position. He says:—"He who would have the cure of souls in any worthy sense must familiarise himself not only with theology as the science of revealed religion, but with Christian ethics—the science of duty, whose great aim is to form individual character after the pattern character of Christ."* And then he mentions five grounds for seeking counsel and direction, viz.:—1. Because of besetting sins; 2, of distressing fluctuations of feeling; 3, because of ignorance affecting some principle of faith or morality; 4, because of sorrow or suffering; 5, because of doubts "as to doctrine or ethics."

(*f.*) The worst state of conscience, however, remains to be mentioned. It is a "seared" conscience, dead to all moral feeling or perception, the heart of stone. It was a question of old, whether by a continuous course of sin the conscience could be altogether destroyed by acts of our own. Tertullian denied that it could be entirely effaced—"*extingui non potest quia a Deo est*," said he. It is held, too, I believe, by theologians, that in this life the light of God's grace is never entirely withdrawn from the soul. No night is so dark but it has a single star. So with conscience, some fibre of its delicate tissue preserves in it consciousness, whence recovery may take place. Yet, of all states, that of the hardened conscience is the worst, that which St. Bernard describes as a conscience "tranquil yet not good,"† the ἐσχάτη ἀναλγησία, a state of moral deadness and insensibility.

Hitherto we have dealt with the nature of conscience, we have seen that as a faculty it is original, not acquired,—our perceptions of right and wrong not being derived from the observation of outward actions of righteousness and the reverse, from which we have abstracted the notion of right; but by the possession of a moral sense anterior to all experience, by a law written in the heart, the knowledge of certain moral principles, "axioms of morality." That conscience is supreme, asserting its divinity by the agony of remorse, the Furies of antiquity, which prey upon the guilty; "those thorns," as our poet says, "that in" the "bosom lodge," which prick and sting, and torture him who "carries his own accuser in his breast." We marked the working of conscience in the past producing the sense of *guilt* in the sinner, with reference to the present, asserting the claims of *duty*. We then traced the various conditions of conscience, erroneous, scrupulous, bad, probable, and seared.

II. It remains for us to point out the chief *needs* of conscience, arising from its nature and liability to defects. There are in the main three: conscience requires *culture*, *stimulation*, and *relief*. It is the office of the Church to meet these needs. (i.) The conscience being the application of reason in the moral sphere, like the understanding itself will require culture. The faculty of reason is developed by external instruction, and by inward processes. Conscience is trained in like manner. To cultivate

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* Dr. Littlejohn, Bishop of Long Island, "Conciones ad clerum," p. 53.
† Vol. i. 2569, "De Quadruplici Conscientia.'

it, we must form the habit of consulting it before acting, and of faithfully obeying its voice. What reflection is to the understanding, that self-examination is to the conscience. Daily examination should be exact, stern, searching; examination of the state of the conscience before Holy Communion is enjoined upon us by the letter of Holy Scripture* and the exhortations of the Church.† This is one of the most necessary and efficacious means of spiritual progress. The prayer for light which is invariably recommended before making the moral analysis, reminds us that no natural gift, not even conscience, is sufficient for our guidance without the grace of God and the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Two gifts of the Holy Ghost especially relate to the conscience, those of knowledge and counsel; the former perfects our powers of discernment between true and false, good and bad; the latter directs our conduct, and teaches us in obscurities which way to take, and what means to adopt, in order that we may attain to eternal life. A "probable" conscience, one in doubt that is, often becomes a sure or certain conscience in making some choice, by an inspiration from God the Holy Ghost. As sometimes a mist which renders every object indistinct, and envelops a whole landscape, is rapidly dispersed by the heat of the sunbeams; so by some rays from the Holy Ghost, the conscience is cleared of the clouds which ignorance or passion had gathered around it, and the path to be chosen stands out before us in clear outline.

(ii.) But conscience requires something besides interior operations—it needs stimulation. It requires, says a French writer on this subject, "stimulus *de la parole*."‡ The Divine word excites, penetrates, and informs it. Man, by obeying the dictates of conscience, may clear, deepen, and broaden this inward light; but it needs the presentation of the moral law from without, to supplement, and heighten, and fix its intuitions. Without this external assistance we know what generally became of conscience in the Gentile world. The Church, by holding up a high ideal, by exhibiting the Law of God in the concrete in its most perfect representation in the Life of Christ, and after Him in the lives of His Saints, does more than corroborate the inward witness; she develops its powers and brings them into play.

Again, when conscience needs a stimulant, not merely from the fact of our natural infirmity, but because it has been abused and well-nigh destroyed; because through habitual sin its sensitiveness to moral distinctions has been more than dulled, and its fears of final retribution deadened; the Church by preaching, by missions, by earnest presentation of eschatological truths meets the case, and strives to awaken a sense of sin, and to bring back to the cauterised surface of the conscience its original susceptibility of feeling. And here I would urge the advantage of parochial missions for awakening souls so dormant, that they are not touched by the ordinary ministrations of the Church. The conscience in this state of torpor, needs not only the calm and regular services of the appointed minister; but some unwonted stirring appeals to arouse it from its deadly sleep.

(iii.) Lastly, the conscience has another need under certain conditions, which our Church also provides for. When the guilty conscience is awakened, the burden of sin becomes sometimes so intolerable, that the

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* 1 Cor. xi. 28. † Exhort. in Com. Office and Visitation. ‡ Bautain.

conscience cannot quiet itself or cast itself upon the mercy of God. The Church points to the Cross of Christ, to the Atoning Sacrifice, and bids all lay down their burden at its feet; yet there are those who need some outward help, some guarantee beyond their own feelings, that they are forgiven. Dryden, with keen insight into human nature, depicts the conflict between shame and this longing for relief:—

> "Oh power of guilt! how conscience can upbraid!
> It forces her not only to reveal,
> But to repeat what she would most conceal."

Thus, on two occasions, when we draw near to God —viz., in the Blessed Sacrament, and in the hour of death, when we have to meet Him veiled in mystery, or Face to face, our Church offers to such consciences as desire or need it this relief. In the former case she bids her ministers say, if any of you cannot quiet his conscience, "let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's Word, he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel, and advice to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness."* In the second more strongly, as the soul is nearing the confines of the eternal world, and gathering itself up into its own personality to stand before its God, the priest is bidden to move the sick man, "to make a special confession of his sins, if he feels his conscience troubled with any weighty matter,"†—*i.e.*, with any deadly sin.

Thus the Church is, according to its different states and requirements, in turn, educator, stimulator, and reliever of the human conscience; in the one case, by insisting on habits of self-examination; in the second, by presenting the perfect Life of Christ for faithful imitation and reproduction, or by confronting the guilty but dormant conscience with the terrors of the Lord; and lastly, by the application of the pardon of the Precious Blood to the individual conscience seeking such relief in preparation for Communion, or for death.

The subject, of which we have been able to give but a rough outline within the limits of our time, is one indissolubly connected with the growth of the spiritual life. In its commencement, progress and perfection, the moral faculty will be in constant requisition, from the first throb and agony of compunction to the mature state of which St. Paul speaks, of "those who, by reason of use, have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil."‡ The powers and range of the moral sense will increase in proportion to fidelity to its light. Thus it will be difficult to measure our own progress, for the clearer light will reveal minuter infidelities; and our moral standard will advance higher and higher with each successive upward attainment, the choices at last rising above the distinctions between good and evil, into those which lie between good and better, till we attain to the perfect liberty of the children of God.

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* Exhort. in Com. Office, Prayer Book.
† Rubric in Visitation of the Sick, Prayer Book.
‡ Heb. v. 14.

ASSOCIATION FOR PRAYER AND PROGRESS IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE.

The Rev. Sir EMILIUS BAYLEY, Bart., B.D., Vicar of St. John's, Paddington.

THE subject which I have been asked to introduce completes the series of topics chosen to illustrate the inner life of the Church: viz., the Study of Holy Scripture, Private Prayer, Holy Communion, and now lastly, Association for Prayer and Progress in the Spiritual Life. It is, surely, a good and healthy sign, and one which goes far to prove that the Church of England is not moribund, that so much attention is now devoted to the cultivation of the divine life in the Soul. We may well bid adieu to the controversy whether various sections in the Church do or do not lay sufficient stress upon the enforcement of holiness: we all, I believe, acknowledge its importance, and seek in different ways to promote its progress. Consider the various means adopted to secure this result; conferences, holiness meetings, quiet days, retreats, prayer meetings, prayer unions, and the like; and, without discussing the relative value of these and other methods, I would affirm that the fact of their wide-spread adoption, affords strong evidence of the existence of a thirst for holiness, and is one of the healthiest signs of the vitality of our English Church.

Now the subject before us assumes the existence of a distinction between an evangelistic and a pastoral ministry; a distinction founded upon the nature of things, as well as upon the classical passage in Eph. iv. 11.: the aim of the one being conversion; that of the other, spiritual edification, "the building up of the body of Christ," with a view to the final "perfecting of the saints" of God. v. 12.

Whatever view we may take of the combination or separation of the two offices of the evangelist and the teacher, I would claim in every settled ministry a very large space for the distinctive duty of pastoral teaching; and would press it home upon the consciences of my brethren in the ministry as well as upon my own, that we often ask ourselves, not only how we may win the impenitent to God, but also how we may best promote the spiritual life of the truly Christian members of our flock. I would do this for at least three reasons; (i.) the dangers to which Christians are exposed from ignorance, error, and Satanic deceit; (ii.) the important bearing of the vitality and spiritual growth of the Christian nucleus upon "them that are without"; (iii.) the example and express teaching of the New Testament.

It is important to note how very small a portion of the New Testament Scriptures is evangelistic in its character; how much the larger part is directly addressed to the Church of God: and if such was the case during an epoch of evangelisation and in the first outburst of missionary zeal, it surely ought not to be less so now, when I am sanguine enough to think that, in this country at least, the number of true Christians bears a larger proportion to the population, than at any previous period of the Church's history.

The question, then, which a clergyman will often ask himself is, whether there are any special means for promoting the cultivation of the inner life amongst the true-hearted members of the flock. My own belief is that the faithful, systematic, laborious, and practical exposition

of the Word of God, is at the root of all healthy progress; and that where this is wanting, other means will fail. But this is not our subject; it is the principle of *association* for prayer which we have to consider, and to that I now address myself.

It may be objected, perhaps, at the outset that we already have such association for prayer in our public worship, and that we require no further aids to devotion than those which are found within the four corners of the English Prayer Book. I for one cannot express myself too strongly upon the value I attach to the Prayer Book, as fostering and directing the devotional element in our Church. It is sometimes said that the Evangelical section in the Church of England ignores and undervalues the Prayer Book. The remark may be well meant; we will hope, at least, that it has no venom in it; and that it is intended to lead us to mend our ways, and to become as good churchmen as our brethren. We are much obliged for the counsel, but we really do not think we need it: we are better churchmen than some people give us credit for; and if a feeling of admiration and hearty love for the doctrinal basis and the devotional teaching of the English Prayer Book is any token of good churchmanship, we claim to possess that token as truly as the highest churchman in the land.

Our subject, then, suggests the adoption of special methods of association for prayer, special means of encouraging the devotional element in our flocks, over and above those which our Church Services supply. No doubt such methods may well vary. What may suit one parish or one class of minds may not suit another. I should prefer not to speak of my own mode of proceeding: but as our object is practical, and we know best what we have been ourselves practising, I will ask you to bear with me whilst I describe briefly the Prayer Union which has been for some years in operation in my own parish. I lay no claim to novelty; we should, I think, in such efforts aim at the utmost simplicity which is consistent with efficiency.

Some years ago I propounded quietly, unostentatiously, and as far as possible privately, certain proposals for a Prayer Union. I am not in favour of introducing the modern advertising principle into religion. It seems to me that the spirit of the Gospel is a spirit of modesty and quietness; and that we are not to seek to carry on our own work, whether it be evangelistic or pastoral, amid the flourish of trumpets and the roll of drums. "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength." The rules then of our Prayer Union, at first privately communicated to a few, and then allowed gradually to spread, are as follows: they are only four in number:—

"1.—The object of the Association shall be to promote—

i. The personal religion of its Members.
ii. The practice of private prayer.
iii. The study of the Word of God.
iv. Closer fellowship amongst sincere Christians.

"2.—All past and present members of the parish and congregation of S. John's may become members of the Association, by sending their names and addresses to the Vicar.

"3.—All members of the Association shall set apart a fixed time or times for reading the Word of God and for prayer; either between the hours of 6 and 10 on Saturday evenings, or of 6 and 10 on

Sunday mornings, or of 2 and 6 on Sunday afternoons: *during some portion* of which times the Word of God shall be read and Prayer offered.

"4.—Subjects for united prayer shall be circulated from time to time amongst the members."

Such are the simple rules of our Union. In carrying out these rules I have had in mind a sentence of John Howe's: "We ought in prayer, as much as possible, to conform our minds to God's; so as not only to pray for the things which we apprehend Him most likely to grant, but upon the same grounds, and with the same design, which He must be supposed to have in granting them, and that there be but one end and aim common to Him and to us. 'If we ask anything according to His will He heareth us.' 1 John v. 14."

With this end in view, I circulate at the beginning of each quarter, weekly subjects for prayer, with Scripture proofs of each subject. Some of these subjects, broken up into several parts, each with illustrative texts attached, have been—Prayer—The Church of God in Christ—The promises of the New Covenant—The work of God the Holy Ghost—Advent Duties—Christ our Example—The Fruit of the Spirit—The Gospel of the grace of God—The formation of Christian Character—and, for the last year and three quarters, the Collects of the Church of England.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the present Dean of Norwich, Dr. Goulburn, for his valuable writings, especially in their bearing upon the devotional life of the Church. His work upon the Collects opens up a mine of interesting information upon those beautiful prayers. We have long been familiar with their words: but it is only when we break up a Collect into its several parts, compare it with Scripture, and weigh well the precision of its style, the depth of its meaning, and the fervour of its language, that we learn to use it with an intelligent appreciation of its beauty. The Collects absolutely teem with Scripture, and are indeed the very echoes which, from the beginning of the Dispensation, its truths have awakened in believing hearts.

The perfect specimen of the Collect consists of five parts. Not many are thus complete; but some few are so, *e.g.*, the Constant Collect, as it is called, at the beginning of the Communion Service; and the Collect for Ash-Wednesday; containing (i.) the *Invocation*, in which we call upon God; (ii.) the *Recital* of some doctrine or fact, as the ground upon which we offer our petition; (iii.) the *Petition* itself; (iv.) the *Aspiration* or devout wish, which is, as Dr. Goulburn calls it, the feather or wing to the petition; (v.) the *Mediation-Ending*, or pleading of Christ's merits, as the alone procuring cause of the acceptance of any prayer.

The quarterly card, then, sent to each member of our Prayer Union contains, *e.g.*, thirteen Collects, each with its plan or structure laid open, and having various texts of Scripture placed under each division of the Collect. I issue also with the cards about eight pages of short "Notes" on each Collect, explanatory of their origin and meaning, and of the practical lessons which they convey: and I have lately circulated at the same time a paper of "Pastoral Words," containing one or more recently preached sermons or addresses, bearing directly upon the cultivation of the spiritual life. It is well, also, to hold occasional meetings of the members, at which addresses of a spiritual and

devotional character may be given, united prayer offered, and the social element in some measure promoted.

It is my belief that we hardly make sufficient use of the printing press in our ministry. In a complete parochial organisation I should plead for the printing and circulating amongst our people of every or nearly every sermon we preach. This would bring all our teaching within the reach of all our people, those absent from Church, as well as those present; and it would help, also, to make our lessons more permanent than they often are. It may be said, perhaps, that many of our sermons are not worth printing. I answer that if they are worth preaching to those who attend Church, they are worth circulating amongst those who do not attend; and that if they are not so, the sooner we try to make them so the better. The knowledge that our sermon was to be circulated after it was preached would tend to make us more careful and laborious in the preparation of it; it would be likely thus to improve the quality of our sermons. Without, however, aiming at this ideal state, I do plead for a more extensive employment of the printing press in conveying instruction to our people. It is sometimes said that the press has supplanted the pulpit: it is the fault of the pulpit if such be the case; I would rather urge that the pulpit should ever be in league with the press; thus I believe increasing its power and adding largely to its influence. In the question, however, now before us, "Association for Prayer," I believe that we should largely make use of the press. I have sketched briefly the plan adopted in my own parish: other methods may be as good or better: such as it is I offer it for consideration, and, if you will, for adoption.

You have a right to ask how such a plan works. From the nature of the case it is not easy to answer the question. In evangelistic work you can point to numerous and attentive congregations, to Churches, as a Mission Preacher in my own parish described them to me, either crowded, or crammed, or jammed; you can speak of large numbers attending the after-meetings; you can thankfully acknowledge, that in some, at least, the changed life gives evidence of a converted heart. But in the development of the inner life in true Christians, and in a department of that life so hidden from outward gaze as communion of the soul with God, no outward manifestations are to be looked for or desired. I will note briefly, however, some of the benefits which Association for Prayer may be expected to produce.

(i.) It will be found here, as in other departments, that *Union is strength*. If Christians know that they are banded together with other Christians for a definite and holy purpose, that at certain appointed seasons they are studying the same Scriptures, thinking the same thoughts, and approaching the throne of grace with substantially the same prayers, it will surely add strength and vigour to their religious life. One bond of holy sympathy binds together rich and poor, masters and servants, learned and unlearned alike, and helps them to realise their union with Christ the Head, and with each other as members of His Body. Mutual confidence begets mutual love, and mutual love will soon expand into mutual efforts for the good of others. I look upon a parochial prayer union as a great missionary agency; as a field in which our most active fellow-workers are to be found; and as a spiritual power to be depended upon as an aid to our ministry of far higher value than learning, eloquence,

or zeal. In very many senses, then, it will illustrate the maxim, that Union is strength.

(ii.) Secondly, I would regard the Prayer Union as a *Safeguard against Formalism.* It encourages, we will assume, the habit of prayer. But all spiritual habits have a tendency to become formal; the freshness and novelty soon wears off, and we fall into a stated groove, in which the mind goes through the duty without any intelligent effort, and, therefore, without interest. Many Christians have probably found this to be the case in their attendance upon public worship, in the use of the Lord's Prayer, and in their own daily devotions. I am aware that I am treading upon delicate ground, but I believe that the excessive multiplication of Church services tends to increase the danger of formalism. I am not opposed to frequent services, if there are those who have the leisure to attend them, and the spirituality to profit by them. There is a daily service, and a weekly communion in my own Church. But I am conscious of the danger of lapsing into formalism myself; and I am sure that we need to be on our guard against it. Now no evil can be put down by mere protest. No preaching against formalism will banish it from our people's lives. You must help them to take an enlightened and intelligent interest in the services in which they engage, and in the prayers which they offer; you must awaken and inform the mind; prayer, as I think Canon Liddon somewhere says, is a species of hard labour; and you must teach your people how to engage in this labour with the understanding as well as with the lip. How great the difference between repeating a well-known Collect as a mere facile act of the memory, and praying it with a clear apprehension of its well ordered structure, its spiritual meaning, its Scriptural foundation, and its connection with the deeper wants of the soul. Such prayer is definite, calling forth a distinct act of the mind in connection with its several topics; suggestive, capable, therefore, of being easily enlarged upon; and Scriptural, as providing a channel for devout aspiration within the limits of the revealed will of God. The Prayer Union is, I am persuaded, a very fruitful field for ministerial labour; and by the suggestion of topics, the vitalizing of ancient forms, the marshalling of arguments to be urged in intercession, and the encouragement of a devout, humble, believing, and persevering spirit, we do much towards making prayer a blessed reality, and developing a most important department of the life of God in the soul.

(iii.) Thirdly, a well-ordered and well-instructed Prayer Union is also a *Safeguard against* what Canon Westcott calls "that *enervating sentimentalism* which corrupts the fresh springs of manly and simple service." * It is impossible to open many popular books of devotion, or to read many modern hymns, without perceiving that an undue appeal is often made to the emotions as distinguished from the reason and the will. Sensationalism is not confined to the three-volume novel; it forces its way into religion, and is found, not only in the ranks of a grotesque revivalism, but also in the spiritual food provided for devout and highly cultivated minds. Now a piety which is founded on sentimentalism, and nurtured by constant appeals to the sensational element in our nature, is wanting in that vigour and robustness which can alone give stability to our faith, and ensure a healthy, manly course of Christian life

*See Canon Westcott's *Revelation of the Risen Lord*, p. 27.

and action. We must not seek our spiritual nutriment amid the relics of the buried past, however affecting they may be, but in the bright hopes of the present and the future; not in the tomb of the dead Christ, but in the grace and love of the living One: and it should be our aim so to educate our praying people, as that their prayers shall be the expression of vigorous and intelligent, as well as of humble and believing minds. "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also." 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

(iv.) Lastly, it should be our aim in all association for prayer, to cultivate to the full *the devotional element* in ourselves and in our flocks. This, I am well aware, is not an exciting topic, either for discussion at a Congress, or for enforcement in a parish. Perhaps we live in a day which is somewhat too exciting for the development of the finer and deeper shades of the spiritual character. Our world-wide dominion as a nation, the exciting scenes through which we are continually passing, the frequent telegram, the vivid representation of passing events, the active movement of thought upon subjects of great social, political and religious interest, together with the restless, feverish pursuit of wealth, and pleasure, and power, all tend to make our age an exciting one, and to offer many hindrances to thought, meditation, and prayer. We feel, therefore, that we cannot compete in interest with many of the forces around us; and yet, my friends, we have this great advantage, that in pressing this duty upon spiritual minds, we are dealing with minds awake, minds that are in active exercise, minds which only require to be directed into right channels and to noble ends. We have, as it were, beneath our hand, a mighty reserve of force, which needs only to be regulated and controlled, and great results shall follow. We ministers of Christ may have to answer many calls, and to discharge a variety of duties; but sure I am that one of the most important of these duties is the cultivation of the devotional life of our people. Such life lies at the foundation of all personal holiness, of all healthy activity and zeal; where it is found there will be growth in grace, development of the Christ-like character, patient continuance in well-doing, earnest longing for the Lord's return; it bridges over the gulf between earth and heaven, and keeps open the avenue of communication between them. May it ever be found in us and in ours, increasing in volume and in force, until the faint lispings of our earthly prayers shall be exchanged for the mighty song of endless and adoring praise.

The Holy Communion in Relation to Christ our Example.

The Rev. C. Gore, Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College.

It is important, in dealing with so large a subject as Holy Communion, to concentrate our attention on a single point. I am to deal, then, with the Eucharist solely in its aspect as *communion*, as the communication of God's gift to us, and, to define my subject still more exactly, I am to speak of communion in relation to Christ our example, recalling to your minds how Christ through it moulds our characters inwardly into conformity to the pattern which He shows us outwardly.

It is very important, it is a main function of what we may call the philosophy of common life, to distinguish means from ends, and so emancipate ourselves from the many confusions of thought and false estimates of things which come from treating means and ends alike, as if they were on a common plane. Nowhere is this more important than in religion.

What, then, is the end of Christ's redemptive work? Viewed in its general result, no doubt, it is the glory of God; but viewed inwardly as a work to be wrought out in individual lives, it is the *re-creation of character*. Man has fallen away from the state for which God created him: in his corrupted natural condition he is under Divine wrath—he is, that is to say, inadequate to the Divine life; he cannot "breathe in that fine air, that calm severity of holy light." God's purity is intolerable to him; His love becomes wrath to Him; not for any change in God, but for the change in him. God remaining what He is, cannot take fallen man, unchanged, into the fellowship of His own life. Hence, according to the Christian doctrine, every individual needs, ere he can participate in the heavenly joy, inward re-creation of character, making him adequate to the great end for which he was created, "to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever."

Thus the end of Christ's redemption is *spiritual* and *moral*—the production of character or life—and this is, therefore, the sole end for each of us, as co-operating with Christ, in his work for himself and others. Nothing has any religious value except as tending to this end.

This truth has a sound akin to the popular fallacy that "nothing matters in belief or practice, so long as a man lives a good life," and the fallacy of these words lies, not in what is said so much as in what is assumed. A "good life" is a vague phrase, interpreted according to each man's moral condition. But we Christians are not left in the vague as to our standard. Christ's first work in His Incarnate nature was to re-erect the standard of human life in His words and visible example. The righteousness which is henceforth required of us is a righteousness which is found to involve a great deal of belief and religious practice; it is the righteousness first manifested in Christ the Head, and then, through Him, in the members of His Body; it is Christ's righteousness, it is Christlikeness. Placarded for evermore before the eyes of men in Christ's example, illustrated for us, but only illustrated in the lives of His saints, stands the type of human life, the only type in which God is well pleased, which He pronounces very good, which He accepts. *Ecce Homo!*

Christ does indeed, then, tell us in the Sermon on the Mount that nothing can be laid to our charge if we live a good life. The good fruits argue the tree good. But the good life which He requires is the life taught in the Sermon on the Mount, which is the expression in words of what He realised in action towards God and towards man. This alone He "knows," or recognises, as His own. This alone He can accept in the Day of Judgment. Our only "boldness" in looking forward to that day is that "as He is" in His unchanging humanity "so are we in this world."

The sole end of Christ's redemptive work, then, is to produce in each member of Christ the Christ life, the restored and consummated ideal of humanity made one with God.

To keep this end constantly clear, guards us against two great root errors, which are the secret of many denials of the grace of sacraments or their misuse. It guards us, first, against all danger of imputationism —against all danger of imagining that in the great day which simply reveals us as we are, and judges us according to our works, any righteousness can avail us which is not made our own, which is not incorporated into our own character, which is not *we ourselves*. It guards us, again, from all "materialism" (so to speak) in the use of sacraments—from letting ourselves deal with them as if they were *ends* instead of *means of grace*, as if the reception, and not the spiritual use of them, affected our sanctification.

Thus the right perception of the end keeps us right in the use of Sacraments, and it interprets to us their necessity. Christ, our example, and our judge in accordance with that example, guides us to Christ our grace. For the more simply and honestly we look at the human example of Christ, the more we feel its alienation from us, its unattainableness by us in our natural selves. Nay, not only is it unattainable from its loftiness, but as we examine it we find that it proceeds on a different basis from that which underlies our life. Example is only profitable to us so long as we recognise in the example those same forces, and those only, which we acknowledge to be in ourselves. In Christ's God-united humanity we recognise forces which our natural selves have not and cannot develop from within. "Of what use to me," it is often asked almost in irritation, "is Christ's example in resisting temptation, when you tell me that as being personally God He could not possibly have sinned?" Of no use, we must in candour answer, so long as Christ remains external to us. There is no getting out of the difficulty. Deny even the personal Divinity of Christ so as to make Him peccable; so far from bringing Him really nearer, we only put Him further off from us. At the lowest you place the Man Jesus upon a pedestal of genius, in the moral sphere, like that on which a Shakespeare stands in the world of intellect. And when we stamp a human power as "genius," do we not mean by it something inimitable? Confess Christ's Godhead, as the Church does—His example seems still a thing based on conditions of life other than those of our natural selves. His life becomes a glorious vision of a humanity unlike ours, which we behold and wonder at, and go our way unredeemed to perish.

But, lo! just when that humanity is exalted to its extreme point of glory; just when it seems furthest removed from us into heaven's deepest recess, just then we find it brought near to us in a way which makes it not incredible that we should be "imitators of God." Christ the Man upon earth, Christ exalted to God's right hand, is still outside us, known but "according to the flesh," admirable but not imitable; but His work is not ended. The deep of heaven cleaves around the path of the descending Spirit. Proceeding, as eternally, so in time from the Father through the now incarnate Son, He comes "not to supply the absence, but to accomplish the presence" of the ascended Christ. Through the operation of the Spirit the Christ without in human example becomes the Christ within in re-creative grace; and now every property of Christ's humanity, which seemed so alien from ours, becomes ours in literal reality, in the dispensation of the Spirit, in the life of the Church;

taken up into Christ, we are one with Christ. The properties of His humanity are imparted to us, for it itself, in the plentitude of all it is, becomes ours in Him. Through His God-united humanity we, too, become "partakers of the Divine nature." Christ "dwells in" us; "is formed in" us even unto the measure of the stature of His fulness; in Him we "have an unction from the Holy One," through Him we "can do all things;" yea, in Him we become partakers of that very impeccability which seemed furthest removed from our nature, for so far as he is true to the powers of his new birth, "he that is born of God," St. John assures us, "cannot sin." So Christ within, re-creating us inwardly by supernatural grace, makes us adequate to "work out our own salvation," that is, to mould our lives upon the pattern of His acceptableness.

Now we see the meaning and place of the sacraments. The mediation of the spiritual through the material, which is the law of the Incarnation, is the principle of the sacraments. By the washing of baptism we begin to be partakers of the life of the Second Adam, the accepted Man, as really as, by our physical birth, we share in the old and reprobate humanity; by the laying on of hands we have the unction of the Holy Ghost; by the Communion we are made partakers in full measure of the life-giving Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate Jesus.

"Christ," says Hooker, "in this Sacrament imparteth Himself, even His whole entire Person, unto every soul that receiveth Him." . . . "What merit, force, or virtue soever there is in His sacrificed Body and Blood, we freely, fully, and wholly have it by this sacrament," for "here we receive Christ and those graces which flow from Him in that He is Man," and "the effect thereof is a real transmutation of our souls and bodies from sin to righteousness, from death and corruption to immortality and life." So Hooker; and, once more, hear St. Leo, where he argues from the Eucharist to the unconfused permanence of Christ's humanity in His exalted Person. "This,"—the human nature of Christ—he cries, "is what is given, this is what is taken in that mystical distribution of spiritual sustenance, so that receiving the power of the heavenly food, we are transubstantiated into (*transeamus in*) His flesh, who was made our flesh."

All the force of Holy Communion, then, depends on the identity of the Christ. The same Christ who was our example on earth is from heaven our life. The same Christ is without us and within, in the same power of the new humanity. Now we look to Christ our example, to Christ resisting Satan in invincible might in the wilderness, not as something alien from ourselves, or as to an individual Man distinct from and external to us, for we know that all the powers in which He lived His human life, all the forces in which He conquered, are ours, as week by week, aye! day by day, He feeds us with that very nature which He has first exhibited to us, now glorified, spiritualised, and in the vital efficacy of the resurrection life, made our own in the humble instruments of bread and wine. So the same Christ, living for evermore, forms within us through the supernatural instruments of grace that character which He first exhibited to us outwardly in the words and deeds of His life on earth.

Christ, then, in the Eucharist—I would emphasise this—becomes one with us by a real and permanent, though constantly renewed, incor

poration. Some modern popular hymns speak of Christ as if He paid us a visit in the Holy Communion :

> " This morning that Eternal Lord,
> Who is my Judge to be,
> Came to this lowly tenement
> And stayed *awhile* with me."

Or, we are taught to ask :—

> " Oh, when wilt Thou *always*
> Make our hearts Thine own ? "

As if now He came but for a little while. Or He is spoken of as if He still came after the flesh :—

> " Reposing infant-like as though
> On Joseph's arm or Mary's knee."

Nay, it is more than a temporary visit, a *quasi*-physical juxtaposition that we have here—it is a true spiritual indwelling, permanent incorporation of Christ into us, so that we dwell in Christ, so that, as St. Augustine teaches us, the whole of life becomes what except through this sacrament it could not be, a feeding on His flesh, a drinking of His blood.

And what I have been endeavouring to say about this most Holy sacrament enables us to put the grace it brings into its true relation to faith in the working out of our sanctification. Just as when Christ was healing on earth, though all the healing power was in Him (and from Him through His flesh), it was yet made to depend wholly on *men's faith* to liberate this healing power, to draw it out, to appropriate it to themselves, so that whereas Christ is the Healer and the same to all men, it is yet men's faith which makes them whole, and according to their faith that it is done to them—so is it with Christ's sacramental presence. He changes not : the validity of His gift depends not on us, but on His immutable will and power, who " is able and will bring to pass that the bread and cup which He giveth shall be truly the thing He promiseth." But they that be void of a living faith are yet in no wise partakers of Christ. If the spirit's mouth of faith is shut, to that *spirit* Christ remains external, and it to Him. Faith only can appropriate, can make our own, can incorporate, can receive into our spiritual being that gift which the sacrament duly administered infallibly conveys. So all the means of grace co-operate to the great end. *Orthodox belief* opens our eyes to the actual spiritual environment of our life—it shows us our need, it moves us to love and fear, it stirs to repentance. The *sacrament* conveys the supernatural grace of which we have learnt our need. *Faith* stretches out the hand of the soul to appropriate, to use, to develop the gift.

Oh ! let us never forget that the mere reception of the sacrament does not sanctify, but that to produce the required end—the " mind of Christ " in us—we must develop it and give it room to live by fasting and mortification, we must dwell upon it by recollection ; we must draw upon it by acts of our will in each moment of temptation, feeding upon the heavenly food. So true belief, communion, faith co-operate to produce the end which, if one of the essentials be absent, cannot be arrived at—the production of the Christlike character and life, that supernatural life which can find on earth but a place of pilgrimage, never a home, and which alone can find in heaven, in the words of the mighty Eucharistic hymn, its own " true native land."

The Devotional use of Hymns.

The Rev. Francis Pigou, D.D., Vicar of Halifax; Rural Dean; Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen.

At the kind request—which must be regarded in such cases as a command—of the Right Rev. the President, I venture, at his lordship's suggestion, to submit to your consideration a few remarks on a subject somewhat new at a Church Congress, but one that is not otherwise than in keeping with the tone and spirit which so fitly and happily characterises the closing day of its meetings. The subject is "*The Devotional Use of Hymns*," as distinct from as well as over and above that use of hymns on which, it may be, nothing new or worthy of your attention could well be written. We are for the most part so familiar with the use of hymns, that for such use no apology is needed. In connection with Divine service they have their recognised place and office. Including the ancient Canticles under the head of hymns, the singing at intervals of sacred words lightens up Divine Service, and is some security, as a very old writer says, "against heaviness and distraction." This is so generally felt, in all communities of Christians, as to call for neither argument or justification. The necessity has created the use. It is not within the compass and object of this paper to comment on the many collections of hymns now in use, or to venture on such debateable and even controversial ground as to express a preference for any one collection in particular. I venture to doubt the wisdom, if not the possibility, of attempting to compile any one book for universal and unvaried use in the comprehensive Church of England. If the Church of England is to be truly national in her comprehensiveness, she must be truly Catholic in her teaching. If all Christian schools of thought are to be welcomed within her fold, we must expect and allow a corresponding variety in those collections of hymns which, directly or indirectly, reflect and express "schools of thought." The hymn-book in use in any particular Church is, in the majority of cases—I do not say in all—no mean indication of the teaching of the pulpit. It is more or less a confirmation of and handmaid to definite teaching. This is shown in the question so often put —"What hymn-book do you use in your Church?"

I am not sure that a *more frequent use of sacred poetry in the pulpit* would not come under the head of "the devotional use of hymns." If a hymn lightens up Divine service, a happily-selected verse of some well-known hymn may have the same effect with the sermon. I should not be in favour so much of lengthy quotations, as of the occasional citation, from some well-known and thoughtful poet, of a single verse, or some few appropriate lines, illustrating and giving effect to your own thoughts, only in happier language. This may be done without laying your sermon open to being called "elegant extracts," or being thought to cover poverty of matter by drawing largely on the sentiments of others. There is large room for this most helpful and devotional use of hymns and sacred poetry. It never fails to arrest the attention. It serves in many cases to rivet some one thought on the mind. It is no inappropriate ending of an earnest discourse. I have found from some experience that by thus using sacred poetry in the pulpit, and at

Bible Readings, I have been instrumental in introducing many devout Christians to authors or collections of sacred poetry hitherto unknown to them, and that in the perusal and re-perusal of these poems they have found repeated and unfailing pleasure. There is a mine of sacred poetry which is for many yet unquarried and unused. Those of us who have conducted Missions; any here who have been present at a soberly-conducted After-meeting, well know the *power*—I can really use no other word—of a hymn such as one of Faber's, read aloud amidst the hush and silence of a deeply-impressed multitude. Who that has been present can forget the touching and impressive effect of reciting slowly, in the ears of many on bended knee, such a hymn as "Lord, I hear of showers of blessing"? The hymn in such case, and so used, not only excites devotion—it becomes a *prayer*. It is not only a flower in the literature of Christian thought, but, taken into the life of a devout heart, it becomes what botanists would call a floral leaf. It is said, it is sung, it is used *in an entirely new spirit*. It is a *power*. It is less sung or said than *prayed*. Why should we not make more frequent use of this power? If it serve to make prayer after a sermon less formal and more real, more prolonged and less hurried, is anything with reason to be urged against such use of hymns?

Shall I point out and enlarge upon the use of hymns at *Family Prayer?* I assume that we are agreed on the duty of family prayer, and that they who look for that blessing on their household "which maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow to it," make a great point of, at least, beginning the day at the domestic altar. Here, perhaps, if anywhere, there is not so much danger of singing a hymn for the sake of its catching tune. It is part of family devotion. The careful selection of an appropriate hymn, varied as this may be to suit special incidents in family life, gives life to what is apt to be very dull, insipid, and formal. Family prayer should be so ordered—should be of such a character that it shall never be regarded by children, guests, or servants, as something to be, if possible, avoided or excused from. Even if it never exceed one quarter of an hour—and this is not long—there is abundant room for a hymn, a portion of Scripture and short comment, and a few prayers. There ought to be no difficulty in large, and but very little in small households, in arranging that a hymn be sung. It gives a tone to the rest of the short but deeply important service. It is the tribute of devotion in which the caged birds in your room join. It enlists for the time the talent of music—the gift of song, however humble—into the service of God. It gives room for all, parents and children, masters and mistresses, the servant and the served, to join as one family, and as "the Church that is in the house," in one united act of devotion. May I plead for a more frequent and general use of hymns at family prayer, for the express purpose of exciting or assisting devotion?

I would also but briefly touch on the devotional use of hymns in the *Sick-room*. I would have a well-assorted collection of sacred poetry, and the name is legion, in every room where sickness is of long standing. They who have had experience of sickness need not to be reminded of how the mind craves for variety, as well as for comfort, during illness. Who of any ministerial experience does not know the value of sweet

hymns to the suffering and pain-weary? They are like drops of rain on a parched and thirsty soil, grateful, refreshing, reviving. Who has not had the hymn book returned with the verse marked, or the leaf turned down by the hand, now crumbling into dust, of some great and patient sufferer whose soul has passed into the presence of God, washed in a Saviour's precious blood, and whose latest thought and only hope found expression in the favourite hymn—

> "Just as I am, without one plea,
> But that Thy blood was shed for me,
> And that Thou biddest me come to Thee,
> O! Lamb of God, I come"?

Who has not been comforted by Keble and Monsell, by Bonar and Lyte, by Charlotte Elliot and Frances Havergal? Who has not found solace and refreshment within the pages of such collections as those of Faber and Alexander; "The Changed Cross and other poems;" "The Shadow of the Rock;" "Ezekiel and other poems;" "The Name of Jesus and other poems;" "Songs in the Night;" "Wayside Wisdom for Wanderers;" "Christian Lyrics;" "Fosbery's Hymns for the Sick and Suffering;" and many more? Should not some one or other, or, where practicable, all of these find a place near the Bible, and any used manual of private devotion? The spiritual life cannot but be helped, strengthened, comforted, refreshed by intercourse in this form with some of the saintliest and most spiritually-minded of our race. It cannot but find in the sublime thoughts of others much which will tally and chime in with our own varied mood of mind. And why do not they to whom God has given the gift of song, and whom He has endowed with enchaining sweetness of voice, consecrate that precious heaven-born gift, and seek, as well as find some nobler sphere and higher use for it than the concert or drawing-room? If St. Paul and Silas sang God's praises within prison walls, are there not many sick ones in infirmaries and in wretched, poverty-stricken homes; are there not many sad and forlorn ones in workhouses who might be cheered by a kindly visit and a hymn devoutly and sweetly sung?

I must not now dilate on the devotional value of hymns at christenings, weddings, and funerals, nor pause long to say with what advantage a hymn might be more frequently sung in cathedrals. But while pleading for larger and more frequent use of hymns in the *pulpit*, at *family prayer*, and in the *sick room*, as a legitimate and available means of exciting, stimulating or deepening devotional feelings, do we, we may venture to ask, make the most and best use of hymns which the frequently recurring opportunities of Divine service afford? I do not speak of those hymns being carefully and thoughtfully selected, so that they shall all and each be in keeping with some special teaching of the day, and shall thus give unity to that teaching, as well as helps to impress some lesson of truth on the minds of the worshippers. There is great room for improvement in this particular, and although the selection of hymns for Divine service may cost time and thought, it is time and thought well spent by those who would not offer burnt offerings unto God of that which costs them nothing. Time and pains are as "the threshing instruments and other instruments" given freely, together with the oxen, for sacrifice. Too often this selection is left to the organist, and although there are organists, and my own at our Parish Church is

one of these, to whom such selection can with the utmost confidence be entrusted, this can scarcely be said of all. To *play* the hymn is their province rather than to *select* it. It is not to be wondered at if the organist thinks more of the music to which the words are set, than of the words themselves. He is not so much a *teacher* as a *player*.

How much room there is for improvement in the very singing of hymns! Is there not too often almost an entire absence of light and shade in accompaniment, and as a consequence in singing? There is a great want of intelligent rendering of different verses, to such an extent that in some more recent editions, notably of Hymns Ancient and Modern, the musical marks of expression are given for the guidance of organist and choir. Is it too much to say that these directions would never have been given were it not for the unintelligent, unobservant singing of hymns in our churches? Ought organist, choristers, or congregation, if they really gave *mind* as well as *voice* to words, to require to be told when to sing *piano* and when to sing *forte*? If more attention were bestowed on this detail, the improved character of hymn-singing in the direction of *devoutness* would soon be felt.

Again, how poor are some tunes, unhappily married to words which deserve some sweeter melody! What a scope our composers have, not only for anthems and services, but for writing good congregational tunes. By this I do not mean such as are popular in the vulgar sense, but such as cannot well be travestied, or parodied, or profaned. In the words of one well known in the Church, "Music which is to pass as a precious heir-loom from one generation to another, which is to soothe the sorrow, excite the patriotism, above all to quicken and intensify the devotions of a people, and to dignify the worship of God; this can come only from the anxious labour of hard-working, highly-gifted men" (*Canon Hole*). Have we not to watch against singing hymns for the sake of some catching, sparkling *tune*, unmindful altogether of the *words*? Few things perhaps are more fatal to real *devotional* singing than clap-trap, jaunty melodies, with a vulgar refrain; or some secular air adapted to sacred words. And fatal to devotion for this simple reason, notwithstanding Wesley's oft-quoted saying, that you cannot altogether dissociate the tune so adopted from its negro melody or concert hall setting. Hymn singing becomes vulgarized. It savours more of places of amusement than of the minstrelsy of God. When do you ever hear travestied or parodied tunes composed by such men as Hopkins, Gauntlett, Smart, Ouseley, Havergal, Webbe, Elvey, Staines, Barnby, Roberts, and last, though not least of those specially identified with sacred music, one who has laid the Church under such deep obligation —the late Dr. Dykes?

Again, if you look through any good collection of Christian poetry, how many beautiful thoughts, turned into verse, have never yet been wedded to suitable tunes. I cannot but think, having given for years no little attention to this, and having by me a considerable collection of hymn books, that we have not yet a really good hymn book in use. It seems to me we have not at least met the wants of the more cultured of our congregation. We may be nearing it. Bickersteth's "Hymnal Companion" has opened its pages to some few of the poems I have particularly in view, notably such hymns as "One sweetly solemn thought" "Peace, perfect peace;" "No, not despairingly;" "Prayer

is the soul's sincere desire;" "Thou hidden love of God;" "O! for the peace which floweth as a river;" "Thou knowest, Lord, the weariness;" "Father, I know that all my life;" "Long did I toil and knew no earthly rest;" "O! the bitter shame and sorrow." These exquisite poems are to be met with in some collections of poetry; but there are many more like unto these, which we could wish to hear in church set to some suitable tune. They are arranged for private use, but why should they not be translated from the drawing-room or oratory to more public and general use in Divine service? Is there any real reason why we should not occasionally sing a hymn *kneeling?* Standing befits the posture of praise, but then all hymns are not words of praise. Some are litanies and supplications. What more incongruous than to *stand* singing—

> "Lord, in this Thy mercy's day:
> On our knees we fall and pray."

Unless it were to *kneel down* singing—

> "Stand up and blesss the Lord,
> Ye people of His choice?"

Who can find words in which adequately to convey to those who have never been brought under its influence, the intense solemnity, the rapt devotion, the profound heart-feeling with which, during a Mission, a hymn is sung *kneeling!* Who, that recall the quiet and hallowed hours of an early celebration, can ever forget the sweet impressiveness of a hymn thus sung? Who, that has seen a vast congregation kneeling down as one man, and joining in with soft and subdued voice, in some touching hymn, could fail to recognise the *power* of such singing, and wish over and over again that it were more generally put forth? When or where do you ever hear such real *heart*, as distinct from *hearty*, singing as you do during the glow and fervour and exalted devotion of a Mission? *Hearty* singing fails to express what I mean. This may be loud and noisy. Church walls may be made to ring with the *Old Hundredth*, or *Hanover*, or *Austria;* but I am thinking of the *Nunc Dimittis*, sung as the aged Simeon may be imagined to have felt it; I am thinking of "How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds," or "There is a Name I love to hear," "When I survey the wondrous Cross," "Just as I am, without one plea," "Lord, in this, Thy mercy's day," "My God, and is Thy Table spread?" "Rock of Ages, cleft for me," "Art thou weary, art thou languid?" "Nearer, my God, to Thee," "Thine for ever," "Sinful, sighing to be blest," "Lord, speak to me, that I may speak," and many more, sung with *feeling;* sung with what Joseph Goss once described to me as a "*sixth sense*," *i.e.*, with *soul;* sung with the whole heart in it; sung—yes, even with tears, with a tongue whose strings have been cut, and from a heart right at last with God. Who, that has joined in a thanksgiving service at the close of a God-owned and God-honoured Mission, has not heard the *Gloria in Excelsis* sung as he never heard it before at Holy Communion, and "Oh, for a heart to praise my God," "Nearer, my God, to Thee," "Thine for ever," so joined in, in one grand anthem of praise and dedication, until every nerve and fibre of your spiritual being thrilled with ecstasy, and you felt that this must be some echo on earth of the song of the Lamb? You come back from the fervour and

earnestness of the hallowed morning hour—from the glow of the praising multitude—to what sounds and seems flat, undevout, and cold. If hymns can be so sung that they shall be a *power;* if they can be so rendered as that they shall be helpful, stirring, elevating, and this very often with congregations where you least looked for it, why should it not *always* and everywhere be so? I do not say to the same extent. We must make allowance for special conditions and favouring circumstances. But we know what *can* be done. We have the hymn, we have the tune, we have the people. We know how much singing power is latent in every congregation. We know that much may be done to evoke and encourage it. We may discourage a choir singing *to* us or *for* us. We know how much may be accomplished by occasional practice of tunes by the choir and people. We know how much may be done by a clergyman, with but very slight knowledge of music, himself presiding at organ or harmonium, and unsupported by any choir, *making* the congregation sing. I see no reason why, if capable of doing it, the clergyman should not play, as well as preach and pray. Much in this direction is being done. A higher class of organists—better educated, more cultured—are to be found in the Church. Much that is purely mechanical, if I may so speak, may be accomplished. You may successfully encourage an organist to vary and modulate his accompaniments. You may so train a choir as that it shall sing with telling and effective light and shade. You may educate a congregation in this detail of worship, and by sheer dint of practice and example make the singing of hymns more devotional. But even where all this is, *one thing may be lacking.* And what is that? It is the grace of God. To *sing* devoutly, you must *feel* devoutly. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." You can no more compose a hymn book for unbelievers without profanity, than you can draw up a prayer book for unbelievers without grave omissions. The Prayer Book is the language of believers. Our congregations have, in many cases, to learn the language of a believer before they can use their Prayer Book aright. There is an unreal use of our Liturgy. It is even so with hymns. In the lips of many the language of Prayer Book and Hymnal is unreal, exaggerated, strained. In the lips of the unbeliever—ungodly, impure, impenitent, unconsecrate—the hymn is sung for the sake of its melody. It is simply idle to say that it is sung for the sake of words he does not sympathise with. In singing, as in prayer, he may honour God with his lips, whilst his heart is far from Him. The hymn has served as a help against weariness and distraction, but it has done nothing more for him. If the singing of hymns is to be *devotional*, the singer himself must be a song to the Lord. Where there is a true sense of sin, hymns of penitence, sung standing or kneeling, will be a real confession. Where one is awakened to a consciousness of the need of a Saviour, "Lead, kindly light" will be a heartfelt prayer for guidance to that Light which lighteneth every one that cometh into the world. Where the consciousness of unworthiness is realised, "I lay my sins on Jesus" is sung with a sense of relief untold. Where "the unspeakable gift" has been accepted, praise will be heartfelt. Where there is a sense of reconciliation, the child of God will sing, "I was a wandering sheep; I did not love the fold," with tears. Where "the peace which floweth as a river" fills the mind

the heart will overflow with songs of gratitude. With what life, pathos, reality will such hymns as "Oh! for a closer walk with God" be sung by one whose daily prayer is that he may grow in grace as he grows in years!

It may be too much to expect that all shall thus "worship God in the beauty of holiness." It may be too much to expect that every one shall "sing and make melody in his heart to the Lord." But we shall assuredly do so as we pray for a larger out-pouring of His Spirit on our hearts, and as the Holy Ghost takes of the things of Christ and shows them to us more and more, we shall sing from the heart more and more. We shall have more devout singing as we ourselves become more devout, and we shall become more devout as we realise God's presence more when we worship, and as His spirit dwells more consciously within us. And thus the use of hymns will be part of our training here to take our part hereafter in the unearthly and heavenly song of the redeemed in glory.

"Lord! by every minstrel tongue,
Be Thy praise so duly sung,
That Thine angel harps may ne'er
Fail to find an echoing here.

We the while of meaner birth,
Who in that divinest spell;
Dare not hope to join on earth,
Give us grace to listen well!

Wake into sound Divine,
The very pavement of Thy shrine,
Till we, like Heaven's star-sprinkled floor,
Faintly give back what we adore.

Childlike though the voices be,
And untunable the parts;
Thou wilt own the minstrelsy,
If it flow from childlike hearts."

Enrichment of Private Prayer.

The Rev. R. C. Moberly, Vicar of Great Budworth, Cheshire.

A man is upon his knees. He tries to lift up his soul and speak to God. But too soon the tongue falters, mists gather before the sight, sounds of this world come floating through the ears, the mind wanders dreamily on, the stammered words have become monotonous, unmeaning, or have died altogether away. Something is greatly lacking. What can we say of it?

Now first there is, no doubt, real prayer, which knows no words nor any definiteness of thought. To be dumb, and yet to long to speak; to be prayerless, and yet to long for prayer; this is prayer, no doubt, already. But this is a rudimentary condition, and cannot in its own nature be long continued: neither is it the object of our thought now.

The prayer which properly belongs to the Christian life is conscious, and is intelligent. It is more than dumb feeling. For there, in the midst of the felt Presence of the Eternal, the mind is to be arranged,

thought disentangled, the heart disciplined, desire made clear and strong: and this purified thought, this strengthened will, to be consecrated, in the utterance of words, to God.

If I start with a narrow conception of what prayer means, my prayers will themselves be narrow. If then I am set to see that my prayers be rich, various, comprehensive as they ought, my first point is this, to ask myself what I find that I mean by prayer? The present purpose may be served by distinguishing two conceptions: the first, that it is my asking God for what I feel that I want; the second, that it is my practising to think, and to will, and to speak face to face with God.

If mine be the first of these, I shall pray for preservation and safety, for concord at home, and good government, and victory abroad, for good seasons and prosperity, and the like; and moreover for repentance and amendment, for wisdom and love, for pardon and happiness, for grace and for salvation—and all this for many others besides myself—for my household, my relations, my friends, my country. I shall pray all the more intensely when any of these things are withdrawn, and (if I am consistent) shall not fail to thank God for them when given. But yet, in all these, however good and right in themselves, it is still true that I myself really remain the central point of thought and interest.

No doubt it may be urged that I do right to pray specially for the things in my own sphere, seeing that my own sphere is also my own responsibility. It may be admitted that even if prayer reached its ideal perfection, these things would have no mean place in it, though (it may be) somewhat newly set. It may be admitted too that there is a sense in which the praying soul cannot but stand in the centre of its own praying. But we may take the sting from this admission at once, by adding that this is only a necessary truth about the prayer of a man, just so far as it must be conceived necessary in an angel's prayer also.

And so, for all that, if I have the other conception of prayer, I shall be on my guard expressly against self-centred praying. Rather I shall even strain to win for myself a centre other than myself. It will not satisfy me that my range of topics is sometimes wide and bold, so long as this merely increases (as it were) the size of my circle, and leaves the centre unchanged. It will be object both of care and pains—first to find, then to practise some rule of prayer which more fitly corresponds to the truth of God the Creator, and of this great Creation of God's, and of my place in it. I shall feel that to pray aright after God's will, I must try to take my right place in the universe of God's truth. I must pray, not by the rule of my own conscious want, but by the rule of Truth. The presence of God is the presence of all Truth; and prayer is a rehearsing of Life in the presence of God. In my prayer then, I enter into relation with *all truth*. Whatsoever I am able to recognise as true; all that I know, and all that I believe; when I shut my eyes to the world, and open them as before God, I am in the presence of nothing narrower than this. When I speak with a man it is mind that touches mind; when I pray to God my prayer is my approach to the mind of God.

That I should enter into the mind of God completely would be the perfectness of prayer. That I should *try* to enter into it is necessary—even with a view to success in prayer. For if my conformity were perfect I could not pray otherwise than as He loved to order. Will

it not follow that my prayer and my knowledge (of what kind soever, so it be knowledge) will not move on different planes; but the more I know, the richer will be—or might have been—my capacities of prayer? And will it not also follow that all prayer, to be intelligent, must be based on knowledge? I ought not to be stupider than I can help in praying to God. If I intercede for my friends in their difficulties of life, in their pains; if I pray for plenty in the earth; if I appeal to God in the turmoil of popular upheavings, or the clash of arms, I must not be blinder than I can help to the laws of His government—to whose government I appeal. I must not scorn, but use rather the lessons of science, the lessons of history, as well as the revealed truths of religion. For these, too, are parts of the revelation of God's mind. And the best prayer is necessarily that which enters into His mind most perfectly. So far from forgetting science or history, let me rather study both, or, at least, let me use all the insight God has given me into either, in order that I may pray with intelligence, entering the more into the mind of God when I kneel to speak before Him.

Prayer, then, is not less wide than knowledge of truth. Can we get this in any more tangible shape? Without working precisely from the one point to the other, or staying to compare or contrast exactly, we may catch perhaps one aspect of this lurking under the old form of words, "*Lex orandi lex credendi.*" Whatever is an integral part of my soul's realities will find place in my soul's intercourse with the God of all truth. My prayers will reflect and measure my real convictions. What is left out of my prayers, is left out, practically, of my belief.

But this maxim, "*Lex orandi lex credendi,*" suggests at once a practical standard by which to test the range and scope of my prayers. This standard is the simple "*lex credendi*"—the Apostles' Creed. Is there anything in the Apostles' Creed which finds no place in my prayer? Of course mere repetition of the words of the Creed does not constitute a place. Is there anything which never intrudes into my heart's thought and purpose when I kneel to pray? If so, my prayer is too narrow still in its range of thought. This is a test which, with a little thoughtfulness, may be made most practical.

But passing quickly by this point as to *range* or *number* of topics, I may use the thought of the Creed in another way. The Creed is the shortest formal expansion of our belief in God. But even this is a formal expansion. Shortened still more, we have our Creed essentially in the Gloria; we have it clearly in the utterance of the threefold Name of God; we have it, most shortly of all, yet completely (if only we understand it) in the mysterious cry of heavenly worship, "Holy, Holy, Holy."

The fact that this is so may help the present thought in two ways. First it will make clear to me what following the "Creed" as my "*lex orandi*" ultimately means. It means that all prayer is to have but one scope and one theme. It means that the central thought and interest of the praying soul is no longer to be self, but God. The centre round which the whole revolves is changed.

But the same fact will give another ray of light as to my prayers, and the richness of meaning in them. If it be true that the whole Christian Creed is contained in the "Holy, Holy, Holy," it follows that these words are not understood unless they suggest to my mind the

whole Christian Creed. A child may repeat them reverently enough in his prayers, but with only the slightest idea of what they convey, with little beyond an instinct of reverence. An old man, whose life has been lived to the three score and ten or four score, in the presence always of the Eternal realities, who has prayed much, learned much, meditated much, may use in his prayer also the same triple title; and at each stroke of the word his heart will be thronged with memories and images. It is to him no vague, dim repetition of a thrice-told attribute; but each strong note struck will awake a long series of vibrations, one after another in countless numbers, dying away into the distance of the far off places; not one of them really fanciful, but every one the real expression or echo of some apprehended truth of the being of God.

The meaning of this to me in respect of my prayer, is obvious. It means that, be the topics or the language what they may, the richness of my prayer will depend not so much upon these; it will not be found by looking, so to speak, at the *index*—hardly even by reading the *text* itself of my private devotions—but more vitally upon the richness of meaning to me of my own simplest words; upon the depth and fulness of the music which old plain notes can set vibrating in my heart. On my own life and mind, what they are; on my intimacy in spirit with the eternal truths of God's being and the revelation of it, on the reality in short of all that which is, perhaps, most nearly expressed to me by the name and habit of "spiritual meditation," will depend my richness of prayer.

This meditation is no merely separate exercise—a minute study of a special and narrow department only of knowledge. It is the due ordering, arranging, and interpreting of all facts of life, of all knowledge of truth. Every fresh piece of knowledge that comes to me, every fresh opening, every fresh need known, *should* be reflected in my prayerful mind. This Congress has been full of suggestions which my prayer *should* catch up. But all these would come in—not so much as new things—rather as new reflections of the old lights, new aspects of the old words. Have we not had *e.g.*, the old words, "Thy kingdom come," with two or three new hints of meaning—shall we say two or three times newly antiphoned? (And let me use this word "antiphon" for a parenthetical reminder that the actual use of the old antiphons, though impossible to our public worship, is still often wonderfully suggestive, especially on Holy Days, to private prayer.) But to return. The range of knowledge, the variety (so to speak) of sensitiveness, may be almost limitless; yet all may be found, when perfectly harmonised, to fall into a very few simple strains. We can imagine how the experience of an aged apostle might gather itself into few and ever fewer words—seeming to contract its range of materials, while in truth it only more perfectly simplified their harmony. We can imagine how truth after truth would come to be seen merely as a new expression of some Divine attribute, and to be described not otherwise so fitly as by the reiteration perhaps of a single word, as *e.g.*, "Love" or "Fatherhood." Not that there really were, or seemed to be fewer interests or truths in the world: but that all were seen so to converge, that the ultimate expression of them all would be "God."

And so, for us, the Apostles' Creed is no compendium of special knowledge, but it contains the whole world.

Not so much, then, a clear sight of my own wants, but insight, such as religious meditation gives, into the Truth of God, and specially those

attributes, relations and offices of His three-fold Being, which the shortest formal summary of our Christian faith opens out to me, with a rule of method which will preclude me from omitting any part of this in my regular devotions, will be such a discipline of prayer as I may desire.

There is one revealed standard of prayer. "Lord, teach us to pray" . . . "He said unto them, when ye pray, say . . ." What follows is, of course, not merely a form of words to be repeated, whether once or oftener: but it is an exemplar, by study of which we learn the true lineaments of Christian prayer.

To that, in conclusion, I appeal. Will not a reverent study of the topics of that prayer, their place, and their proportion, make good this plea, that the first meaning of prayer is the reverent contemplation of God, His attributes, His glory; and that all else comes in only through this, as it is united with this, and thereby vivified? One can fancy that a lifelong learning to pray might be crowned at last with the power of once using the Lord's prayer perfectly.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

BEFORE I send you away with the blessing of God, I desire to say to you a few words, and they must be very few, because our time is more than exhausted. Surely you will all feel with me that it has been "good for us to be here." What a Church, what a world we should be if only we might all attain to the standard of spiritual life, which from so many points of view, has this morning been set before us; nay, if we would all resolve but to strive after it. But if so, we must give a great deal more time to it than many of us do. We must make it far more than we do the paramount object of our desire, and the ideal of our daily life, and this not only for our own sake but the sake of the Church of God. For the central power of the Church is its spiritual life—not its learning, not its organisation, not its world-wide extension, not its influence over men, but its spiritual life. This, I say, is its central power, because it is the manifestation of the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, who works His works of love and mercy through the agencies and ministries of His Church. But this spiritual life is made up of the spiritual life of individual souls, and therefore of us who are here to-day, and of each one of us according to our measure. Are there any of us whose hearts have been moved during this Congress to desire for ourselves to find something which we can do and do at once. To-day's meeting gives you at least one answer, and that alike the most urgent and important. Seek to be and to do what you have heard to-day; seek it in the Word of God, seek it in devout attendance at the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; pour forth there the deepest and strongest of your heart's devotion, and strive more and more to conform to His example. Seek it in united prayer and earnest effort after a higher spiritual life; seek it in self-examination of the conscience that you may bring your sins more clearly and more fully to the feet of the Cross; seek it in the enrichment of your private prayer; and seek it in that devotional use of hymns which has been so beautifully

suggested to you in the paper you have just heard. And now one word of encouragement and one word of warning, and I have done. As to encouragement. This spiritual life is absolutely within the reach of every one of us. We may not be able to discuss, or even to understand some of these difficult and complex questions which have come before us for consideration during this Church Congress; but however humble our gifts, however great our weakness, however little our leisure, everyone of us may become and may be, what God desires us to be, what we are called to be—His saints and nothing less. And now one word of warning. Beware, oh beware! of mistaking a mere sentimental admiration of holiness for a real desire after God. This is no new danger, but it is specially present on occasions like this. Let us begin, and begin at once, to turn into definite effort any upward longings that have been kindled in our souls to-day. Let us consecrate ourselves afresh to the blessed work of seeking after a closer walk with God, a higher life, a holier walk and conversation in the world. So shall we carry away at least one priceless blessing from our Congress meeting to-day.

DRILL HALL.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 6TH.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the first instance took the Chair, but subsequently resigned it to the BISHOP OF NELSON.

EVANGELISTIC WORK ABROAD.

(*a*) ORGANISATION OF NATIVE CHURCHES.
(*b*) MISSIONARY CENTRES.
(*c*) MEDICAL MISSIONS. WOMAN'S WORK.

PAPER.

(*a*) ORGANISATION OF NATIVE CHURCHES.

The Right Hon. Sir BARTLE FRERE.

IN comparing the history of ancient with that of modern missions, one of the most striking points of difference is that whilst as regards numbers of converts, modern missions may be favourably compared with those of the apostolic age, the Organisation of Native Churches is a much more tedious process than it was in the first centuries of Church history. One reason is not far to seek—communication is now far easier and more certain than it was eighteen hundred years ago. It is not difficult, nor costly, nor does it require so much time now to communicate with the

most distant parts of the earth; whereas when the apostles went forth as missionaries, and for many ages afterwards, up to the time indeed of the great missionary revival eighty years ago, it was always doubtful whether he who preached the Gospel would ever be able to revisit the scene of his labours in distant lands. After once leaving it, a second or a third visit "to confirm the churches" was always evidence of extraordinary zeal and energy. There is, therefore, now less necessity than there was then, that the organisation and equipment of the Church should be locally complete in every city and province. Larger areas may be now assigned to each jurisdiction than was possible then, and yet the organisation may be equally efficient. But this will not explain the whole difference. Organisation of a church, with a definition of who should preach the Word, who should administer charities and temporalities, how and by whom difficult and disputed cases should be judged and decided, was apparently felt to be a more pressing want, a more imperative duty, in the earlier days of the Christian Church than it is now, and organisation followed much more rapidly and more as a matter of course on preaching and conversion in the earlier ages than it does now.

Probably, one main cause of modern slowness in organisation is due to the difference in the relative degree of civilisation, and consequent authority, of teachers and disciples then, as compared with our own time. The missionary of apostolic times spoke with authority as coming from the great Fountain-head of the truths he preached. If he had not seen our Lord in the flesh, he had learned from those who had, or from their immediate disciples. But apart from the weight thus given to his word, his worldly authority and recommendations must have been often, if not generally, inferior to those of the assemblies he addressed. Sometimes, indeed, like Paul or Apollos, he was a "learned man," or "citizen of no mean city," but commonly "the setter forth of strange doctrines," must have appeared as an enthusiast—sincere and striking, perhaps, in what he set forth, still, unlettered, poor, of a comparatively humble station in life, a foreigner, a provincial, a barbarian of a little esteemed race, addressing and attempting to alter the whole course of thought and life in audiences composed of Greeks, proud of their intellectual advantages, or of Roman citizens, confident in the superiority of their imperial and conquering race. Naturally, when the truth touches the hearts of such an audience, and when their simple and unlettered teacher was about to leave them, and to continue his life task of travelling onward to preach the Gospel to all mankind, the first thought of the disciples he was leaving behind him would be, "How shall we keep alive the sacred fire he has brought to us? By what organisation shall we retain and communicate to others these precious truths and miraculous gifts? How keep ourselves separate and undefiled by the corrupt world around us? How bring backsliders and wanderers back to the fold? How rid ourselves of the incorrigible? How, in fact, organise what we now call a living and active Church?" The task would present few difficulties to men trained in the schools of Greek philosophers, or at home in the Forum and habituated to the organising force which pervaded every branch of the Roman empire. They would easily organise what was wanted for local use. They would only have to ask, how shall we connect ourselves with the great Fountain-head,

the Council of the faithful at Jerusalem, Alexandria, or Rome? When they had settled what questions must be reserved for the Council of the Apostles or their successors, the local organisation of a Church was a very easy matter, and one in which the Roman or Greek councils did not need much help from the unlettered Syrian missionary who had first brought the message of grace to them from Palestine. In such cases, to adopt our Lord's simile, the process was one of leavening a mass which already contained within itself the germs of ample powers of self-organisation for Church purposes.

The case was altered as centuries rolled on, as the great centres of Roman and Grecian population became Christianised, and the missionary was a civilised and educated man, commissoned to preach to unlettered barbarians. The St. Augustines and St. Cuthberts, the men who Christianised the advancing hordes of German and Scandinavian savagedom, started on their missions with all the apparatus necessary for civilising their converts and organising them into churches on the Roman or Byzantine model. They set out well provided not only with representatives of all orders and degrees of the Church and its ministers, from the bishop to the acolyte, but with lay brethren skilled in all the arts of civilisation—artificers in stone, and wood, and iron, able to instruct the uncivilised converts how to erect the material fabric of the church, and its adjuncts of monastery and clergy houses, to shelter those who were converted by the preaching of the ordained brethren. Such missions went forth as fully formed ecclesiastical colonies—complete copies of the mother Church in organisation and discipline as well as in doctrine. Wherever they settled and commenced converting the heathen around them, there arose the cathedral and all other appliances of the Bishop's See. The Church was transplanted complete in itself from the first, and when it took root among the aboriginal population it grew as a national church, fully furnished after the pattern of its mother Church, and the question of how it should be organised never arose, or rather, the question which arose was how the organisation of Rome or Byzantium must be modified to suit the national peculiarities of Goths, Huns, or Vandals, and the climate of Britain, Norway, or Germany. It was not a question of organisation *ab initio*. In such cases, to revert to our Lord's simile, it was a process of acting on a mass, itself very imperfectly organized—leavening it by aggregation to a larger body which already possessed a high degree of Church organisation.

After Northern and Eastern Europe were converted, there was for several centuries, from a variety of causes into which we need not now enter, a great slackening of missionary effort, and there was a great alteration in the mode of procedure when the missionary spirit once more awoke in these islands, and missionaries went forth to preach the Gospel in our English Colonies and India, and in the newly discovered isles of the Gentiles. The pioneer expeditions of that great movement had, at first, little of the complete apparatus or organisation of the great missionary expeditions of the earlier or middle ages. Here and there might be found men like Henry Martyn, skilled in all the learning of the Schools, and fitted for the highest places in an affluent and well endowed Church at home; but more often the missionaries were comparatively unlearned men, of humble birth and

scanty means, not of a class accustomed to rule and to be obeyed. Save in the strength and power of the cause they had at heart, they had little of the preparation for organising and ruling which was possessed by the great missionaries who had converted their forefathers. Moreover, for some generations the principles of Church government and Church organisation and rule had formed no part of the general teaching or training of churchmen. They were little thought of save by scholars in the study or the cloister, and even when the old forms remained, their spirit had too often evaporated, and was little regarded by many in high office who bore rule in our National Church.

Again, the missions of eighty years ago went forth to the heathen in very differerent stages of secular civilisation. Sometimes, as in Hindostan and China, it was a civilisation far more ancient than our own—more deeply rooted in the thoughts and habits of life of the people than ours is, and resting on a more logical basis of social philosophy. Its literature and history were very imperfectly known to Western scholars, and were yet more imperfectly represented in popular Western literature. It was no wonder, then, that the humble missionary of our grandfathers' time knew little or nothing of either the history or abundant literature of the people he went to convert in Asia, and that he was often consequently disappointed at the little impression he was able to make on men, whose springs of thought and whose reasons for habits he could but very imperfectly understand. How much those holy men of old did to supply for their successors the wants they had themselves so much felt, I need not say.

Others, again, as in America, and Africa, and Polynesia, went to convert races in various stages of primitive barbarism—sometimes to men possesssing untrained intellects of great power, joined to habits and instincts more or less brutalised by long mis-government; at other times to races so inferior, physically and intellectually as well as socially, that the Church organisation suitable to an English parish or diocese, afforded no guide to what was needed among the wild savages of the forest or prairie.

And there was a third case, when in Western Asia and Northern Africa the missionary of the nineteenth century had to confront questions which, since the days of the early crusaders, had been neglected, or relegated almost entirely to the arbitrament of the secular sword. In the Turkish and Persian empires, in Arabia and Africa, the English missionary resumed controversies which, since the days of St. Athanasius, had rarely been carried on between Eastern and Western scholars in any spirit of Christian charity; and many a very excellent English missionary was slow to perceive that whatever errors of doctrine or laxness of discipline might have crept into the teaching of the persecuted, neglected, and impoverished Oriental Church he visited, there were points on which the Nestorian or Jacobite, Copt or Armenian, Greek or Syrian, was better able to instruct him than he was to teach them. Still more frequently was he apt to forget that Islam, with all its variety of sects and creeds, had many fundamental truths of doctrine and practice derived from Judaism and Christianity; and that, to a Moslem, the arguments suited to a controversy with a Hindu or Fetishman of Ashantee, were as inapplicable as the organisation of an English parish or diocese were unsuitable to the habits of the Oriental.

In all such cases of modern missions the leaven of Gospel truth has been carried to the unconverted, or to those who have lapsed from the truth; but, with partial exceptions, the question of Church organisation has been deferred, and is now pressing for solution.

That question seems to assume a different aspect according as we are contemplating organisation among converts (1) from savage races and uncivilised barbarians, such as the negro and most aboriginal races; (2) from races possessing a high degree of ancient and non-Semitic civilisation, such as most nations of India and China; (3) from other Christian Churches, such as those of Eastern Europe, Western Asia, and North and Eastern Africa, amongst whom the Gospel light once shone brightly, but where it has been obscured or extinguished by secular aggression or other causes; and (4) from Judaism and from Islam.

As regards the two latter classes, the task of organization ought to be comparatively an easy one. Careful and scholarly study of history and tradition is the main requisite. It is difficult to name a single question of organisation, or of discipline bearing on organisation, which has not been fully discussed and settled in ages past. All the races concerned have a theological language and traditions of their own, which cannot be neglected in reorganising a revived Church. This gives rise to dangers of its own. Inattention to a tradition may revive controversies which have slumbered for ages. A new use of an old name may convey a totally erroneous idea of a truth or an office. Hence, for the organisation of missionary churches in the Turkish empire, in Persia, Arabia, and North Africa, a full and accurate knowledge of the Church history of those regions is especially valuable; and I need hardly remind you that there is a great want of trustworthy manuals on the subject, accessible to those who are not within reach of our great libraries of reference. The names of Stanley, Palmer, and others will occur to students of the history of portions of the Greek and Syrian Churches; but their works are not of a size or cost to be in every missionary's library; and where will the missionary in Armenia or Egypt find a popular and yet accurate history of the Armenian or Coptic Churches —such a history, I mean, as Dr. Badger has given us of the Nestorians— sufficiently learned and comprehensive to guard the careful student against unintentional offence to the modern members of those ancient Churches?

But the real difficulties of Church organisation *ab initio* are most felt by our missions to the two other classes—to the savage and uncivilised races, and to the races possessing a high degree of ancient and non-Christian civilisation. As regards the former, the negro races of Africa, the Polynesian Islanders, and the Indians of North and South America, the question is comparatively simple; for, as compared with civilised or semi-civilised heathendom, the uncivilised races are, as a rule, docile and impressionable, easily moulded, and easily led by an European of much natural force of character.

In organising Native Churches among such races, the two great difficulties to be guarded against are, over-elaboration of schemes for organisation, and over-reliance on personal influence—a besetting weakness of powerful minds of the type most efficient in active missionary work. The work of organisation would be far more rapid and

complete, if the energetic and successful missionary would always keep before him the problem how his work is to be maintained in efficiency when he himself is taken away from its superintendence.

The population of countries like India, China, and Japan has generally a natural tendency to order and organisation, which has been developed during long ages of civilised political existence, and which is everywhere visible in their social and industrial life, in the castes which embody with despotic strictness the rules under which every Hindu is bound to live and labour. To the missionary who recognises and avails himself of this tendency, the task of organising a Native Church in India would seem to present few difficulties. It is noteworthy that the subject was first formally placed before the English Church by the venerable Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge more than a century ago. But that the object has proved difficult of attainment will be obvious, if we consider how little, till quite lately, has been done in the way of organisation of Native Churches in India, by our two great Missionary Societies, during eighty years of missionary labour; the last forty of which have been attended by results, the extraordinary extent of which, as regards the number of converts, is hardly yet recognised.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is the oldest of our missionary societies; but it can hardly be said that the subject of Organisation of Native Churches has yet been taken up by the Society as a general question. Much, doubtless, has been done by individual missionaries in every part of the Society's field; but an active missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, entering on any promising field of labour in India, would have to gather for himself, from scattered reports of missionary work in all parts of India, such fruits of the experience of his predecessors as would help him in applying to his own charge the principles he had learned from Hooker and other similar authorities on Church organisation. He would find much valuable information scattered through such reports; but it is nowhere, as far as I know, collected, systematised, or even indexed; and when it is considered how few libraries contain any tolerably perfect series of the reports of even one missionary society, and how tedious is the task of searching for and extracting what relates to any one subject, such as Church organization, we need not wonder that the subject is dealt with in a hand-to-mouth fashion, and that many an active missionary is worn out before he has organised the Native Church he has created, in any way calculated to secure it from lapse or decay when his personal influence is withdrawn. He might by travel and inquiry learn much in a diocese like Madras, where, under the Bishop of Madras, he would find missionary bishops, like Drs. Caldwell and Sargent, who have been long enough engaged in missionary work to understand thoroughly what is wanted to build up a Native Church in such provinces as Tinnevelly and Travancore.

The question of the Organisation of Native Churches appears early to have attracted the attention of the Church Missionary Society. The first minute on the subject was issued thirty-two years ago, in 1850, "but at the end of ten years," we are told, "so little progress had been made towards the formation of Native Churches that, in July, 1861, the Committee issued a second minute on the Organisation of Native

Churches in Missions," in which various practical directions were given for the establishment of a Native Church Fund and a Native Church District Conference. This minute displays all the foresight and practical sagacity one would expect from the well-known initials of Henry Venn. It dwells on the twofold character of missionary work—the one evangelistic, the other ministerial and organising—and the inevitable evils of not practically recognising the distinction. It lays down four principles—the expediency (1) of training Native converts as early as possible to a system of self-government and to support their own teachers; (2), of establishing a Native Church Fund for educational and other purposes; (3), of separating Native teachers into two classes, the one evangelistic, paid by the Society, the other ministerial, comprising teachers, readers, catechists, and pastors, to be paid from the Native Church Fund; (4), of making provision from the first for a Native Church, on the ecclesiastical basis of an indigenous episcopate, independent of foreign aid or superintendence. Many valuable practical suggestions are added, recommending the formation of "Christian companies," each with a selected elder or "Christian head-man," and meeting weekly for united counsel and action, for reading the Scriptures and prayer, and for contributing, according to their means, to the Church Fund, if only a handful of rice; monthly meetings of the Christian head-men, to be held under the missionary or someone to be appointed by him, to hand over contributions, and for mutual counsel and encouragement and for united prayer. Ultimately the first step would be taken for organising the Native Church by forming a congregation under a Native teacher, locally resident, and paid from the Native Church Fund. The second step would be the growth of a congregation into a Native pastorate under an ordained Native minister, similarly paid. The Native pastors would remain, as long as the Native Church Fund is under the management of the missionary society, in a relation to the European missionary analogous to that of a curate under a non-resident incumbent. The third step would be the establishment of a District Conference, comprising a number of Native pastors and lay delegates from each congregation, with the European missionary of the district, to meet periodically for consulting on Native Church affairs, as distinguished from the action of the parent missionary society. "When any considerable district has been thus provided for by an organised Native Church, foreign agency would have no further place in the work, and that district will have been fully prepared for a Native episcopate."

A second minute, dated 1866, on Native Church Endowments, dealt chiefly with the financial question, including the disposal of the special Jubilee Fund raised in 1848, a great portion of which had been devoted to aiding Native Christian Churches to become self-supporting.

A third paper "On the Organisation of Native Churches in Missions" was issued in January, 1866. It records the progress made during the previous five years, and suggests "some practical measures for the more speedy establishment of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending Native Churches." The greatest advance had been made in Sierra Leone, the earliest mission of the Society. There, nine out of twelve missionary districts had become self-supporting Native pastorates, all supported, with their schools, by contributions of the Native Church,

aided by a grant from the Church Missionary Society, which, however, had surrendered the control of the Native ministry to the European Bishop of Sierra Leone and a Church Council. Some progress had been made in the same direction in India and Ceylon; but even in Tinnevelly, where £1,500 a year was raised for various religious and benevolent objects, the Church Missionary Society continued wholly to support the Native pastors, catechists, and village schools, at a cost of £4,000 a year; and in other missions still less had been effected towards making the Native congregation support their own pastorate. The minute, therefore, urges a complete separation between the Native Church funds and the funds of the Church Missionary Society, placing the former under the direct control of a local committee or church council. The regulations which are suggested to give effect to this system are given in detail, and marked by the usual practical sagacity of the committee of the society. The committee further suggest that the bishop of the diocese should appoint, from time to time, a Native minister as his commissary, to supervise the Native teachers and their pastoral work, to attend Church councils as an assessor, with the chairman, and to report his visitations to the bishop. This arrangement was proposed as a preparation for the appointment of a Native suffragan bishop, when the Native Church should be sufficiently organised, and the bishop of the diocese prepared to make such an appointment. Reasons were given why the Society should not, as a rule, place Native ministers in the position of European missionaries—*i.e.*, as detached from local pastoral work. The minute regarded Anglo-Vernacular schools and boarding-schools as missionary agencies; and as such, entitled, for a time, to support from the Parent Society.

The effects of these measures up to 1872 are ably summarised in three papers on Native Church Organisation, in the *Madras Church Missionary Record.* The author of these papers points out how recent was the discovery, and how slow the recognition, by modern missionaries, of the great truth that a "Native Church cannot become self-reliant or self-propagating, so long as it is organised as a part of the foreign Church out of which it first sprung, and has no independent existence of its own."

He says when a mission is first started by Europeans in India, the work is necessarily entirely evangelistic. As it becomes more pastoral, the missionary gradually becomes the pastor of the congregations gathered from among the heathen, and when he has trained up Native assistants in his work—habit, the race difficulty, and the financial difficulty, are obstacles to his delegating the pastoral work to his Native assistants, and reverting to his position as an evangelist. There was an apparent unfairness, in the relative positions of European and Native, when the aged founder of the mission made way for a younger, less venerable, and less experienced missionary, fresh from England, and there was a growing disinclination among the best of the Native converts to accept mission employment. . The reconstitution of the Native Church, on an independent organic basis of its own, became a necessity, and, by the steps already detailed, it has been carried out by the Church Missionary Society most successfully in its missions in Southern India. The author of the *Madras Church Missionary Record* gives the palm of priority in enunciating these altered views regarding the true relation of

the missionary towards the Native Church, to the American Board of Foreign Missions, in their "Outlines of Missionary Policy," embodied in their report of the Deputation to India, which was published in 1856. He had apparently overlooked the first minute of the Church Missionary Society on the subject as far back as 1850. The remarks of the American Board are, however, deserving of careful study as a clear statement of the principles which underlie the great question how far it is desirable to combine the foreign missionary and the Native convert in the same ecclesiastical organisation. The second article in the *Church Missionary Record* explains how, in making the necessary changes in the organisation of their missions on a basis of self-support, the Established and Endowed Churches of England and Germany were placed at a disadvantage as compared with the missionaries of Non-conformist bodies in Europe and America, who, having been always accustomed to take part in the methods of self-sustentation at home, were able at once to adapt their own ecclesiastical organisation to an infant Native Church. He shows how injurious to both the missionary societies and their converts were the results of our system of letting the missionary become the incumbent, as it were, of a large parish; how it prevented any cohesion among the converts, so that though there was no lack of individual spiritual life among the converts, there was no corporate life, no Church. He successfully meets the usual objections to the plan for separating the European from the Native clergy. And in the third paper he proves the soundness of his arguments by detailing the results of the change in Sierra Leone, where the new system had been a complete success. After two years of trial, it was found that, under the system of voluntary contributions, the salaries of the nine Native clergymen transferred had been improved, and that they were actually higher than when they were paid by the Society; that more money had been voluntarily paid for the repairs of old and the erection of new stone churches, for the Grammar School, for the Female Institution, and in subscriptions for the Bible and missionary societies at home. This improvement had since been steadily progressive in every branch of expenditure, both for self-sustentation and in contributions to the wants of others. For instance, a Church Missionary Auxiliary had been started, with an average income of £450 per annum, to support a mission to the heathen tribes in the interior. Accounting for the large sums given by Native Christians in Africa as compared with the Native churches in India, the author says, "These large sums we learned are raised, not by liberal donations from a few prosperous traders, but by the frequent small donations of nearly every family in the colony. The habit was happily introduced, with the first introduction of Christianity, of a weekly payment from every adult convert, so that every Christian family now freely gives a penny a week towards the Church Fund in addition to the support of their schools, and of Bible and missionary societies. Madras took the second place of honour in placing the congregations of the Church Missionary Society in a position of independence as a Native Church. The first address on the subject was issued in April, 1867. The first meeting of the Council of the Native Church was held in January, 1868. Since then the progress has been steady and satisfactory in every respect. Different systems were adopted in the two provinces of Tinnevelly and Travancore. In Tinnevelly a

separate church council was formed in each mission district, while in Travancore, for local reasons, one united council was established for all the pastorates. Thus, whilst "in Sierra Leone the Native Church formed a very completely organised and almost independent body, with a bishop at its head, in Travancore there was a single council for the whole province, as in Sierra Leone, but much less advanced; and in Tinnevelly separate district councils, all the members of which, excepting the chairman, were Natives." Each system has its advantages, but in working it was found that Travancore asked for greater facilities of local action, her first organisation proving somewhat unwieldy in dealing with matters of only local interest in the several pastorates. Tinnevelly, on the other hand, found the need of a somewhat wider representative assembly, in which the Native clergy of different districts would have an opportunity of meeting together and interchanging their views—a provincial council, in fact, like that of Sierra Leone or Travancore, and the result was a modification of both systems to meet the twofold want of eliciting local district energies, no less than united provincial sympathy.

On the important question, "At what point of a Native Church's development ought the principle of self-support and self-government to be introduced?" the author of the article in the *Madras Church Missionary Record* answers, as the result of Indian experience "that as soon as the converts in any district are sufficiently numerous to be formed into regular congregations with a Native teacher located among them, and contribute week by week a sum, however small, to a Native Church fund," so soon does it become "expedient that they should be trained also on a system of self-government." It would not be necessary, he thinks, to wait till three or more Native pastors could be assembled in a Native Church council; some Native Church body, whether called a committee or vestry or by any other name, might meet at a much earlier stage to share with the missionary the responsibility of administering the Fund. As soon as the Native Church teachers can be paid from a Native Church fund, that fund should be administered by the Native Church conjointly with the European missionary, so that the converts should from the first be accustomed not only to self-support but to self-government.

In sad contrast to the progress made in self-sustentation and self-government in Southern India, is the picture presented of the state of affairs in some of the older missions of Southern Bengal, given in a paper on the "Organisation of Missions," read at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, South Bengal Conference, in November, 1881, by the Rev. W. H. Bray, M.A., Calcutta Diocesan Secretary. The picture is no new one, for the grave defects pointed out, and the serious difficulties complained of, are the same as those of which I remember hearing when I was in Calcutta more than twenty years ago. Some of them arise partly, no doubt, from irremovable local causes, such as climate; but far more from causes capable of removal or correction, such as the inferior motives which led many of the earlier converts to join our Church—the intrusion and competition of other churches and societies, and the over tenderness and excessive toleration shown in times past for the notion which is truly, I fear, described as the fundamental idea of too many of the professed

Christians, "that it is we, and not they, who are benefited by their becoming Christians, and that they ought to have some equivalent for conferring this benefit upon us." The Diocesan Secretary seems clearly right as to the direction in which he would seek a remedy for the deplorable state of things he describes, viz., "First, an organisation of teachers and people, directed to inspire an interest in Church matters in the people, without which there can be no edification; and, secondly, another organisation of the various teachers, missionaries, catechists, and readers among themselves, which would tend most effectually to the building up the Native Church," as a self-governed, self-sustained body. The meeting seems to have adopted these views, and we may look with interest for the results, which, as in the case of all correction of evils of such long standing, must take time to develop. All honour to the missionary who so wisely and fearlessly laid bare a cancer which was eating into the springs of life in the Indian Church.

The latest report I have met with on the subject is a very able and thoughtful paper read by General R. Maclagan, R E, at a meeting of the Church Missionary Union at Cambridge, March 9, 1882, on the "Growth and Organisation of the Native Church in India," which is printed in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for July, 1882. After giving a summary account of the progress already made, and of the difficulties I have already alluded to, of the supply of Native clergy from divinity schools and colleges, of the financial arrangements, and the constitutions of Native Church councils, General Maclagan remarks that "the arrangements preparatory to entire self-government in the most advanced of the Native Churches in India are temporary and incomplete in two respects. First, these local churches and these Native councils are connected with particular missions maintained by different societies; but the Native Church in each part of India should be one and undivided." Again, secondly, "These Native episcopal churches having their ordained Native clergy, have not as yet anywhere a Native bishop." I wish space allowed of my quoting General Maclagan's remarks on both these points at length, for they are well deserving the earnest attention of all churchmen, as are also his observations on the want of an Indian liturgy, framed on the model and on the principles of our own, but adapted to the special circumstances of Indian congregations. Of equal importance are the subjects of the supply of Christian literature; the effects of race on the growth of the Native Church; the action of the great intellectual and religious movements known as Vedantism, and the various divisions of the Brahmo Samaj; the Theosophists, and the wholesale importation of English infidel literature; and the influence of caste, on all of which General Maclagan's remarks are very valuable and suggestive, whilst all will rejoice in the conclusion at which he arrives, that "with all its imperfections and short-comings the Native Church of India is a living, a healthy, and a growing Church."

There can be no doubt that the extension of the episcopate, and the creation of Native bishops to superintend Native churches, are among the most urgent necessities towards Church extension and organisation, in the mission field in India as elsewhere. This may sound strange to those who recollect that all India, China, Japan, and Australasia, and all the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, were included in Heber's

diocese, and who know the number of sees into which that diocese has been divided within living memory. But we are still met by suggestions for the appointment of fresh bishops to sees where the converts already are more in number than had been gathered into the fold by all our Indian missions up to Heber's time. Let us take, for instance, Japan, at present a part of the diocese of Hong Kong, and which has for only a few years been re-opened to missionary enterprise. The subject of appointing a bishop was first brought forward in 1878, at the unanimous request of all the English episcopalian missionaries in Japan. It appeared that there had been in Japan an episcopalian mission of the Anglican communion for about twenty years, founded by Bishop Boone, the American Bishop for China. His successor, Bishop Williams, in 1866, was transferred to Japan, where he has now eight ordained American missionaries. The Church Missionary Society began work in 1869, and have now eight ordained and one lay missionary at five stations. In 1873 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel followed, and has four ordained English clergy and one layman, and two ladies engaged in school work. Most of the stations are from 120 to 300 miles apart, and Japan is a week's voyage from Hong Kong, the seat of Bishop Burdon, in whose episcopal charge Japan has been hitherto nominally included. In consequence of the inconvenience of this arrangement, clergy sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were, with the consent of the Archbishop, directed to look to the American Bishop Williams as their bishop and spiritual guide; but in 1878 Bishop Burdon, of Hong Kong, strongly supported the unanimous request of all the English missionaries to have a resident English bishop appointed. This suggestion had the assent of the American bishop, and we may hope that it will be ultimately carried out in accordance with the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference on the subject. From various parts of India comes the same demand for more bishops. Opinions are divided as to whether the time has come for providing a Native episcopate; but no one seems to doubt that it is essential to a perfect organisation of any Native Church; and it is observable that the older, more experienced, and successful missionaries speak with the least hesitation as to the necessity for an immediate commencement of an attempt to provide the whole machinery and organisation of a Native Church from Native elements. I cannot think that, in a diocese like Madras, and with suffragans like Bishops Sargent and Caldwell, anything but good results could follow the experiment of Native coadjutor bishops. Many years ago I ventured to express an opinion that for the complete organisation of the English Church in India it would be desirable to have at least one bishop for each nation speaking a distinct language, in which missions of our Church were actively at work. I was speaking then of European bishops, and subsequent observation leads me to believe that the estimate was not by any means excessive. Much has been done to extend the episcopate since then, but there are still only about half the number of bishops then estimated as necessary. There is a call for more, and though it is quite true that no European can do for the Native Church all that might be expected from a good Native bishop, it is equally true that at present it would rarely be desirable to have any but a European at the head of an Indian diocese, in which European officials and planters were present in considerable

numbers. Bishop Sargent's remarks seem to me to indicate the gradations of the episcopate which present circumstances require in India. The present Bishop of Calcutta, as Primate of the English Church in India, would retain his present Metropolitan and quasi-archæpiscopal functions, though there may be reasons connected with his official position as a bishop appointed under Acts of Parliament which may, for the present, prevent any change of title. He, as well as his brethren of Madras and Bombay, would continue to hold official positions in the civil administration as bishops recognised by the State, as the ecclesiastical heads of the large body of Government chaplains, and charged with many official duties which are not required of a missionary bishop. But wherever, as within the diocese of Madras, missionary bishops are appointed by the Church, the whole See should be regarded as Metropolitan, and authority or influence now exercised as Metropolitan by the Bishop of Calcutta, should be vested also in the Bishop of Madras. The bishops appointed as his coadjutors or suffragans might, for the present, continue to be Europeans by preference, where their charges include many Europeans. But no opportunity should be lost of appointing a Native bishop, where a fit man can be found, to a charge where the Native element largely preponderated in the congregations, and more than one such charge might, I think, even now be found in South India.

Church councils, such as have worked so successfully in Madras, would be an essential element in any scheme of Church extension. The congregational village council or vestry, seems indispensable to any plan for making the Native Church self-supporting, and the district council of representatives from each congregation in the district, meeting, say quarterly, seems equally necessary. Many questions will arise whenever the growth of the Church is rapid and vigorous, which can be suitably dealt with only in consultation with the bishop, in a diocesan council of representatives from each district, which might, without inconvenience, meet annually. There will be questions affecting more than one diocese, which may suitably be referred to a Metropolitan council or synod, meeting at rarer intervals, say, on occasion of a visitation. And there will yet remain great questions affecting the Church at large, such as occupied the Lambeth Conference, which can hardly be dealt with save in a large representative body composed of those who have had most experience as rulers of the Church. Some of these questions, as for instance, the limits to be observed by our great missionary societies to prevent interfering with each other's labours, or building on foundations laid by missionaries of other churches, will be essentially Indian questions demanding local knowledge in acting on recognised principles; others will be of a more general character, and a Metropolitan Church council sitting at Calcutta would still leave questions which could hardly be set at rest without invoking the authority of the Anglican Church at large, sitting, as did the Lambeth conference, under the patriarchal presidentship of the Primate of all England.

As regards all such church councils, may I venture the remark as not perhaps inappropriate here, that much good may be done in deciding controverted questions by referring them at one congress or council to a select committee, with instructions to report on them at the next meeting, as preliminary to full discussion. The report may be approved

or altered or referred for further inquiry or discussion, but the subject would in the end be more fully discussed, and some unnecessary friction might be avoided by such a process.

I have dwelt on Southern India as affording one of the largest, most prominent, and best known examples of what has been done, and what remains to be done, in the way of organising Native Churches. Time does not admit of my referring at any length to the equally important and striking work which has been done, or yet remains to be attempted, in remoter and less familiar regions in the Australasian and Melanesian and South African dioceses. It is impossible to mention Africa without thinking of our recent loss by the death of Bishop Steere, one of the greatest organisers we have had for many years in the mission field. The fit companion of men like Bishop Gray or Bishop Selwyn, and reminding us of the days of the early mission fathers, who founded the Churches in Southern and Western Europe centuries ago.

I would ask attention to the fact that, however closely, in running the race which is set before them, our own missionaries may be pressed by those of other Churches and denominations, organisation on principles analogous to those of our own English Church is found essential to the permanence of the results, however great they may be, achieved by individual zeal, energy, and self-devotion; and that our episcopal system has in practice vindicated its claim to be apostolic, not in form only, but in practical efficiency, as a means of promoting the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen. I know of no mission field which does not bear witness to the blessing which has attended the labours of Christian missionaries who are not in communion with our own Church; of men like Drs. Duff and John Wilson, and many others I could name; but as far as my own observation goes the permanence of their work everywhere depends on its following the great lines laid down by the fathers of our Church as most in accordance with apostolic practice. It is not by chance amateur preaching that much is done in their missions, but by men set apart for the work by the prayers of the faithful, and devoting their whole lives and energies to the task, though they may not aspire to the priestly office. Effective direction of the workers is secured, not by the votes of the majority, but by the individual energy and zeal of single men, though they may cling to republican forms and shun the title of bishop; and the rule of such men is not autocratic, but directed by constant reference to the great principles laid down by the Church from the earliest ages, guided and modified by the council of the faithful, under whatever name assembled —come together, as did "the apostles and elders" in primitive days, to consider this or that matter.

Our Church at home, after being long cramped and confined by secular exigencies, has been for many years past stedfastly reverting to early usage in these matters, and a manifest increase in vigour and efficiency has been the result. Our Church abroad, in the regions of heathendom, has been less fettered, and is, we may hope, both willing and able to revert at once to apostolic example, and to mould her growth as nearly as may be on the lines marked out by the apostles and their immediate disciples.

ADDRESS.

The Rev. W. J. EDMONDS, Rector of High Bray, South Molton.

IN speaking this afternoon on the subject of the Organisation of Native Churches, I shall follow the excellent example of Sir Bartle Frere, and not go into the technicalities of organisation. I am quite sure that this is a subject with which we are not yet in a position to deal with advantage, because before we could deal with it with advantage in a Church Congress, it must have been discussed and re-discussed, and discussed again amongst the experts connected with the great missionary organisations. I will, however, try to do something useful, though I am sure very humble. I will try to give you certain facts about the great churches which will help you when you come to form a judgment on the question of organisation. I very well remember twenty-two years ago, when a number of young men were gathered at Fulham Palace for three or four very uncomfortable days, one of them, on the day last but one before the ordination, was discovered coming out of a room in a state of great excitement. On being asked what was the matter, "Oh," he said, "Stanley has been saying to me things about missions that I had no conception of. He said to me, 'Are you aware of the circumstances under which Germany became Christian,' and I had to say, 'No, sir; I don't know very much about that.' Then he said, 'Are you aware of the circumstances under which Scandinavia became Christian,' and I had to say, 'No, sir; I don't know very much about that,' and by the time he had asked me one or two questions more, I found that, although my heart was set on missionary work, I knew very little about it." That man has done good work since, and no doubt his knowledge on the subject of missions is considerably enlarged, but there is large room yet for improvement in the knowledge of those even who are most acquainted with the history of missionary work in the past. The greater part of the missionary work which we are doing now can be ascertained to have begun some eighty years ago. Eighty years ago, the number of people gathered out of the heathen into the Christian fold was about 50,000. To-day, or at least three years ago, taking the figures of Dr. Christlieb, of Bonn, the number is 1,650,000. That has been the result, under God's blessing, of the work of eighty years. Eighty years ago there were 170 recognised missionaries, but of these a full hundred belonged to the Moravian body, of which we ought therefore always, I think, to speak with the deepest respect. Eighty years ago, if there had been this room full of missionaries, you could not have sent one of them into China, with its three or four hundred millions of people, or into India, with its two hundred millions, or into Turkey. Now just look at the size of the world. When yesterday, once or twice, I caught the sound of the word *ubique*, there arose up before my mind the map of the world that was comprised in that word. If you will forward to Mr. Cook, of Ludgate Circus, a manual of early Church history, he will send you a scheme of a tour that will take you over the *ubique* in ten days, omitting no place of any consideration. It took centuries in God's providence before Christianity spread throughout Europe. If now you want to collect the Catholic voice of the Christian Church your *ubique* is very different from what it was a few centuries ago. Where is it to be heard? There are between three and four hundred thousand Christians scattered through the South Sea islands, which were hardly known to exist a century ago—places which we first came to know because here a celebrated navigator was in danger of his life, and there another was killed; and of

late years, two noble lives, one the adornment of the navy and the other the adornment of the missionary episcopate, have been sacrificed there. To show the extent of the work, I may say that £1,000 a year has for the last eight years come into the treasury of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as payment for copies of the Scriptures translated into the languages of those islands, and which they did not wish to take for nothing at our hands. That is something to look at from the larger field of which I am speaking. In Madagascar there are now 250,000 Christians, although I am free to confess they are in a very imperfect stage of Christianity at present, whether you take their personal religion, or their theory of Church government. The converts of the various missionary societies number, as I have said, nearly a million and three-quarters of people, you will find 200,000 of these in the Presidency of Madras. Their organisation, though considerably advanced, is still in a provisional state, upon the free and ready confession of those whom God has used to Christianise them. I should like to say here that while we in this room cannot deal with this question as experts, we can arrive at conclusions that will help us. In the first place, the missionary field presents us with an enormous variety of subjects for consideration. All these churches cannot be organised alike, but there are certain principles which can be acted upon in all. The foremost among these principles, and it is one which obtains the almost unanimous approval of missionaries of any standing, is that the Native Church, whenever it is organised, must be a *Native* church. There will be no trouble about episcopacy, as, thank God, there is no trouble about it on the part of missionary bodies not connected with us. One way or other they are episcopal in their government, to the extent that they have one man who watches over the mission, and who is above every other man, and whose authority is pretty nearly supreme. We need not trouble ourselves about episcopacy. Then we shall find that the Church of India will have a book of common-prayer. But the Native Christians will not necessarily go to church at eleven o'clock in the morning and sing "The Church's One Foundation," to the tune "Aurelia," and if they sing at all, they may not sing it standing. Here I come to what I consider an extremely important question. When a missionary goes into a new country he must give his heart to his work. It is a monstrous thing that an Englishman who has given up his mother, should not be able to give up Rockingham, and St. James', and St. Peter's, and Aurelia. There is a music in India; it has the disadvantage of not being very euphonious to our ears, and it is sung sitting, but it is Indian music, and the question is, can the Englishman condescend to the music for the Lord's sake and for the people's sake? Then, again, the upper classes in India do not want very short sermons. We in England do, and I think we ought to have them. In India they do not care so much to get home to dinner, the upper classes do not care to hurry away to get to dinner, and the lower classes do not stay at home to cook dinner. As with sermons and church music, we must seek to let the Native genius find expression, so must we also in hymns and spiritual songs. We ourselves, indeed, do not sing the same hymns as we did twenty-five years ago. We do not stimulate each other's charity by singing, as we once did to the praise and glory of God :—

"His liberal favours He extends,
To some He gives, to others lends;
But what His charity impairs,
He saves by prudence in affairs."

Nor do I think it likely that in five and twenty years hence we shall sing as we do now :—

> "How the troops of Midian
> Prowl and prowl around."

It is hardly worth while to translate such a hymn as that even for the sake of "St. Andrew of Crete." Do not let us then impose on these foreign churches, with their own convictions and their own manners, details that may suit us very well, but which, when their church is organised, may be found not to suit them at all. But we must enforce the principle of self-support. We can never, indeed, relieve ourselves of the obligation of remembering the poor, but that is a very different thing from maintaining a hybrid church in a foreign land by subsidies. We must not impose too expensive a style of building on them. The buildings must be in proportion to their means and express their ideas, and if a missionary has given up his Native land he must give up the architecture of his Native land, and get the people themselves to build their own churches I am not here to speak a single word of complaint as to the principles on which missionary work is conducted. John Wesley, the greatest organiser ever raised up in modern days, taught his people as the foundation of their financial system to contribute a penny a week and a shilling a quarter. A penny a week and a shilling a quarter is about eight shillings and four pence a year. If you go into an Indian mission, or a Ceylon mission, you will find, whether it be a mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel or the Church Missionary Society—and I feel that in sympathy we ought to belong to both —you will find they are teaching the converts to subscribe to the support and spread of their own religion ten shillings or eleven shillings a year, twenty-five per cent. that is, more than John Wesley insisted on. I think that is great progress. Another thing we must insist on as a principle is self-extension. The men of the present generation must be the evangelists of the people behind them. Their first duty is to get rid of the English missionaries, and their second duty is to become missionaries themselves. At this moment two men, born in the Tamil country, are at the earnest persuasion of the Christians there, gone up into a distant part of the country, and are there exercising their religious calling at the expense of the Tamil Native Church. To sum up, our organisation must be provisional in some things, it must aim at a national Church everywhere—the Church of the people concerned—not an English Church, but in communion with us, bound to us by gratitude, by ties that never shall be broken—but taking shape, and colour, and form, and character from the nation out of which it has sprung. For so is the kingdom of God as if a man should cast seed into the ground and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring up and bear fruit, and it is equally true, of the mystery of the growing and the character of the blossoming, that the sower "knoweth not how." There has been one sentence ringing in my mind during all that the Congress has been doing—whether trying to reconcile Christianity with science, or to look charitably at Roman Catholics and dissenting forms of organisation—the glorious inscription which the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's have made the legend of their great bell, "Woe is me if I do not evangelise." In every position in which we find ourselves, woe be to us when our time is up and our work is done, if it is not found that in some way or other we have, in our Lord's Name, been Evangelists and spread His faith.

(*b*) MISSIONARY CENTRES.

PAPERS.

General R. MACLAGAN, R.E.

THE subject of Christian Missions is one which is yearly receiving increased attention in England, and demanding more. To build up, and strengthen, and purify, and defend her house at home, and to enlarge her borders by missions to the heathen abroad, are the great work of the Church. And these together—not one first and the other after. The day has gone by for the repetition of the stock argument against Foreign Missions, that there was plenty of work of that kind to be done at home, and that it would be time enough to think of Christianising other lands when we had reclaimed the heathen Christians in our own. A remote future truly for our Foreign Missions! But we have not so learned our duty to the heathen. Judea had not been won for Christ when the command was given to the first missionaries to go into all the world. *Beginning* at Jerusalem, they were not to see their work perfected there before carrying the Gospel to other lands. And so now. There is work for the Church abroad as well as at home; and both together. Her missionary duty is recognised. We are now for a short time to look at some parts of the secondary question, the mode of doing it.

Endeavour has often been made to find some exact guidance for mission work in the pages of the New Testament and the example of the first messengers of the Gospel, a guidance which might thus be considered, in a manner, authoritative. Like all the teaching of our Lord and His immediate followers, the guidance we get with respect to missions is a teaching, not so much or so directly of rules and examples to be followed, as of principles to be observed. No rules or examples can be taken to regulate our practice; what we learn is that methods must adapt themselves to the various conditions of time, and place, and people.

The distribution of our mission agency is one of the chief matters to be considered in carrying out missionary operations in any country. The ordinary plan may be said to be, to occupy as many of the important places as can, from the resources available, be supplied with missionaries, two or sometimes one at each place, while a few chief centres are held in greater strength. And these missionaries, by tours in the country around, enlarge the area of their operations, and the number of people to whom their message is carried.

This, in general outline, is the common plan followed in modern missions. And we know what these missions are doing and have done. When we hear of stations with one missionary, or others having two, where the division of duties gives direct mission work to one only or to each separately, an obvious question arises regarding this mode of applying the mission agency. How much may be done in the work of Christian missions, as well as in great social, political, and religious movements of other kinds, by means of one man working on materials that are waiting to be stirred, history tells us; and we are seeing at the present day what some noble workers in the mission field are doing

single-handed. But a missionary system has to be planned with reference to ordinary men and ordinary times, as well as with advertence to the changes and chances of this mortal life. And it is thus we come to look at the question of distribution, and to consider the respective values of missionary agency in small numbers at many places, and the same in greater strength at a few mission centres. To assume that if a certain number of missionaries, instead of occupying separate places at a distance from each other, were collected and working together, they might, after any stated time, have a band of young Christians collected together equal in number to the aggregate of those they might have gathered round them in the same time at a number of separate places;—to assume this would be a very simple and not unreasonable, but very imperfect view of the worth of their united labour. Yet even this mere numerical result is not without its value, with respect to the young Christians themselves and to their heathen fellow-countrymen around.

To the young Christians themselves, the gain is that derived from association and mutual support. This object has been partially gained in certain missions in India, by the formation of new villages for Native Christians from various places. Such collections of Christian people however are very different from the villages of Southern India, villages in which the whole population has become Christian, and the people continue to reside in their old homes, and follow their ordinary occupations.

But in this association of the young Christians there is more than the gain of mutual support. Collected at one place, they learn as they cannot so well when dispersed at many places, the meaning and value of a regular Church organisation and Church services, and the mutual relations and duties of the members of the one body. And more again is the gain when this is at a Missionary Centre occupied by a strong band of teachers, men of various characters and attainments, having each his own distinct part in the united work. So from the first, and systematically, those who have been gathered into the Church are trained for that self-government and self-support which it is the great object of the foreign missionaries, their temporary pastors, to encourage and help forward. Much is being done in India at the present time towards this end by the formation of Native Church Committees and Councils. And it is best done where a large proportion of the members have been used to church institutions and their work, not only from the time they became Christians, but before this, when in contact with a strong central mission.

In proceeding to notice the value in relation to certain missionary objects, of the associated work of large central stations, let us turn to two departments of mission work, which in these days are happily meeting with much attention and with much success. These are to be the subject of other papers this afternoon; they are noticed here only in their relation to Missionary Centres:—Medical Missions, the importance of which, in all countries, is fully recognised, and Missions to Women, particularly of the upper classes, a work which belongs specially to certain eastern countries. The beneficent work of ministering to bodily ailments and infirmities does not need to devote itself to the people of great cities more than to sufferers in other

places. In India, we may say, it is needed less for the great cities, where there are commonly excellent British dispensaries and hospitals, open to all. But the medical work in connection with a great central mission can address itself to classes of the people who do not ordinarily come within reach of the public hospitals and dispensaries —the same classes to which the Female Missions at the like places are directed—the families of native gentlemen of good social position. These are to be found chiefly in the great cities. And it is to the great cities that our lady missionaries go who are to be engaged in this work. No one can fully tell the immense value of the work which these ladies are doing in India, instructing the native ladies, and those who are to be the native ladies of the next generation; and also training female teachers who are to go out among the women of other classes in the country around.

The progress of Christian missions in any country has to be looked at not with reference to the actual results in themselves only, but to the bearing of these results on future progress. In this view we have to look not to numbers merely, but to character and influence. In India, and elsewhere, Christian missions have been carried on most largely and most successfully among people of the lower and least educated classes, the people, that, is speaking generally, who had the least intelligent knowledge of any religion or convictions of any kind, and who had therefore least to unlearn or give up in accepting Christianity. But many also, we rejoice to know, are of another class, men of good social position, and among the most intellectual, most learned, most religious of the people, for whom the turning to Christianity was something very different from its acceptance by the others. And we know the value to the young Christian Church of every such man. Men of these two classes may be personally of equal worth, but they are not of equal weight. The acceptance of the new faith by uneducated people of low position does not commend it to people of the higher ranks, nay, in a country like India, may have a distinctly contrary effect. The question of caste is not to be entered on here. It is only necessary to say that caste is an important fact, and to press the need of our missions making direct efforts to bring their influence to bear upon people of education and people of good social position. From the earliest days we see the value attached in this respect to the adoption of the Christian faith by people of the upper ranks. It is not without meaning that the sacred historians, in telling how believers were added to the Church, mention certain persons by name along with others mentioned by number. The Christian Church is to embrace people of all classes. The missionary is to go into all the world, and his message is to every creature. It is the glory of this message that to the poor the Gospel is preached. But it is not to the poor alone. Christianity has a message, and it has duties, for them who are rich in this world. And if the influence of men in high position is of value, as it is, and is used as it often is for evil, let us try to secure some of it for the service of Christ. Now the places for gaining access to people of the higher ranks are the chief cities. A most important and interesting work this is for some of the members of a central mission at such places.

Better than mere number, better than high rank, best when

combined with both, is a high standard of spiritual life among these accessions to the Christian fold. This must be the great aim, that the Native Christian Church at any important central place, maintaining this high standard, may make its numbers and its influence tell:—that, like the Thessalonian Christians of old, they who have turned to God from idols to serve the living and the true God may be examples to all that believe, and that from them may sound out the word of the Lord, so that in every place their faith to God-ward is spread abroad. This is what we should look for from our great Missionary Centres.

We have still to notice one of the important functions of a strong central mission, by means of which it is to make its influence felt in the country around. When we consider the magnitude of the missionary work to be done in all parts of the world, we know that to occupy any section of this great field as we would like to see it occupied, all the missionary agency that can be sent out into the world by the Church at home would not suffice. Therefore to its direct missionary work it has to add the training of a Native Agency. This Native Agency is to aid and supplement the work of the central mission by diffusing its teaching among the people of the country more widely, and in certain respects more effectively, than can be done by the personal efforts of the band of foreign missionaries. This object, the training of Native missionaries, can be provided for most completely at a well organised centre of mission life and church work.

It may be thought—it has been before now—that in restricting his operations to one place, and still more in devoting himself to teaching, a missionary is losing much of the power he might be exerting in the wide field around him, as well as much of the interest belonging to his great work. It is useful to notice the words of a great missionary of our day on this subject. "You may not," he said, "be directly preaching the Gospel in widely scattered regions. But if, through God's blessing, you have trained a company of preachers, you may see your powers multiplied a hundred-fold, and yourself preaching through the voice of a hundred heralds."* This is what can be done by those members of the missionary body at a great Mission Centre who are engaged in educational work and the training of a Native agency. Some will be specially qualified for this part of the united work, some for other parts of it. There are diversities of gifts and diversities of operations. For preachers, for teachers, for translators, for all according to their gifts, there is a place at a Mission Centre. And, for many a missionary, a place where he is associated with others having different gifts is a better place than he would have if he were working with his own less complete equipment at a separate station of his own.

Now there is one further consideration specially relating to that great country in the East with which Britain has been entrusted. The great cities of India are also, many or most of them, great European stations. No system of Christian missions in a country in which dwell a number of Christian people, of the same nationality as the missionaries themselves and the ruling power, can rightly disregard the spiritual interests and conditions of those people and their influence on the mission work. Here it is that a strong body of earnest missionaries, forming a not un-

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* Rev. A. Duff, D.D. Address to the Rev. Thomas Smith.

important part of the society of the place which is their headquarters, and making it a part of their object to cultivate friendly relations with the resident body of their fellow-countrymen, may obtain a powerful support to their mission work. There are missionaries living among large communities of their fellow-countrymen in India and elsewhere who have scarcely known any of them, some who have felt that their best hope of success was in keeping away from them. And there are numbers of our own fellow-countrymen in India and elsewhere, living at places where there are Christian missions, who, though not disposed to be unfriendly, have never seen the missionaries or known anything of their work. We know what is said about the influence of Europeans in India on mission work. No isolation of the missionaries will alter this, or prevent what intelligent Natives observe and think. Do we not better to grasp the facts and endeavour to deal with them? By fuller acquaintance of the missionaries with their fellow-countrymen living at the same place, the mission will gain increased interest and sympathy and help. It is at a Mission Centre with many missionaries, men of different tastes and capacities, with different social habits and different friendships, that this can best be done.

Most persons who have followed English missionary history with interest know the distress and loss that has been occasioned by the suspension of work at many of our mission stations, when sickness drove the missionary away, or death closed his lips, or when great and special demands elsewhere, or deficiency of funds from other causes, required his withdrawal. Obvious in relation to such occurrences, which have been numerous, is the gain of having a large body of missionaries at a few chief centres, instead of dispersed at many stations. In this union of workers there is great strength. The defects of one are supplied by some of the others. The zeal and energy of each is stirred up by all the rest. And there is no break of continuity in the work.

Missionary Centres occupied in great strength imply, with the same resources, fewer men (that is European agents) for separate missions at other places. It implies that many places, some of them perhaps places of importance, and large tracts of country, are left out altogether. It is so. But may it not be that with regard to the end in view,—the Christianising of the whole country,—this is after all the best? The work of our Lord on earth may throw some light upon this question, even though we may not apply all His methods to our practice. The purpose which He came on earth to fulfil was one which, in relation to the inhabitants of this globe, had no bounds but those of the globe itself. His field was the world. But His personal ministry reached not beyond the bounds of one little country at the east end of the Mediterranean, and to only a part of it. All the rest of the world was for the time left out. He gathered in a flock only in that small land, and prepared chosen followers for carrying His message to other lands. Palestine was the first great Missionary Centre. Far smaller was that little portion of the earth's surface in relation to the mission field of the world than our Mission Centres in foreign lands to the areas of country for which they are meant to serve. After the work was committed to His missionaries, we see Jerusalem and Antioch made the chief centres for missions to

the Jews and to the Gentiles. And we see the Apostle to the Gentiles going forth from these central stations, always with some fellow missionaries, planting the Gospel in the great cities of the lands which he visited, and, so far as we see, in the great cities only, and leaving chosen men to organise the Church in these places; from them was the word to sound out. Our powers are not such as his; we have to put forth greater strength for the same end. And if, using the wisdom and the powers given to us, we work a mission in any country from a few strongly occupied centres, it is with the belief that the whole work done towards the end in view, by a concentrated organised effort in great strength at a small number of places, is greater than the total results of the same efforts applied separately at distances apart.

There must be many here who look with interest to the mission on this principle of concentration established by the University of Cambridge in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at the great, ancient and imperial city of Delhi; and to the mission, in some respects similar, since commenced at Calcutta, by the University of Oxford.

At the present time there are in the Asiatic missions of the two great Church societies about 180 European missionaries engaged in direct mission work at 125 different stations, much less than an average of two to each station. The African missions of the same societies show an equally scattered employment of the European missionaries, about fifty at thirty-five places. But the circumstances of the missions in this continent are special. In certain parts it is pioneer and preparatory work in which the European missionaries are engaged; in other parts the mission agents are chiefly Natives. Again, in regions having so scanty and scattered a population as those in which our missionaries labour in Australasia and North-West America, it is not surprising to find the workers much dispersed. The plan of strong Mission Centres is inapplicable to such regions. Yet even there, as elsewhere, there should be nothing less than the "two and two," as of old. These figures show how many of our missionaries, in all lands, are working single handed. That many of them are so working to good purpose has already been said. But this does not make the method a good one generally. If some, even in wide and rapid journeyings, with judicious repetition of visits to particular places and particular persons, are leaving their mark where they go, are there not others whose missionary tours are but as the track of a ship in the sea? We sometimes hear appeals for particular missions, based on a statement of the enormous extent of country within which some one man is working—only one missionary to so many hundred square miles—as if implying that this one missionary has to try to work upon every part of this great area. Such an appeal usually fails to call forth the desired sympathy and help. It makes no distinct impression, but only exhibits the impossibility of providing, with any help that can be reasonably expected, for a work that is looked at in this way. Very hopeless such a work might well be considered, were it not that nothing is hopeless in Christian missions. But let it be understood that the missionary simply occupies one well chosen centre, there to stay and there to become thoroughly known, and every one man that can be sent to his help is of a distinct and special value

The great area of country will be most effectively touched by a manifest work at a recognised centre.

Look again for a moment at the field of eastern missions which occupies the most important place in the eyes of English people. In certain parts of British India, especially within the last few years, a work has been going on which makes no appearance because it has added nothing to the figures which sum up the additions to the Christian Church, but which is of very great value. There are large numbers of intelligent and thinking people who have listened to Christian teaching, and read Christian books, and been influenced by Christian morality, but have not brought themselves to adopt the Christian faith. They will gain strength from sympathy and support. May we not believe that a great Christian movement in a great city would draw out some of this latent Christian feeling in the country, and lead to a great enlargement of the Native Church?

There is something reasonable in the belief that large and solid gains may attend a larger use of the method of collective mission work at chosen centres, when our plan and progress would be shown not by a great number of points, some bright some faint, dotted at wide distances over the map, but by a broad conspicuous and shining mark at great centres of life and action. Our missions and missionaries, not standing aside, as too often at present, an object of incurious or unconcerned notice to the many, and of deep interest only to the few, would stand out before all, not only as a great unquestionable fact, but as a felt power in the land.

(*c*) Medical Missions. Woman's Work.

Theodore Maxwell, Esq., M.D., B.Sc., formerly Medical Missionary in Kashmir, India.

(Read by H. H. Bemrose, Esq., in the absence of the Author).

The expression Medical Missions is used to cover agencies of many different forms and characters, and may perhaps be taken to include the work of all persons, at home or abroad, who endeavour to obey the Master's command, "Heal the sick . . . and say unto them the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you" (Luke x. 9). What clergyman's wife or district visitor who makes some gruel or beef tea, or even tucks up a bed, or smooths a pillow for a sick pauper, does not feel in some degree at least the nearness of the kingdom of God. Yes! of that God whose very name is Love, and who, like as a Father, pitieth His children, knowing our frame and remembering that we are dust. And when afterwards this angel visitor sits beside the sick bed, and speaks of Him who took our infirmities and bore our diseases, who would deny to her the title of Missionary or even of Medical Missionary? How many millions of lost sheep have been brought to the fold by such gentle unobtrusive agencies as this.

Again, I suppose that every medical man, who earnestly desires to promote his great Master's glory, finds opportunities of speaking words of counsel and comfort, and although not called a missionary, he may

indeed prove himself to be one in fact. Though medical help, whether by advice or nursing, is a valuable aid to Christian workers at home, it is in foreign missions that the importance of this agency shines out most strongly. Here in this country medical aid can be obtained by all, for dispensaries, hospitals, and doctors abound, but in many lands a doctor is indeed a *rara avis*.

When one looks at missions, from the practical point of view, the work to be done may be compared to building a wall, in which we may reckon three distinct species of operations.—

(*a*) Finding and bringing together the rough stones.

(*b*) Cutting them into suitable shape.

(*c*) Building them up with mortar to form the wall.

Similarly the labourer for Christ has to

(*a*) Seek for individuals, and bring them within the sound of the gospel.

(*b*) To teach them, with the Holy Spirit's help, their sin, and their need of a Saviour, pointing them to Christ, and baptizing them when they believe.

(*c*) They are then ready to be built up under the watchful eye of the pastor into a living Church which, unlike the wall in our simile, will have sufficient vitality to add to itself, and to surround itself with other living Churches, all testifying by their life of the immense power of the work which the Holy Spirit has wrought.

Where there are few stones, and a small wall only can be built, there cannot well be much division of labour; one workman must see to finding and cutting and building up the stones. So in a sparsely populated land like North-West America, a single missionary has to gather together and minister to a church. But in countries like China or India, which may be said to be teeming with people, some division of labour is profitable. The pastor who has as his special work the building and consolidation of the native church requires the help of the Itinerating Evangelist, the Schoolmaster, and the Medical Missionary to attract and gather together the material. They can assist in the rudimentary teaching of the catechumens, but must to a great extent leave the after training to the regular pastor, while they are seeking for fresh souls among the heathen.

It will thus be seen that I look upon a Medical Missionary chiefly as a gatherer. He and his hospital are a great advertisement of the existence of the mission, and indeed of that of Christianity itself.

There is no village without its sick, its maimed, its halt, or its blind, and the news of the wonder-working doctor quickly spreads over a large area, inducing poor wretches to walk forty or fifty miles to see him, who would certainly never have stirred from their villages if they had merely heard that some white foreigners were telling people in the streets of a distant city of a new religion, and how much better it was than heathenism.

The most suitable spots for Medical Missions are usually thickly populated cities or districts, where little or no competent advice is procurable by the common people. China abounds in such localities, and in India, though Government hospitals are pretty numerous, there are plenty of districts where a mission one would not be superfluous. In uncivilised countries, such as East Africa and Patagonia, the

mission staff should not be left without medical assistance for themselves; besides, in such places there is an unusually good opening for a Medical Mission, as the natives are sure to be greatly impressed by the result of even the simplest operation. Generally speaking, a Medical Mission forms an excellent pioneering agency. Bishop McDougal, when he first went to Borneo, found that his being a surgeon enabled him to gain the confidence of the natives before he knew much of their language.

In some places a clerical missionary, with some little medical knowledge, with perhaps the help of a "Zenana lady," who has been in a hospital for a few months, starts a little dispensary, and many sufferers prefer going there to attending the regular Government hospital, because they know they will be seen by the Sahib himself, and will not be left to the native assistants. These agencies may be very useful if judiciously conducted—*i.e.*, if the missionary has sufficient knowledge to enable him to refuse to treat serious cases, or those which he does not understand. He can sometimes, by making friends with the Government surgeon, get valuable help from him. There is always a question in cases of this kind, whether "a little knowledge is or is not a dangerous thing." I must confess that my own feeling is that where thorough knowledge is unattainable, the *next best* thing is a little knowledge, always supposing that this "little knowledge" is genuine of its kind, and above all that it is not mistaken by its possessor for a full acquaintance with the subject. The Government of India recognise this principle, and in small places give half-trained doctors charge of dispensaries. It is important, however, that no one without a diploma should allow natives to think him a doctor. The mere fact of his giving medicine will not cause them to do so, for all Europeans give more or less in out of the way parts of India.

However useful such dispensaries may be, both for therapeutical purposes and for attracting and attaching people to the mission centre they can hardly be looked upon as, strictly speaking, Medical Missions.

By these, I understand establishments under a fully qualified surgeon, where patients with the most serious maladies can be given the benefits of all that the science and art of healing can do for them. Some kind of a hospital is indispensable, especially for operation cases, and these will usually form an important feature. It is indeed by successfully operating on what to the natives are incurable diseases that the Medical Missionary will chiefly attract patients from long distances. I know that some of the poor creatures I saw in Kashmir came four or five days' journey to the mission hospital.

Church societies are, I am glad to say, beginning to wake up to the great value of Medical Missions.

The society for the Propagation of the Gospel has opened dispensaries in many places, *e. g.*, at Tounghoo, in the diocese of Rangoon, Poona, in that of Bombay, Ramnad and Nazareth, in South India, Delhi and Kurmaul. But although several of the clergy have some knowledge of medicine, gained at St. Augustine's College or elsewhere, very few of them are qualified surgeons. Among these few, however, must be mentioned Bishop McDougal, formerly of Borneo, Bishop Callaway, of Kaffraria, and Bishop Strachan, of Rangoon. The Church

Missionary Society has now twelve qualified medical men, two of whom are ordained. They are stationed in the Santal country, the Punjab, Kashmir, Fuhkein, Hanchow, East Africa, Gaza in Palestine, and British Columbia. In addition to these twelve, two native clergymen have Indian qualifications. One of them, the Rev. John Williams, of Tank, has by his medical skill obtained such respect amongst the Waziris on the Afghan frontier, that he is said to be the only foreigner who can go through the Gumal Pass without risking his life; and wherever he goes he preaches the gospel faithfully to his patients, and to all who come with them. Other Church societies, as the South American Missionary Society, the Universities Mission in East Africa, and the Cambridge Mission at Delhi, have also shown themselves anxious to make use of medical agency for assisting their spiritual work.

In addition to the old established Edinburgh Medical Society, there is now a Medical Missionary Association in London, presided over by Mr. Lockhart, formerly Medical Missionary in China, and Dr. Burns Thomson, formerly of Edinburgh. Both these societies employ their funds principally in aiding the Medical Missions of other societies. They each publish a Magazine, from which most interesting details can be learned.

There may be said to be three views held concerning a Medical Missionary's mode of work. All, however, agree in considering it necessary that he should be a qualified practitioner, the more skilful the better. But before, and above all, that he should possess a missionary spirit, and have for his main object the conversion of souls, not to formal Christianity only, but to a living faith in Christ.

It is contended by some, that in order to utilize the services of a Medical Missionary to the greatest possible extent, he should give himself up entirely to his professional work, leaving all the preaching and teaching to be done by the clerical brethren of the Mission and their catechists. There is, however, in my opinion, only too much temptation to sink the missionary character in that of the successful surgeon, and I think an arrangement of this kind is to be strongly deprecated. However exalted a work healing the sick may be, the Medical Missionary does not go out merely for this purpose.

On the other hand, it is thought by some that all Medical Missionaries should be ordained, and carry on the whole spiritual as well as the medical work of their station. It would seem, however, to me, that since one profession is as much as most men can fairly master, much less practice, in cases of this kind there would be a probability of the medical work being, to a greater or less extent, put on one side, and of the doctor, unless he be a man of unusual ability, becoming somewhat "rusty." It is hardly to be expected that a clergyman, with the multitudinous calls upon his time and energy that a pastoral charge entails, can be as skilful an operating surgeon, say, as a layman who is constantly doing and thinking about, and, let me add, praying over his professional work. Still, some Medical Missionaries find a great relief in the change of labour which Sunday services and bazaar preaching imply, and I do not think a hard and fast rule about ordination should be laid down. We should, I consider, trust to God the Holy Spirit's guidance in each case. There are, too, stations

where it is impossible to place more than one missionary, and in such cases a clerical doctor would be very valuable.

My own view is that the doctor should be a layman, so that the spiritual oversight of a native church could not well be forced upon him, but yet that he should act as evangelist to a considerable extent among his own patients. The plan I adopted myself was to limit the number of out-patients days to three a week, and the number of patients seen each time to 100. These were placed seated on the ground in front of the hospital, and, as soon as I arrived in the morning, a short passage was read and explained to them by a clerical missionary or the catechist, or, after I had learned a little Hindustani, by myself. Prayer was then offered, and, while I was seeing the patients one by one in an enclosed portion of the verandah, the catechist went about amongst those who were waiting their turn, showing large pictures of scenes in the life of our Lord, and talking freely with the people about Him. Later in the day I had time for studying the language and visiting the in-patients. The alternate days I reserved for performing operations and examining cases which required time. Had I been fully conversant with the language, or rather languages, I should have been able to speak to the patients, especially the in-door ones, individually about salvation through Christ.

It is of the greatest importance, I think, that the same mouth which gives the advice and hope which the afflicted ones have come to seek, should proclaim the good news of rest for the weary and heavy laden in that Saviour whom the speaker himself loves and serves. It is, I believe, found that the spiritual opportunities are far greater in those mission hospitals where the doctor takes part in the evangelistic work than in those where he leaves it entirely to others.

I may remark here that I do not think it well to compel patients, who come to a mission dispensary, to listen to the preaching, or even to put any pressure upon them to do so against their will. My experience was that they very seldom absented themselves during the address, but when they did so I attended to them just as I did to the others.

It is probably well known to my hearers that the women in India are all, except in the case of the lowest classes, secluded in women's quarters or Zenanas. No adult male native or European, except a very near relative, is allowed to see them, and when they are ill they have no one to help them except ignorant superstitious nurses. Most of them would rather die than be seen by a man. These poor ladies are mostly uneducated, and their time must hang very heavily on their hands. They are only too glad to welcome a missionary lady who will read and talk with them and their children. In cases of illness she is appealed to for advice and help, so that any female missionary with medical knowledge has immense influence for good. How much more if she is a fully qualified medical woman! Here a large question or series of questions presents itself. Should lady missionaries be trained in nursing and medical knowledge before going out? Is a little training of any use at all? And finally, if nothing less than a medical diploma is required, is it fitting for a lady to pass through all the details of professional study at all? Here, again, I would venture to say that a little genuine knowledge, such as could be picked up in one of the institutions established for this purpose, or in almost any hospital, would be better than total

ignorance. For instance, a well-educated and trained midwife can frequently save much suffering, and sometimes life itself. A fully qualified lady doctor could, of course, do much more than an amateur nurse, in the same way that a qualified medical man can do more than a clergyman who has picked up a smattering of medicine. No unqualified persons should, of course, attempt serious operations, and in medical cases they would naturally confine themselves to the use of simple non-poisonous drugs. Under these circumstances, their patients would have far greater chances of recovery, to say nothing of comfort, than if left to the tender mercies of ignorant and superstitious native nurses; this, as I have said, being the only alternative.

The question of the propriety of ladies studying medicine thoroughly is not one for discussion here. As many ladies have gained diplomas, and are already practising, all question of their capacity for doing so is set at rest. I think I may say that when the general question of lady doctors was discussed some years ago, the majority of the profession, while it utterly disapproved of ladies studying in medical schools with men, and though it could not consider medical study and practice *desirable* occupations for ladies, had nevertheless no wish to throw any obstacle in the way of those who might wish it, studying in a medical school by themselves, and receiving a legal qualification to practise. There is now an admirably conducted female medical school in London, and an ordinary diploma can be obtained from the Dublin College of Physicians, also medical and other degrees of the highest class from the University of London. It should, however, be borne in mind by ladies, before entering on the study of medicine, that they must go through the whole course exactly as men do; they must not think they can confine themselves to female diseases, but must be prepared for everything, however distasteful it may be to them. If any lady, however, is willing to overcome her natural feelings for the sake of being a blessing to the poor women in India, I would heartily wish her God speed! and say to her that she has a glorious field of work before her, for she will gain entrance into homes where nothing but the darkest superstition and idolatry reign, and her influence for good there will be simply incalculable, for, if she can lead the women to Christ, the children will follow, and in a few generations India may cease to be heathen.

With regard to the necessary training of Medical Missionaries. The minimum time for medical study for either men or women is four years, previous to which an examination in general knowledge, such as the Oxford or Cambridge local examination, must have been passed. For men there is a large choice of medical schools, and an admirable institution in Edinburgh for Medical Missionary students. For women there is only one medical school—the London one. I need hardly say that a University training and degree would be most desirable. This, of course, implies more study, and usually a longer time than an ordinary diploma, thus entailing more expense; but many facilities are now offered, especially perhaps at Cambridge. The fees at the largest London medical schools usually amount to more than £130 for the whole course, but in the smaller schools, and in the provinces, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, they are a good deal less. Living is, of course, in addition to this. Altogether it could not be managed without great

pinching for less than £500. Missionary societies often give some assistance towards this, and the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society provides a home and training school, where students may see something of Medical Mission work in the lowest parts of the city. After the diplomas are obtained it is well to take the post of house-surgeon for six months at least, so that some practical experience may be gained, as well as self-reliance in emergencies. A Medical Missionary has, as a rule, to undertake single-handed the most difficult and anxious cases. He cannot tell a patient with a cancer to go and get a second opinion about having it removed. He must decide himself, operate himself, and if anything goes wrong, get out of the difficulty himself. I mean, of course, with no human counsellor.

In the case of a lady doctor in India, she must expect to be thrown even more upon her own resources than a man. He may get a qualified native, or perhaps a friendly Government surgeon, to help him sometimes, but unless she can find another lady doctor she can call no one in consultation, for her patients, as I mentioned before, would rather die than be seen by a man. And she may be obliged to perform an operation of the utmost difficulty in a stuffy little Zenana, with no one she can trust to give chloroform or even to sponge the wound. It will thus be evident how important it is that the training of Medical Missionaries should be thorough and complete. I would urge upon societies the importance of seeing well to this, not being content with the mere possession of diplomas. The Government of India, beside putting candidates for the medical service through a stiff competitive examination, sends them to undergo a special course of instruction at Netley. If Medical Missionary candidates were more numerous, and the funds of the societies in a more prosperous condition, they might perhaps be able to do something of the same kind.

In conclusion, I would say that I hope all Missionary societies will take the question of medical agency more than ever into consideration, and may God grant abundant blessing both on the medical and evangelistic labours of those who go forth.

ADDRESS.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP OF VICTORIA, Hong Kong.

I AM not, nor ever have been, a Medical Missionary, but as I have been connected with Church of England missionary work in China for nearly thirty years, and can testify to the great need of medical conjointly with evangelistic efforts in that land, I have been asked to occupy a few minutes in commending such efforts to your prayers and help. There are three special reasons why Medical Missionary work, whether of male or female doctors, is peculiarly adapted to advance the cause of evangelisation in China. 1. The first is the intensely strong prejudices of the Chinese. They are prejudiced not only against our religion, but against ourselves. This prejudice amounts in many cases to actual hostility. It is the hostility perhaps of race, certainly of ignorance and unwillingness to learn what our character really is. This forms an immense barrier

against personal and friendly intercourse with them, and especially against our exerting a religious influence upon them. We are to the Chinese only "foreign devils." Their pride is another source of this prejudice. They believe China to be the centre of civilisation, and will not acknowledge that foreign barbarians can have anything to teach them. Medical Missions let in new light on such ignorance and pride, and prepare the way for the best Light of all. Medical missionaries, male or female, are the proper pioneers of the Church in such a land. 2. The second reason is that the Chinese are destitute of rational medicine and rational medical treatment. They have acquired by the long experience of ages a certain amount of knowledge of the properties of herbs and other natural remedies in cases of ordinary sickness, but they have no real system of medicine. They have no medical colleges, no Government diplomas, no official authorisation of any sort. There is no knowledge of anatomy, and, of course, no surgery. It is the ambition of a Chinaman, almost a part of his religion, to die with his body complete as he received it from his parents. To appear in the other world without a limb would be to obtain the position of a criminal. In places where we have established hospitals, until they are taught the benefit of it and have acquired confidence in us, they would rather die than submit to a surgical operation. Their medicines often consist of the most fearful decoctions. I cannot give you a list of the dread mysteries of a Chinese druggist's shop, but you may judge what some of them are likely to be when I mention that cockroaches, dried and reduced to powder, dragons' teeth, pearls, deers' horns, etc. are considered valuable medicines. So tiger skins, and fossil bones of tigers, and other substances of the kind are sold and eaten as good tonics. Under such circumstances of ignorance and superstition it is not wonderful that the mortality of China is supposed to be very heavy. It is said that the daily mortality amounts to 33,000. When an epidemic breaks out the people die by hundreds. The only remedy in time of plague or pestilence that they know, is to organise a series of Buddhistic services to expel the evil spirits who are supposed to be the cause of the calamity. We in England have had our own age of superstition and ignorance with reference to the causes of disease and the remedies. The light of heaven has shone in on our darkness and, under the influence of a free and pure Christianity, medical science has long been teaching us how to mitigate suffering and save life. The helpless condition of the Chinese in the face of disease or physical suffering is surely, in the light of the Life of Christ, a call to us to give them a share of the blessing that God has given us. 3. The third reason is found in the fact that large numbers of the Chinese suffer directly or indirectly from opium smoking, which habit, if not actually introduced, has been intensely aggravated by the way in which we have in the past forced, and in one sense may be said to be still, forcing our Indian opium into China. I intend to say nothing about the traffic, but I wish to direct your attention to the personal suffering that opium causes which calls for relief by our Medical Missions. Where opium-smoking has become a confirmed habit, its cure is extremely difficult, but in cases of almost the worst kind, our hospitals have been the means of effecting a cure, while our teaching has been blest to the saving of spirit as well as body. One missionary in Hankow speaks of a man who had been an opium smoker for twenty years, and who at the time when the missionary became acquainted with him was more like a ghost than a man. After attending the services for some time he became deeply convinced of sin and very anxious to join the Church. He

knew that he could not be admitted whilst smoking opium, but he was afraid that the attempt to break off the habit would cost him his life. At length he was prevailed on to come to the hospital and be cured. The experiment was almost too much for his worn-out constitution. "Were it not for my desire to become a Christian," he said, "I should never think of enduring this suffering." He was urged to persevere in dependence on the help of a sympathising Saviour. A few days later he was dismissed from the hospital, cured, as he himself said, in body and soul. "I am a new man," were his words, "I have been born again. Formerly I was a demon. Now I am a man." Soon after he began to work for Christ, and continued faithful unto death. A Medical Missionary, who was sixteen years in charge of a hospital at Swatow says: "I remember a well-to-do Chinaman from a distant village who came to the hospital. He was one of the literary class and a confirmed opium smoker. After being with us for some time, he expressed a desire to be freed from the use of opium. We attempted to cure him of the habit, but such hold had it got of him that in the course of the treatment he was reduced to death's door; and to save his life after he had suffered great torment, we were obliged to let him have the opium-pipe again. In proof of his deep sense of the misery which the opium had caused him and his family, as soon as he began to get a little strength after resuming the use of the opium, he begged me to try once again if I could cure him of the habit. I said to him—"Graduate, we have tried already, and you were almost dead. We cannot venture it." His reply was, "Teacher, whether I live, or whether I die, I wish you to try to cure me of it. I take all the risk." He had with him a grown-up son who was listening to his words; so I said that on that understanding I would again make the attempt. We did so, and by exceedingly careful nursing, along with the use of remedies, but not without great suffering on his part and a close run for his life, he recovered and was able to do without his opium. The number of opium smokers in large cities on the coast is something enormous. In some places it is calculated that 50 per cent. of the adult males smoke. Our name is inseparably mixed up with all the suffering that this means both to the smokers and those dependent on them. The people are in many places firmly convinced that the missionaries are connected with the importation of opium into China. They believe, whatever the facts of the case may be, that it came first from India—that is to them England—and that we fought with China solely because the Government wanted to forbid our opium. In many cases the only foreigner the people see is the missionary, and he has to bear the brunt of the odium. No amount of explanation will take away the impression that exists in the minds of the people. The only thing to be done is to give them a practical proof of the falseness of their impression as regards the missionary by establishing hospitals in connection with our missions. There are only twelve hospitals in connection with all our missions in China, English and American. Only two of these belong to the Church of England. The increase of Medical Missions ought to be the immediate outcome of the agitation against the traffic. We must not allow that agitation to evaporate in mere sentimental talk or empty denunciation, or even in petitions to the Government. Whatever is to be the result of the traffic, the sufferers in China need NOW our medical help so far as we can give it to them, and our missionaries have a right to be supplied with the only practical protest they can point to against our national connection with the trade. And may I clinch this appeal by asking you to help me in an effort I am making to found a new Medical Mission in a newly opened

port in my diocese of South China. The opening of it was one of the consequences of the murder of Augustus Margary. It has no Christian mission from any of the Churches of Christendom, except the Church of Rome. It opens the door of access into the province in which the semi-Christian Taiping rebellion arose thirty years ago. Its name—Pakhoi—is unknown in our Geographies, but it represents in the regions near it millions of unevangelised Chinese, who know us only by our Manchester goods, or Birmingham wares, or Indian opium. As a missionary, I have given my life to China: as a Missionary Bishop I was commissioned at my consecration "to hold up the weak, *heal the sick*, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost" in the region entrusted to me. I seem to have a double claim to ask for the help of the Church which sent me forth, and without which I can do nothing to extend the work in the regions beyond those already occupied. I hope to begin next year by the liberality of a few friends with a Native Medical Mission; but the native needs the foreigner to superintend, direct and energise. I want the English Missionary-hearted Medical man. I want the funds to support him. The Church Missionary Society, the only Church Society in the Diocese, has not the funds to do more for China than they are already doing, consistently with supplying the wants of other mission fields. I appeal to the Church at large. I will gladly send my circular to any one who may be moved to help this effort.* Woman's Work I must treat, for want of time, as Woman's Medical Work. All that has been said about the need of Male Medical Missions is applicable with greater force to Female Medical Missions. In China there are from 150 to 175 millions of girls and women; for the most part they are utterly ignorant, and so they are the very strength of superstition and idolatry in the land. As a rule, girls are not taught to read. It is supposed that one woman in 10,000 may be able to read. The women of the higher classes are kept very much secluded, and even if we could easily get at them, it is contrary to the prejudices of the Chinese that a male missionary should hold communication with them. This difficulty is increased ten thousandfold when medical help is needed and there is no female medical missionary. And yet the sufferings of these Chinese women must in multitudes of cases be very great: easily relieved by our remedies, could they but be applied; and if they could be applied, they would certainly be the means, under God, of opening the door to the very class in all China whom it is most important to interest and influence. Until the women are reached, nothing can be considered as permanently accomplished. And yet, who is to reach the women of China to influence them on the side of Christianity but the Christian woman? And no one will do it so effectually as the Christian *medical* woman. The employment to any large extent of Male Medical Missions in evangelising the heathen is only of recent date. Female Medical Missions are hardly yet fairly set agoing. England has begun them in India, but we have no English medical ladies in China. The Americans are in advance of us. They sent the first female medical missionary to China nearly ten years ago, and they have now three distinct Female Medical Missions in the country. As it is impossible in the time allotted to me to enlarge on this point, I will conclude by mentioning an incident, which may be unknown to many here, which shows the importance of all medical missionary work by the honour put upon Female Medical Missions. Two or three years ago, in Tientsin, the wife of Li Hung Chang,

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* Address, care of Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.

Viceroy of the Metropolitan Province, and, practically, Prime Minister of China, was dangerously ill. Native doctors were called in, and they proceeded to administer to her the medicines which were the rarest and most expensive. As this treatment did not succeed, they informed her husband that they could suggest nothing else, except perhaps to repeat the process. His Excellency was disgusted, and dismissed them all. He then took the bold step of calling in a foreign physician belonging to the London Missionary Society. He found that the case required treatment which, in the face of Chinese prejudice, he could not venture to administer, but, by permission of the Viceroy, he invited a medical lady—an American missionary—Miss Dr. Howard, to assist him. She came from Peking, took up her quarters in the Yamen or official residence, and undertook the case in conjunction with Dr. Mackenzie. Gradually the ailment of Lady Li yielded to the remedies applied. Miss Howard was at once called to attend the families of other high officials, and the result was that she took up her permanent abode in Tientsin, that, for the sake of exercising Christian influence, she might avail herself of the remarkable openings among the official classes, whose doors to foreigners had hitherto been hermetically sealed. The immediate result was that the Viceroy provided a place in one of the temples of the city for a dispensary, which he placed in charge of Dr. Mackenzie, paying all the expenses himself; and similar apartments were provided for Miss Howard, Lady Li undertaking to pay all the expenses. By last mail from China I heard that Lady Li gives Miss Howard regularly a sum equal to about £30 a month —a donation of between £300 and £400 a year. And all this is given by these exalted personages, who are heathen, in aid of *Christian* Medical Missions; for it is distinctly understood that evangelising goes on in connection with the medical work so supported. Such is the cheering result of the American attempt to establish Female Medical Missions in China. Could we ask for a greater encouragement to commence *English* Female Medical Missions to that land? Woman's Work! The field is large, the door is open—but where are the women to do the work? In addition to the wives of the missionaries, there are only some sixty or seventy single ladies at work in all the missions, not half-a-dozen of whom are medical ladies. I can count on the fingers of one hand the female workers of the Church of England in China—not one medical woman amongst them. Is that all that the Church of England, which, by the appearance of our congregations, seems to be so rich in pious women, can afford for the women of China? I appeal to you, my sisters, on behalf of those suffering millions. There may be here, there certainly are scattered up and down in our land, many godly, well-educated women, who, if they had the will, might give themselves to the work of the teacher or the medical missionary. It is the will that is wanting, not the ability, in our Englishwomen, for either department, even with a strange language to learn. A Christian woman is the standing miracle of Christianity! She owes everything to Christ. What are the majority of our English churchwomen doing for Him, either at home or abroad? Everyone here knows what an immense amount of the lady-power of England, and especially of the young-lady-power, is running to waste, which, if sanctified by the Holy Ghost and energised by the love of Christ, might be utilised for the enrichment of the world. Many, it is true, engage in Christian work at home; in many places, I believe, they are almost too numerous, and overlap—perhaps hinder each other's work. Few of our churchwomen can face the sacrifice involved in joining, alone,

the Foreign Mission Service. Roman Catholic Sisters come out to China by dozens; Nonconformist ladies come too in large numbers. Where are our Church of England women? Parents shrink from giving up their daughters for the work: the climate is so unhealthy! the distance so great! the separation of friends too trying! Is not Christ worthy even of such sacrifices as these? Yea, and of ten thousand more. My sisters, a great door and effectual is set wide open to you in China. Will you not avail yourselves of it, or try to make others avail themselves of it, though there be many adversaries?

DISCUSSION.

ARTHUR MILLS, Esq., Hyde Park Gardens, London.

My only excuse for troubling you for a few minutes is that I have recently visited New Zealand, and take some interest in the missionary work there; and I have also lately been to Norfolk Island, the scene of the labours of John Selwyn, the noble son of a noble father, late bishop of this diocese. I cannot help expressing my regret that we had not time to hear the whole of the interesting paper of which Sir Bartle Frere read us a portion, and I only hope it will be printed in extenso,* for I am sure it is worth a great deal of attention. I cannot speak on the subject to which he referred, nor of those which have been treated by the gentlemen who have just addressed you; I will confine my remarks to one topic only. My visits to the colonies, particularly those to Australia, New Zealand, and the North American colonies, have impressed me with this fact: That in England we rather suppose that when a colony has a diocese and a synod, we need trouble ourselves no further in regard to missionary work there. That is not quite true, although it is partly true. In New Zealand, where I think there are six dioceses and six synods, there is machinery which is no doubt adequate for dealing with the European population, for that population does not exceed that of Liverpool. It is rather a startling thing to find that a country as large as England, Scotland, and Ireland together, has such a small population as this. It may be said that there is machinery enough in New Zealand to deal with the European population. That, no doubt, is the case, but the same cannot be said with regard to the Native population. The Native population there to be dealt with by missionary effort number some forty thousand of the noble Maori race. You must remember that in your colonies, to which you have conceded absolute independence and control over the Native population. The Governor of New Zealand (Sir A. Gordon) sympathised with the Native population; but I am sorry to say he could do exceedingly little—in fact absolutely nothing—to put an end to the immoral influences to which the Natives are subjected. I will illustrate my meaning. I was present not long ago at the funeral of a great Maori chief. What did I see? I saw at that funeral—a solemn occasion in which there were hundreds gathered together to do honour to the memory of the chief, an ex-cabinet minister (I do not mean of the Imperial government, but of the New Zealand government), plying poor Maori women with whisky. I know very well that it is by such poison as that, that this noble race has been brought to the degeneracy and to the falling off we now witness. I mentioned what I had seen to Sir A. Gordon, and in doing so, I could not help expressing a hope that he would not be favoured by the services of that cabinet minister. It is a scandalous thing to think it is possible that intelligent Europeans can be the instruments of degrading and corrupting the Native populations. We are called upon at home to extend ourselves in this matter. The difficulty of dealing with Native populations is very considerable. Without pretending to speak of South Africa, I say it is the bounden duty of England—not the duty of the governments, because we depend not upon governments or parliaments, but upon self organised associations—to repair the evil which has been done by Europeans in New Zealand, and I think it

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* This paper is printed in full, and is published separately with Appendices, price Threepence. Bemrose and Sons, 23, Old Bailey, London; and Derby.

is well that the bishop has selected this subject for discussion, because he gives us an opportunity of stating what we consider the duty of England to be in the matter. I will not trespass further on your time, I will only add in the words of my old schoolmaster, Dr. Arnold, "If there be any signs, however uncertain, that we are living in the latest period of the world's history, and that no other races remain behind to perform what we have neglected, or to restore what we have ruined, then indeed the importance of not wasting the time still left to us may well be deemed incalculable. When an army's last reserve is called into action, every single soldier knows that he must do his duty to the utmost, that if he cannot win the battle now he must lose it. So if our Anglo-Saxon race is the last reserve of the world, its fate may be said to be in our hands. God's work on earth will be left undone if we fulfil it not."

Rev. EDWARD BICKERSTETH, Cambridge University Missionary, Delhi.

I WISH to say a few words on the second of the three subjects in the paper—that of Missionary Centres. I do so because I happen to belong to one of the two missions which the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have sent to India. The question we have to consider I take it is, whether it is better that missionaries should be scattered in different parts of the country—one here and another there—or that they should be collected at particular places and live together. We are met at once by a question which has not been touched upon in the able paper you have just heard on the subject, namely—Is it better that if they do live together, they should be married missionaries, with a house for each family, or whether they should be bachelor missionaries and live together in one house. That is a question which it is not possible to answer exactly in the way that it may present itself to you. Although I would not for a moment deprecate the great value of presenting to the people of India, the sight of such homes as you have here in England—the purity and the blessedness of our Anglo-Saxon homes—I think from what I have seen of India, it would be simply impossible to reproduce them there. The question is not between having a number of separate families, who may each act, as it were, as an example to the people of India, and having bachelor households, but between having bachelor missionaries living together and supporting one another, and married missionaries whose wives for a large part of the year would be in the hills, and whose children would be in England. I think that for the present there is much to be said for having not a few of such companies of bachelor missionaries as have been established by the two Universities. I believe that associated Missionary Centres would be of great value at the present time in India. Associated missionaries will not feel all those serious disadvantages, which many of them have so deeply felt in the solitary lives they have been called upon to lead. I do not for a moment wish to say one word against those missionaries who, like Mr. Gordon, who lost his life at Candahar, have gone forth alone to preach the Word of Christ in the solitary places of the earth. But most men find that lives like that are beyond them. A great missionary of the Church Missionary Society said to me only last year—"I cannot spend more than three weeks alone in Mahommedan villages? I find it so hurtful to my spiritual life." There we see one great advantage of associated bodies of missionaries. The missionary who goes forth for a short time to wander among persons of an alien race and religion can come back after a while to the company of his fellow religionists, there to recruit the energies which have been dissipated in his work. I think, then, for the sake of the missionaries themselves, we ought to do something to establish more missionary communities and brotherhoods —and I would say sisterhoods too—than we have at present in India. I think also missionary communities will have special advantages in presenting the Gospel to the heathen and the Mahommedans. A short time ago a Mahommedan, whom I had seen before, said to me as I was entering one of the gates of Delhi,—"Why is it that I see you coming this way every morning?" I replied, "We have Matins at this time, and so you see me coming down to attend the service." I shall not easily forget the look of astonishment and pleasure that came over his face. Mahommedans and Hindoos still believe that they are a much more devotional nation than their rulers, that they are the religious people and we the irreligious. It is, therefore, particularly important to set before them the devotional side of the Christian life. I know that this is the experience of an able missionary of the Church

Missionary Society, who is now building a new church near the frontier, and who proposes not only to have Matins and Evensong daily, but to have the Litany said at twelve o'clock. I believe in many cases this is the best way in which we can possibly approach the followers of Islam. All controversy by itself does them harm; knowledge that there is a devotional life higher than that which they enjoy, must draw them towards us. They see in the service of our Church, put before them in a way they can understand, many elements of truth of which they are ignorant; for instance, no Mahommedan believes in sin, because he believes that God created good and evil in exactly the same sense, and when he sees with his eyes that the Christians in their Church every day, when they begin their service, fall on their knees before God and say the general confession, it makes him ask the meaning of the act, and he is then more likely to get at your meaning than if you preached him a sermon in the noisy bazaar. Now, community missions have from their numbers much more opportunity than the scattered missionaries of maintaining regular religious services. These are some of my reasons for believing that community missions may be of great value at present in India and all Mahommedan countries. I think also that only by their means can the necessary literature be produced which we require in India. It is quite impossible that a single man who has all the duties of a mission thrown on him, can at the same time write books, and I know that nothing now is more required in India than books, both for the education of our Native catechists and pastors, and for presenting Christianity to Mahommedans and Hindoos. Much has been done in this latter direction, but rather in the way of destroying and overthrowing their old faith than as putting before them the faith we hold. If I had time, I should like to put before you other reasons also for believing that community brotherhoods and sisterhoods may do a good work in India. Only let me remind you that we owe to India as well as to China a debt for wrong we have done her. I do not forget that we have conferred on India countless benefits, but if you had been sitting with me in the dispensary of a Native doctor last January, and had heard him say, "I tell you what I would not tell the people in the bazaar yonder, but the education I got in the medical school at Lahore destroyed my belief in God and my belief in a life after death," I think you would feel we owe a duty to India which nothing but our utmost exertions, let them take what form they will, can possibly discharge.

The Rev. Wm. Ball Wright, Tokio, Japan.

I desire to say a few words with regard to the subjects of the first and the third papers. With regard to the Organisation of Native Churches I can only speak from my experience in Japan, and the missions in Japan are, of course, much later in their beginning than those in India or China. But although it is only nine years since it was possible to preach the Gospel in Japan—since the laws denouncing Christianity were done away with—it is remarkable what an amount of work has been done there. With regard to the organisation of churches, it must, I think, be remembered that there is to be a great distinction drawn between missions amongst uncivilised and savage people, and those amongst a people who, like the Chinese and Japanese, are in many respects more civilised than the great mass of our own people. It is pretty clear to every missionary there that the self-support of the Japanese churches will be very rapid. In Japan, we have chiefly to do with the middle classes of the country. The upper classes cannot be reached yet. They are largely infidel—sceptics—and they are mixed up with the politics of the country, and with the Shinto belief, of which the Emperor himself is the representative, to such a degree that it is impossible to get hold of them to any great extent as yet. The lower classes are generally superstitious, but the middle classes are an intelligent and well educated set, and great numbers of them come forward, not only to be baptized as Christians, but to spread the news of the Gospel. There is another matter to be considered. I think that with regard to the Japanese and other Eastern nations, while we ought not to force on them anything that is peculiarly Western unless they take to it, we ought to respect their Native customs, and try to adapt them to our own Church. I will give you one instance of this. No Japanese receives the most trivial matter in the way of a present or gift from anyone who is his equal or superior, but he puts it to his forehead. When the Native Christians begin to come to Holy Communion and receive the sacred emblems, they put them to their foreheads. If I had forbidden them they would have been surprised. Again, in his own house no Japanese would think of sitting in a chair.

They all kneel instead of sitting, and therefore to kneel in a church is no sign of reverence. When a Japanese wishes to show reverence, he either stands and bows his head, and puts his hands together, or prostrates himself. When I have seen them at communion or baptism prostrate themselves, overcome with a sense of God's majesty, I have not thought it right to check them. With regard to episcopising the Native churches, I do hope we shall take warning from what has happened in some countries, and shall not try to inflict an "Anglican Bishop"—using the word in its technical sense—on these churches in Japan, which is the last place in the world where they ought to be. The people are most jealous of foreign influence, or any kind of foreign jurisdiction; and after having lived for many years in that country, I look with fear and trembling upon the arrangements that are going to be made with regard to the bishopric in Japan. I am afraid that the bishop who is to be sent out is to be too much of a dignitary. The idea of giving £1,000 a year to an English bishop in Japan, when we have there three Roman Catholic bishops and one Russian bishop, the former of whom have only sixty francs a month each in addition to their board. If instead of one bishop we had two or three bishops scattered over the different districts, it would be a far better arrangement. When I first went to the country I had the idea that there ought not to be two bishops there, or they might get within one another's neighbourhood, and therefore I protested honestly against the action of my diocesan, the Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, when on first coming to his diocese, he issued a notice that he was coming to Japan. I objected to his coming and confirming in a city where there was an American missionary bishop. I must say, however, I have since learnt to think that I was mistaken. I think that what is wanted is to give episcopal orders to those who are the chiefs of their missions, and not let them have jurisdiction over any city, but let them be, as in the case of the Russian mission, simply missionaries in episcopal orders. Japan differs greatly from India and China. The women in Japan are not shut up—they may be approached—and there is the greatest freedom of opinion and absence of reserve in the houses of the Japanese. We can go into any of the houses and speak to the women just as in England. This is a most important fact, and when we think of the population, and remember that fifty out of every hundred of the women perhaps can read and write, we see at once what a great opportunity is presented for women's work. It is a sad thing that there are not half-a-dozen English women workers in Japan. I have seen a great deal of the work of missionary women from America, and I hold on the subject the same ideas as my friend the Bishop of North China, who told me he would be himself most cautious about inviting out unattached and untrained women workers to the mission field. I think that if women's work is to be very successful in these countries, the women ought to be properly trained at training places here in England. Special training is absolutely required for those who go out into these far distant lands. It is easy enough to go and work in a parish here at home, but it is a different thing there. There are many trials to be met with. There is loneliness, there is doubt, there are times of depression, which are far beyond anything one can conceive of while sitting at home. Those who go out there ought also to be organised; according to the last speaker there ought to be missionary sisterhoods and missionary deaconesses. Well, I do not care whether they come from Mildmay Park or from the London Diocesan Society, but let them be organised, and let them be subject to discipline. Otherwise, I fear there will be great dissappointment with regard to women's work in foreign countries.

The Rev. Dr. WIRGMAN, Rector of St. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

I HAVE a great deal to say, and very few minutes to say it in. I would not have troubled you with any words of mine, had it not been for the fact that I have listened with such great pleasure to the valuable paper of Sir Bartle Frere. The last time I met Sir Bartle Frere was in my own parish in South Africa, and I am sure, if any of my brother clergy in South Africa were present, they would say with me that we owe a great deal, in respect to missionary and Church work in South Africa, to Sir Bartle Frere when he represented the Queen as Governor of the Cape Colony. For missionary organisation to be successful, it must be on the lines of Christ's holy Catholic Church, and the missionaries must go forth under the orders of their diocesan. I quite agree with what fell from the last speaker as to a missionary

bishop not being a dignitary. We have not seen that spirit in a Patteson, or a Selwyn, or a Mackenzie. We must also teach the Native Church to be self-supporting. The native must learn the value of Church ministrations, and the surest way to make him do so is to make him pay for it. My late diocesan, Bishop Merriman, started a Diocesan Native Ministry Fund, and caused the native congregations to contribute towards it. By this means we hope before long to do without the grants of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which will be available for breaking new ground, and missionary resources will be dealt with in such a way as to make them go as far as possible, so that Christ's cause may be advanced steadily and progressively. With regard to Mr. Mills' remarks respecting colonists and natives, I am an Englishman, and I am proud of it, but I am a *colonist*, and I am proud of that too. Whatever the experience of Mr. Mills may have been with regard to New Zealand, I will call on Sir Bartle Frere, as our late Governor in South Africa, to witness that the colonists in South Africa are generous and fair in dealing with the native races. I should feel I was untrue to the colonists among whom my interests lie if I did not say this. I feel sure that the native races in South Africa have a great future before them. They are not decaying by contact with civilisation, like other native races, but they are increasing and prospering under our rule, and the more they are brought in contact with us the more do they advance in the arts of peace. The native population is spread out over our various dioceses, and is becoming our labouring class, so that the Native Church will need no independent organisation. We may then hope that colonists and natives will be knit together in our common Faith, to the furtherance of the peace, progress, and prosperity of the Queen's dominions in South Africa. I must thank you for the patience with which you have listened to these few words, and I will add just one word more. I was glad to hear a speech from a missionary representative of my own University of Cambridge, for the missionary efforts of Oxford and Cambridge are grand facts. We do not want your failures to be sent out to the colonies. You must not send us men whom you do not know what to do with in England. Your very best men—the cream of your Universities—these are the men we want to build up our colonial churches; and if England will send forth the best and bravest of her sons to serve abroad in the sacred ministry of Christ's Church, depend upon it, blessings will flow out of her self-sacrifice upon the whole Anglo-Saxon race.

The CHAIRMAN.

I AM sure you would not like to go away without having some reference made to the death of one who in past years was connected with Derby, and who was one of the most valuable helpers in missionary work. I need only mention the name of Henry Wright. The whole Missionary Church mourns his loss; but his name remains with us, and it will long be an object of veneration among us.

DRILL HALL.

FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 6TH.

CONVERSAZIONE AND FINAL MEETING.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

A social entertainment, or conversazione, [as is usual at Church Congresses] was given to the members by the Worshipful the Mayor of Derby. The attendance was large; and in the course of the evening the Final Meeting was held, during which the following speeches were made:—

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

My address this evening will be very brief. I think I have done quite enough in the way of speech-making since I came to Derby. But there is one subject too important to pass by, especially assembled as we are this evening to receive the hospitable entertainment of the Chief Magistrate of this borough. I wish you to join with me in an expression of our very hearty thanks to him for all the kindness he has shown to us in connection with this Church Congress, and not least for the splendid hospitality which we are enjoying to-night. From the first beginning of our preparations for this Congress, we felt that it was of the greatest importance to secure the hearty co-operation of the Mayor and the other magistrates of this borough, and I am thankful to say that the Worshipful the Mayor responded with the greatest readiness to our desire, and has from that time to this shown a real and lively interest in all we have been doing. I think he will forgive me if, in his presence, I say that we owe him all the more thanks because it happens that he is not a member of the Church of England. Yet he has not only shown this interest in the proceedings of the Church Congress, and afforded such hospitality to its members, but he has afforded a still more practical proof of his good-will by giving a generous subscription to the Southwell Bishopric Fund. I need not say to you, but I would wish to say to him, that we do value exceedingly such marks of kindness from our Nonconformist brethren, and especially when they occupy such exalted positions as he now holds. I trust there will never be wanting between us that reciprocity of kindly feeling, which is perfectly consistent with differences even of serious importance. I feel sure that all of you, my rev. brethren, will agree with me that our truest wisdom, in all our relations with those who do not worship with us, is to feel and show towards them all the brotherly kindness and charity which we ought to feel towards all Christians, whoever they may be. I am glad to think that amidst the differences which unhappily separate us, and which, as I ventured to say in my opening address, must arise in days of great intellectual activity and earnestness, it is quite possible to maintain relations of the truest friendship with those from whom we differ. It would be, indeed, a sad thing for myself if it were not so, as some of the dearest friends of my life have been found among the Nonconformist body. I ask also that you would join with me in an expression of hearty thanks, not only to the Mayor, but also to the inhabitants of Derby, for their generous reception of the Congress, and the warm hospitality they have extended to its members. As regards myself, I cannot speak as I could wish to do of the munificent hospitality with which your member, Sir Henry Wilmot, received not only myself, but several of my friends and relations. On all sides I have heard expressions of thankfulness for kindnesses which have been received. We also sincerely thank the proprietors of manufactories and works who have permitted their establishments to be inspected, and I should like to say how especially I feel indebted to those who have afforded to members of the Congress, from the Archbishop of York downwards, facilities for addressing the men in their employment. I feel it to be quite a feature of the Congress that so many of those opportunities should have been given to us. I now ask you to offer to the Mayor our very hearty thanks. As many of us are obliged to leave by train very shortly, I do not propose to have any seconder to this resolution, and therefore I will put it to you at once, although it is an unnecessary proceeding, for I feel sure you will carry it by acclamation.

The Worshipful the MAYOR.

I RISE to return my most hearty and sincere thanks for the very cordial manner in which my name has been received amongst you. I feel myself unworthy of the complimentary manner in which the Bishop has brought my name before you. I may, however, claim to say that I have an interest on this occasion, as well as on all other occasions, to do all I can for the enjoyment and prosperity of the people. It has not been in my power to join in your gatherings here to any great extent, in consequence of very numerous business engagements, but I can assure you, gentlemen, that although I have not been with you in body I have been with you in spirit. I am right glad, now that the Congress is drawing to a close, to learn that it has been so far a very great success. That must be to you a source of very great satisfaction; and I am sure it reflects as well the greatest honour upon you natives of Derby who have taken an active part in making the meeting so great a success.

I am aware that a scheme of so great magnitude as the holding of a Church Congress cannot be matured without much premeditation and previous consideration and arrangement. I am pleased, however, to learn that the committee which has had the work in hand, and which has been labouring for about a month past, has only ceased now success crowns its labours. You have already heard that I am not a Churchman—and I do not know, I am sure, where the right rev. prelate had confided to him that information. If I had been asked the question myself, I should not have known whether to have said yes or no. I can only say, as far as I am concerned, that for a great part of my lifetime I have attended Dissenting places of worship, while for a great part of my life I have attended the Church. It will thus be seen that at the present moment I really do not know to which body I belong. I do not see that that really matters very much. My view on the matter is that the body to which you belong does not very much matter, provided you have got your heart in the right place, and work in the cause of Christ. I will not presume to trespass further on your time, but I think I could not very well sit down without just remarking that I am well pleased to learn that the working classes of the town have taken so warm an interest in the speeches delivered at the Congress. The fact speaks well for the working classes, and I am very proud of it, because I claim to belong to the working classes myself. It was very pleasing to me to find that my fellow-workers—my fellow-brethren—are becoming so wise now as to find out what is the right thing. I trust the Congress will result in great joy to yourselves, and of lasting benefit to those who have been present at the proceedings.

The Venerable E. BALSTON, Archdeacon of Derby.

I HAVE before me a task as pleasant as it is difficult. It is extremely difficult for those who have been here this week, and who have heard what has passed in this room, to adequately thank those who have read papers or made speeches which have been scarcely yet digested by any of us. But the task is a pleasant one, to propose "that a cordial vote of thanks be given to the most Rev. the Lord Archbishop of York, and the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Truro, for their powerful and eloquent sermons at the Opening Services, and also to the many readers and speakers who have added so much to the pleasure and profit of the members." I am happy to find that the Archbishop's very admirable sermon has been printed "*in extenso*" in the *Derbyshire Advertiser*. I think they must have had the sermon itself, for the report was remarkably accurate. I had not the pleasure of hearing the sermon by the Lord Bishop of Truro, not having the power of ubiquity, but I am sure he is deserving of your most cordial thanks. So are the other speakers who have entertained us with their thoughtful papers and well considered remarks. Congresses are likely to be useful so long as they can bring together men who will take such pains to provide us with able papers, and in asking your thanks to them, I can only express a hope that, please God, the Congress held in Derby may bear rich fruit for very many years to come, so that none of us will ever have reason to regret that our meetings were held in this town.

Mr. Alderman HOBSON.

I HAVE been very unexpectedly called upon to second this resolution, but I shall religiously obey the injunction of his lordship the president, and will not add much to the copious flow of speech which has characterised the last five days in this hall. Those of you who were privileged to hear the sermons of the Lord Archbishop of York and the Right Rev. the Bishop of Truro will be reminded by the words of this resolution that those sermons were powerful and eloquent. Testimony to the same fact will, I am sure, be borne by that larger public who were not privileged to hear the sermons preached, but who, by the aid of that powerful agent the Press, will have read them with equal profit and pleasure. As to the character of the many speeches which have been delivered at the Congress, I am quite sure that they will bear favourable comparison with those of previous years, and that they will have the effect of not only deepening Church life, but the spiritual life of this neighbourhood, and of the whole of the United Kingdom. I second the resolution which has been submitted by the Archdeacon with very sincere pleasure.

The Right Rev. The PRESIDENT.

IN putting this resolution, I desire to express my own deep obligation to His Grace the Archbishop of York, and to my Right Rev. Brother of Truro, for their kindness in coming to take part in this Congress. It would be almost an impertinence on my part to speak in praise of the sermons that they delivered, one of which I had the happiness of hearing in All Saints' Church. I will ask you to approve this resolution, and I have no doubt that you will do so heartily.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of BEDFORD.

HIS lordship returned thanks in the name of the Readers and Speakers.

Sir HENRY S. WILMOT, Bart., M.P. for South Derbyshire.

I CANNOT but say that I am surprised to have to speak, although the moment I came into this hall, and saw these preparations, I had a suspicion that I should have to speak to some resolution. Fortunately for me, the one I have to submit will recommend itself to the most grateful and kindly feelings of this audience. The resolution I have to move is as follows:—"That our most respectful and our warmest thanks be tendered to the Right Rev. the President, for the continued support, which, from its commencement, his lordship has given to the Church Congress, and for his able and judicious guidance in this its twenty-second meeting." Many of you here, I suspect all of those who have been here during the week at the various meetings, over which the right rev. Prelate has presided, must know perfectly well that the great success of this Congress—and it has been a great and glorious success—is very much owing to the kindly, the genial, and the courteous guidance it has received from the Right Rev. President. All those who heard his opening address, and those who have listened to the few words he has spoken this evening, must feel that if our Church of England is led by leaders of such Christian charity as has been displayed by the President, those disputes which unfortunately at present do exist amongst us, must soon end in mutual understanding. The Bishop attended a meeting at Derby to-day in favour of the severance of the county from his diocese. I must warn the right rev. gentleman that if he appears much oftener in Derby and continues to show himself such a kind, genial, highly-polished gentleman, and so admirable a Christian as he has hitherto done, the Derbyshire men will rise in mutiny, and say, "We will not go."

T. W. Evans, Esq., M.P. for South Derbyshire.

I RISE with very great pleasure to second the resolution which has just been so ably proposed by my honourable and gallant colleague, and I beg to assure his lordship, the Bishop of the diocese, that I will not pay him so bad a compliment as to cause him to lose his train by making a speech. I will merely say that I have had a good deal of experience of large and numerous meetings, and I do not think I ever attended a meeting, or a series of meetings, which were more ably presided over than those at which I have been present during the week. I must also express my thanks to his lordship for the kindness and the excellence of the advice which, in his addresses, he has given to all of us.

The vote was unanimous.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

AFTER the very kind consideration shown for me by my friend, Mr. Evans, in his desire that I should not lose my train, it would be an ill return from me to run this risk by offering to you any prolonged remarks in acknowledgment of his kindness and good will towards myself. But though my words will be few, I am sure you will believe that they are very hearty, and that I do feel very grateful and very happy at having succeeded in securing your approbation of the manner in which I have discharged what, after all, was not a very difficult task. For, owing to the exceeding kindness of the speakers, and the readiness with which they followed my ruling immediately in every case—notwithstanding the presence once or twice of some

excited feeling, which, indeed, was not to be wondered at—my work was made very easy and very delightful. Although in some respects I am not sorry that the labours of the week are over, I am yet regretful to part with the many friends with whom I have been so happily associated during the past few days. My experience of those few days will only bind me still more closely to Derby, and make me regret the time when it comes—as I suppose it will come—when Derby will be placed under the care of another bishop. Meantime, nothing shall be wanting on my part so long as the responsibility rests upon me. I thank you most truly for your hearty expressions of good will towards me. Just another word—his Worship the Mayor has spoken of the working-men's meetings, and I may say that no gatherings of the Congress have given me more pleasure and satisfaction. It was a sight I shall never forget when I saw this great hall packed in every corner with the splendid artisans of this town, to whom I wish well very heartily, and for whom I would do a great deal more than it has been in my power to do up to the present time. I rejoice to learn that they have appreciated what was done for them that night, and I trust that the Church of England, amid all its other duties, will never show itself forgetful of that most important class of the community—those who labour with their hands from day to day, upon whom the stability and happiness of our country so largely depends. Once more I thank you very heartily for your kindness; and I dare say, when I tell you that Mr. Beresford-Hope is now going to speak to you, you will kindly excuse my leaving in order to catch that inexorable train. But I have yet another last word, and it is an important one. The success of these Congresses, I may tell you, is due in a very large measure, to my friend, Archdeacon Emery. It is to Archdeacon Emery and another Cambridge friend—but mainly to the Archdeacon—that these Congresses owe their origin; and I am sure that the best reward for all his labour and anxiety will be found in the fact that, as the years roll on, these meetings lose none of their vitality, but, on the contrary, seem to achieve ever-increasing success. Personally, I owe to the Archdeacon more than I can now venture to express for the gratification I have derived from the proceedings of this Church Congress; and I hope you will give to him your hearty thanks for what he has done for us. I am sorry to leave you. Good night!

The President then left the platform amid loud and continued cheering.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of NELSON.

THE resolution in my hand is to the following effect:—"That this Congress thankfully acknowledges the valuable services of the several Committees, and the unremitting labour of the Honorary Local Secretaries, and of all others who have in their various ways contributed to its success." We have been hospitably received and kindly treated; we have heard lectures on temperance; and we have had the pleasure of looking one another in the face, enjoying the pleasure of Christian communication. I beg to thank you for your kindness.

The Right Hon. A. J. B. BERESFORD-HOPE, M.P.

I BEG to second the resolution on behalf of myself and colleagues. I must represent to you that we have done our work thoroughly well. There have been twenty-two Church Congresses, and at twenty-one of them I have been present, and I am not saying that to you by way of compliment, or by way of a flourish of fireworks, but truly and sincerely that I cannot recollect a Church Congress which has been more satisfactory than the present. We have had a President wise, conciliatory, vigilant, sensible, and fair; and we have had a Mayor who has acted with much zeal and energy; the committees have acted like men of business; the speakers have come well up to the occasion, and I may fairly say that the speeches and papers I have listened to have been remarkable for their high intellectual level. The Reception Committee has made every one here peculiarly comfortable. The weather, too, has been propitious, and we ought to have a little gratitude for the fine weather. There is a gentleman, too, to whose generous services we owe so much pleasure, I mean that able musician, Mr. Gower. I shall not long detain you, but you may go away with the solid satisfaction that the Derby Congress has been a grand success. It has been a great ready money success, and a success in the pleasure and gratification and interest it has afforded us. It has been a success as a permanent investment in its valuable contributions to thought and spiritual edification. I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

The Rev. R. J. KNIGHT, Vicar of All Saints', Derby.

ONE happy thing connected with those who hold the office with which I have just been honoured in connection with the Church Congress is that it imposes silence upon us, and you will have noticed that there were excluded from the programme the names of local speakers. I had hoped that, as far as I am concerned, that silence would have continued, but unfortunately the Rural Dean who should have occupied my place, is not able to be here. Therefore, it falls to me, on behalf of my colleagues, to return to you our most cordial thanks for the vote now passed. If I were allowed to single out any one among my colleagues, I might mention the name of the Rev. C. Dunkley, assistant secretary, to whom we all admit we owe very much, as well as Mr. Bemrose, for the excellent arrangements he so laboriously perfected. I am sure that those gentlemen will both of them feel that we do not desire that any one of our number should be specially honoured; but as we have combined together in the work so unitedly, we gratefully accept the thanks you have tendered to us. Our labours all through have been extremely pleasant, and I am able to say—and my colleagues will endorse it—that our proceedings have been characterised by the utmost harmony, without a single jarring note from beginning to end.

Mr. Alderman H. H. BEMROSE, Derby.

I FEEL honoured that I have been deputed to speak for my co-lay secretaries, as well as for myself, in returning thanks for the resolution you have so kindly passed. Our labours began about six months ago, and from that time to this they have been gradually growing, until they culminated on Monday last when you began to arrive. I am sure those labours were undertaken heartily and for the love we bear our dear mother Church of England, and they were undertaken also for the honour of this old town of Derby. And if our labours have been successful—heavy as they have been—we are amply rewarded by the success. I perhaps may be allowed to say that I have heard expressions from very many of the ladies and gentlemen who have been privileged to entertain visitors to this Congress, of the great pleasure they have derived from so doing. It was impossible, I think, for 3,000 visitors to be more entertaining and more pleasant. I may say that we have had not a few expressions of satisfaction from members of the Congress at the arrangements which have been made. Perhaps those who have not felt so kindly towards us have had the delicacy not to express their feelings. I trust that this Congress will leave its mark behind, and that, as workers in the large body of the Church of Christ, its members will return to their labours refreshed and strengthened by what they have heard, and the inter-communication they have had with their fellow men. I trust also that this Congress will leave its mark on the town of Derby, and that many long and lasting friendships will have been formed. If we are not quick to form these, we hold them fast when we have made them. I trust that many of all classes in this town, and, not the least by any means, the great working class, whom we have been so pleased to welcome, will be induced by our meetings to think kindly towards our mother Church. Our fellow working men have seen and known that the highest dignitaries of the Church are men of flesh and blood like themselves, and that they are fully in sympathy with them in their labours and their work; and they have seen that all the members of this our Church feel themselves on an equality before the great God, and feel also that it is their duty to help one another in every possible way. I thank you sincerely on the part of my colleagues and myself for the vote of thanks passed.

The Venerable W. EMERY, Archdeacon and Canon of Ely, and Permanent Secretary to the Church Congress.

FOR one moment I have to request your attention, as I have an important duty to perform. I think mine is perhaps the most pleasing duty, but before I proceed further I have a business announcement to make, and had perhaps better do it first, otherwise it may be swallowed up in what I shall afterwards have to do. You will like to know what numbers have attended this Congress, and I have great pleasure in informing you that 3,200 full tickets have been taken. My own belief is that it is (if not the largest) one of the largest numbers ever taken during the 22 years of Congress —£116 has been taken also in day and platform tickets, and £24 from other sources, and the total sum realised is £1,100. Really one thought came across me when it

was first suggested that Derby should be our meeting place, and it was as to a guarantee fund, but the Derby people have come forward most liberally. I had wondered how much each guarantor would have to pay. Since then a new thought has crossed my mind, and it is that as the guarantors will have nothing to pay for Congress purposes they will perhaps not mind paying a great deal to the Southwell Bishopric fund. Next I have to make another business announcement, viz., I hope you won't forget to give your orders for the report before you go home—and then there is one more thing I wish to mention. There was a whisper going around, but there was not much in it, that one or two of our friends were very much horrified at something that took place yesterday afternoon, so much so that they did not think they would care to come to the meeting. I don't think this can be the case. Take it as a whole this Church Congress at Derby has been prominent, not only for catholic generosity, but loving conduct and feeling. And now for the last point, which I have kept back. We have been thanking everybody except one, and I think there is one who deserves our thanks as representing a good number of those who for many years past have honoured the Congress with their presence. I beg you, in conclusion therefore, to return thanks to one who in this assembly is the representative of the better half of mankind, the lady Mayoress.

The Worshipful the MAYOR of DERBY (on behalf of the Mayoress.)

I BEG to tender you my most sincere thanks.

The Venerable Archdeacon EMERY.

NOW it only remains for us to try and keep in the best health we can, and find our way to Reading for the next Congress.

Some music and conversation followed, and this most pleasant gathering was shortly afterwards brought to a close.

TOWN HALL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 4TH.

Meeting for Male Members of Congress only.

The Ven. the Archdeacon of STAFFORD in the Chair.

THE LEGAL AND SOCIAL PROTECTION OF OUR GIRLS.

PAPER.

Miss ELLICE HOPKINS.

I AM sure I may ask the sympathy of my audience in the terrible effort they must be aware it costs a woman to speak on this subject. But that effort I cannot hesitate to make.

With the Select Committee of the House of Commons reporting in favour of the ultimate extension of that legislation which four of our greatest thinkers on ethics and sociology—James Martineau, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Frederick Denison Maurice—condemn *in toto* as immoral and unconstitutional; which almost all the leading women, with the revered and beloved name of Florence Nightingale at our head, consider both unjust and dangerously tampering with our constitutional liberties as Englishwomen; yet the Church is silent: with the Protection Committee of the House of Lords reporting that they "are unable adequately to express their sense of the magnitude, both in a moral and a physical point of view, of the evil brought to light, and the absolute necessity of taking urgent means to cope with it"—yet the Church is dumb: with the statement made at a public meeting held in the Choir-vestry of St. Peter's, Eaton Square (the Bishop of Bedford in the chair) that twenty years ago the Highgate Penitentiary was a penitentiary for women; ten years ago it became a penitentiary for young girls; it is NOW a penitentiary for children as young as *nine:* with the knowledge that has been forced upon me that the England we so love—"God's England," as Milton delighted to call her—is rapidly becoming a land of child-harlots, yet the Church, in her corporate capacity, lifts up no living voice for her little ones, the children whom she pronounced in baptism to be the children of God, the members of Christ, and the heirs of the kingdom of Heaven, but who are being made, before her very eyes, the children of the devil, the members of whoremongers, and the heirs of the kingdom of corruption, disease, and death: with children actually bought and sold into a nameless slavery under the British flag in Hong Kong—that "dot in the ocean," as its present Governor has called it, twelve miles long, by three to six broad—which, by the statement of an official report, boasts of 18,000 outcast women to 6,000 virtuous women, yet the Church has never once uttered an appeal to this country against this practice of downright slavery under the grand old banner of freedom: with the computation of Mr. Acton, the great surgeon, that there are 80,000 outcast women on the streets of London alone, yet the Church in her corporate capacity suggests as a remedy little but penitentiaries—that hammering away at poor degraded women, while leaving all the causes which make

them degraded untouched, of which my inmost soul is sick: with our streets in such a state that young men are actually asking their parents to come up with them to the Central Examinations to protect them from the perils of the streets; and, if the words of Frederick Robertson are true—and which of us would deny them?—that there are two rocks on which man must either anchor or split—God and Woman—it becomes the hardest problem we have to solve, in the state of those streets—how to keep him from splitting on one of these rocks which so often leads to shipwreck on the other, and which, be sure of it, is at the bottom of much of the Agnosticism and denial of God of the day: with Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant teaching their doctrine of devils to our factory lads and lasses, of licentiousness made safe; and the Church has no strong counter-teaching to give: with the sense that five years of toil and anguish have thrust upon me, that the evil is everywhere—in our public schools and in our private schools, in our homes, in our shops and houses of business, in our warehouses, on our magistrates' benches, in our pews, decorously seated in our places of worship, and yet the Church refuses to face and grapple with it, because it is a disagreeable question—may I not be excused if at times I feel as if my whole head was sick, my whole heart faint, my whole spirit cast down?

And when I turned in despair, some months ago, from the Church Congress to that other great deliberative agency of the Church, her Diocesan Conference, and implored that this might be made a burning question, I was told that it was thought to be too delicate a subject for such public discussion. Is it possible? Is it possible that the Church has grown so delicate, so white-handed, that she cannot even grasp a perishing child which has fallen into an open drain, and pull it out? Is it possible that when such men as Lord Cairns, Lord Salisbury, Lord Aberdare, Lord Shaftesbury, say that they are unable adequately to express their sense of the magnitude of the evil, from both a moral and a physical point of view, and the necessity of urgent measures to cope with it, the National Church has grown too delicate to deliberate what these measures should be? I listened with great interest yesterday evening to the suggestions made with regard to the Church's want of hold upon the men of the nation, and the reasons assigned for it; I listened to the instructive suggestions as to more lively sermons, as to the propriety of intoning the Confession in a lower key, etc., etc.; but I couldn't help wondering whether the reason of the non-attendance of men at a place of worship might not lie a little deeper down; whether the Church was altogether abreast of the problems of the day; whether men felt they could turn to her for guidance in the pressing difficulties of their lives: the workman in the great problem of the relations of labour and capital, and the unequal distribution of profits; we women in the anguish we are enduring over the degradation of our lost sisters and the children of our land; our young men in their strong temptations and moral isolation; whether we have not been saving souls so long that we have nearly ceased to save men and women—this too, too solid flesh, which must sit down somewhere on washing nights, but often has no place but the public-house; this body, with its strong passions left unguided and untrained, to run headlong, like Gadarene swine; those high functions of fatherhood and motherhood modestly ignored in the Christian home and treated with coarse jocularity in the world, left

untaught and unguarded, to change the glory of the incorruptible God in which they were made into the image of a beast and creeping things.

May I, then, earnestly urge on the present assembly, as a practical outcome of our meeting together, that they should press the subject on the consideration of a future Church Congress? If a mixed assembly is felt to be an obstacle to its discussion, surely it would be possible to have a special meeting of men only, similar to the working-men's meeting, from which women are also excluded, but forming, like it, an integral part of the Congress; and with a sectional meeting of women only, to consider their duties in the matter? This would set the Church Congress free to discuss many points which, cut off as we are from the public press, sorely want careful deliberation, and the bringing together of different experiences: such points, for instance, as the best basis for associations of men to contend with the evil—on which point we are all very much in the dark. At least, let it be urged on every Diocesan Conference; and the earnest deliberations of the whole Church will not only present her as abreast of the most vital problem of our life—that which her fundamental doctrine of the Incarnation most pledges her to put in the forefront of her fight with evil—but may lead on to the adoption of the suggestion of Convocation: the forming of some great organised effort to meet a great organised evil, which would show the National Church as standing four-square against heathenism, intemperance, ignorance, and vice. And if there are some here who feel that any discussion of this subject must be harmful, I would earnestly implore them honestly to ask themselves: Has our contrary system of silence answered? If the discussion of such questions may be downright harmful to a few weak, hysterical natures, how many thousands have gone like sheep to the slaughter under our system of never speaking about the subject? Surely the silence which has landed England in child-harlotry stands hopelessly, permanently, irrevocably condemned. Surely the word to the Church now, as to the Jewish Church of old, is to "go forward," even though it seems to be a command to go forward into a pathless sea of difficulties. In going forward the path will open, and the bitter waters of death will be found to be not of death, but of baptism to a higher and purer life.

With regard to the Legal and Social Protection of our Girls, I would urge, first, the importance of getting the principle recognised that the evil must be dealt with on the same common sense methods as our other great evils of mendicancy, vagrancy, and theft—viz., by turning the full force of our educational and compulsory reformatory machinery against it, instead of leaving it to breed, as we have done, among the children. I would point out the unjust proportion of the reformatory and industrial training of England—19,037 boys to 4,606 girls—and this with Acton's ghastly computation of 80,000 women on the streets of London alone, showing the need of reformatory work among girls. Ireland, where the men do care for the honour of their women, contrasts most favourably in this respect, the proportion in the certified schools being 2,049 boys to 3,072 girls. Yet, such is the want of public opinion on this point, owing to the silence of the Church and the press, that the London magistrates are refusing to work the Industrial Schools' Amendment Act, 1880, which provides that any child living in a disorderly house, or frequenting the company of abandoned women, may be

committed by a magistrate to an industrial school. In a test case, brought last Spring before the magistrates, of a lawfully-born and baptised child living in so terrible a den of infamy in the East End that the very lost girls themselves cried shame on her abandoned mother for leaving her there, the magistrates refused to commit the child, on the clerk of the court representing the expense to the rates of saving such children; and in a Christian country that bright little girl was given back to the School Board officer, to be conducted back to that den of infamy. The School Board officer, a man of no higher rank than a police-constable, so loathed his task that, on his own responsibility, he brought her to a friend of mine, working among our degraded girls in the East End, and that child was smuggled into the Christian Home to which she ought to have been committed.

The second point I would urge is that the corruption of minors, which is an indictable offence in the French and Belgian criminal codes, should be made an indictable offence in English law as well. At present the keeper of a disorderly house is not guilty of an indictable offence in harbouring the youngest child. Young men are protected up to one-and-twenty from their many follies and from lawful tradesmen taking advantage of their extravagance and inexperience; on what principle can we refuse to protect our ignorant working-class girls up to the same age from *their* follies and the advantage that might be taken of their inexperience by the nefarious trade of vice? Yet, so conscious were the Lords' Committee of the absence of any public opinion to support them in this, that, though in my evidence before the Committee I expressly stated that sixteen was the most dangerous age of a girl's life, the age at which the most girls are proved, statistically, to go wrong, and gave the strongest medical evidence in support of this fact, the Committee suggested that legal protection from the trade of vice should stop just short of this age, and five years earlier than the age to which such protection extends on the Continent; and even this, it is said, there is but little chance of obtaining from the House of Commons. I intend starting petitions shortly from all our large towns for the legal protection of minors, and I trust the clergy will use their influence in forming public opinion in this matter.

With regard to the social protection of our girls, there is now a preventive agency, known as the Bristol Preventive System, similar to that adopted by the Metropolitan Association for befriending young servants, founded by Mrs. Nassau Senior, a branch of which I hope to establish in all our large towns. One such agency in Wolverhampton, during the twenty years of its existence, has started 5,000 girls in respectable life, most of whom were previously in circumstances of extreme danger. If each of our 200 large towns only saved a fifth part in twenty years, there would be 200,000 women saved from degradation.

But, though this shows how much may be done in this direction, no complete social protection of our working-class girls is possible without a great rise of tone among men. It is too true, unhappily, that the demand will always create the supply, and what fearfully debased manhood we have in our midst, alas! our degraded children bear witness. Till we train our boys to reverence their own mothers' womanhood, and protect all women and children from degradation for her sake, the social and legal protection of our girls is practically impossible. The Church,

their parents, public opinion, will have to put into their mouths something stronger than the beggarly stock-utterance of a virtuous young man: "I know how to take care of myself." Let our young men learn to say that they know how to take care of the weakest woman who comes in their path. These abstract appeals to them to be pure are of no use; but lay hold of the manliness that is in the heart of every man, which in shipwreck, in the teeth of the strongest passion of his nature, self-preservation, makes him feel he would be disgraced for ever if he stirred hand or foot to save himself before he had saved every helpless woman and child on board—let this feeling of manliness be appealed to, and I believe that young men will band themselves together to fight this base and cowardly evil, which accepts the sacrifice of hosts of young and ignorant girls, before which even a child of nine is not sacred. I would suggest that the following principles, almost identical with those adopted by the Oxford movement among young men, should be either added on to existing societies, or should form the basis, as at Oxford, of a society for combating our greatest national evil:

I pledge myself, by the help of God—

1. To protect, so far as I have opportunity, all women and children from degradation and dishonour;
2. To discountenance all coarse jests, conversation, and behaviour derogatory to women;
3. To maintain the equal obligation of the law of purity on men and women alike;
4. To endeavour to spread these principles among my companions, and to help by warning and counsel my younger brothers;
5. To use every means to fulfil the Apostolic injunction, "Keep *thyself* pure;"

I have already alluded to the silence of the pulpit; and the want of some organised body through which even existing public opinion could find expression is deeply felt; but I earnestly appeal to you all, for the sake of the national life, for the sake of the purity of the home and family, for the sake of our sons, and the little children of our land, to enlist under this banner, and through faith in Him who is the revelation of the true man, the man that is to be, as well as of the only true God, bring in a new dawn, in which this disordered social life of ours will knit into an organic whole, of which the members will not degrade but serve one another; in which the man will "give himself for the woman," and through her weakness, her pain, and the knowledge that if he does wrong by her, she has to bear all the shame and disgrace, he will rise from the mere animal life of having, to the Divine life of self-giving; in which we shall recognise that these bodies of ours are, indeed, temples of the Eternal, and that the Lord of that temple is Love.

The meeting was addressed by the Chairman and other speakers.

An influential Congress meeting, of ladies only, on the Legal and Social Protection of our Girls, was also held at the Town Hall, on the 5th inst., with the Hon. Mrs. Maclagan in the chair. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Lord Bishop of Bedford, and addressed by Miss Ellice Hopkins, Miss Ada Leigh, Mrs. Walsham How, Mrs. Jerome Mercier, and others.

List of Church Congresses.

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1862	Oxford	Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce).
1863	Manchester ..	Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Prince Lee).
1864	Bristol	Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott).
1865	Norwich	Bishop of Norwich (Hon. Dr. Pelham).
1866	York	Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson).
1867	Wolverhampton ..	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Lonsdale).
1868	Dublin	Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Trench).
1869	Liverpool ..	Bishop of Chester (Dr. Jacobson).
1870	Southampton ..	Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Wilberforce).
1871	Nottingham ..	Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Wordsworth).
1872	Leeds	Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Bickersteth).
1873	Bath	Bishop of Bath and Wells (Lord Arthur Hervey).
1874	Brighton	Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Durnford).
1875	Stoke	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Selwyn).
1876	Plymouth	Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Temple).
1877	Croydon	Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait).
1878	Sheffield	Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson).
1879	Swansea	Bishop of S. David's (Dr. Jones).
1880	Leicester	Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee).
1881	Newcastle ..	Bishop of Durham (Dr. Lightfoot).
1882	Derby	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Maclagan).

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